













THE  
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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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## ART. I.—THE CHRONICLES OF THE MARAVA COUNTRY IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

**B**EFORE starting on the track of the chronicles of Marava at the dawn of the 17th century, it would be well to note our landmarks, and to fix our position by recalling the attitude of events in Southern India at that period.

Half-a-century before, in 1559, the independence of the dynasty of Nayakkar at Madura had been successfully asserted by Visvanâdan; and on the ruins of the power of the Vizayanagar Rayar the new house had established itself firmly, becoming the suzerain of the whole country from the Kaveri to Cape Comorin. Thus the Southern lowlands were once more autonomous; while the conqueror Shahji, whom we shall see later seizing to himself the rich Jaghir of Tanjore, was still a boy in the court-yard of the Bhonslais under the tuition of his clever father, who had just won for his son a wealthy and nobly-descended bride. Akbar, the great emperor, was far too intent on the consolidation of his power in Hindustan to take thought of the distant Carnatic; and if Southern India lost the benefit of his great talent of administration, it at least did not suffer from the ravages of his invading armies.

The death of Akbar the Great, in 1605, is synchronous with the accession of Udeiyan, the first Setupathi of the house of Marava. We are told of this "marvellous boy" of unknown parentage, that he was found by the Ladar Chackravarti, or emperor of the Bairagies (king of the gypsies), asleep beneath a tamarind tree, his royal lineage attested by the protection of a large *naga* or cobra, which was watched with awe by the spectator, expanding over the sleeping youth the broad covering of its hood, to screen him from the fierce rays of the sun. So manifest an omen must indicate royal descent and divine favour; and, at the age of twelve, the youth was crowned and installed as "their leader," with the universal consent of the tribes, who had been waiting for a head and were well pleased to accept the one imposed upon them by the divine will. The reign so marvellously

heralded ended in complete obscurity ; and the only trace which we have left of his twenty years tenure of power lies in his connection with the shrine of Rameswarem, and the grants of some villages, which he made to the minor temples scattered about the Ramnad zemindary. The failure of all positive evidence about the reign of any Maraver, preceding this marvellous youth ; the absence of any inscriptions on walls or buildings to attest it ; the very awkwardness of his introduction into history ; are all points selected to justify complete rejection of the presumption that "the principality of Ramnad had been in existence for many centuries, before" Sadeika Teven Udeiyan was made Setupathi, hereafter the title of the king of the Maravers. We believe that prince Udeiyan was the first "Setupathi" of Rameswarem of the least importance ; and that the line of his ancestors, represented in courtly narrative as powerful princes, waging imperial wars and forming imperial alliances, is completely out of historical times. If such is not the case, not only is it most difficult to understand why, in the face of the existence of such a proud ancestry, it was necessary for the historians to restore the line in the person of a shepherd-boy of a humble family at Pokaloor, whose origin and surroundings match those of King Arthur, or Prince Bladud, for marvel and romance, but we lose an important link to connect the gradual assertion of political independence by this new dynasty with the disintegration of preceding political groups, now in progress. The former head of Southern India was fixed in distant Vizayanagar ; and, though it commanded respect and allegiance long after, its strength had been sapped by the disaster of Tallicota. In these parts, the Nayakkars of Madura were the first to assert independence of the Rayar, under the newly-created title of kings of Pandya ; but the loyalty and obedience which they had commanded unchallenged through Southern India, while they acted as the viceroys of the superior suzerains of the Carnatic, was not so easily transferable after they had started on a path of their own. Thus began the struggles for local pre-eminence, subsequently made at different times and with various fortunes by the minor potentates of Southern India. To this period, therefore, coinciding with this legendary history of the appearance of the first Setupathi after mythical times, we have referred the rise of the Maraver dynasty. The obscurity of the past was the common obscurity of many humble servants of one powerful and unresisted monarch : the coming disintegration of that authority was to place younger States in a prominence, which in the nature of things had been unattainable by them hitherto. No doubt, once that independence was asserted, the features of the country rendered it not impossible to maintain it ; and politic support in times of difficulty, a little seasonable assistance to the

princes of Madura when they were hard pressed on other sides, obtained for the new line of Setupathis a lease of power that was constantly spreading. For these reasons, confidently as the ancient histories have been believed in by the families themselves, and conscious as we ourselves are that sometimes a satisfactory meaning may be found for the legends of the age of historical faith, as it has been called, to distinguish it from historical reason or reasonable history, we have taken the liberty of re-arranging the actual period when fairyland ends and authenticated history may be said to begin.

The family of the ennobled boy seems to have been settled near the site of the Pokaloor Chattram, at a distance of about 8 miles from the present Ramnad. The village is insignificant enough in appearance now, but the Brahmins of the neighbouring shrine of Tiru Uttrakosamanga, who lived there, and, doubtless, acted as the *purohits* of the Maraver tribe, have invented a narrative of their origin so ancient and supernatural that it stops at the era of Krita Yugom only. Their account, which only deserves a passing allusion in these pages, is this. Paramaswa had been teaching to the goddess Parvati at the Tiru Uttrakosamanga temple, the "Prauava Mantra," which is the most sacred prayer of the Hindus. Observing that she was inattentive and failed to repeat the lesson, the god cursed her, by which she became transformed into the shape of a girl of a family of Brahmins in the Agraharem of Pokaloor. Afterwards the god was sorry for the excess of her punishment, and himself, assuming humanity, married the metamorphosed goddess in her human shape, her children growing up to be the hereditary priests of the temple. No Maraver can assume the heaven-created title of Setupathi who has not been crowned at Pokaloor by the Tiru Uttrakosamanga Brahmins. So came the Setupathis in succeeding generations to accept their coronation and titular dignities from the hands of so proudly-descended a priesthood, and to lavish their wealth in increasing the emoluments of their family priests and the magnificence of their temple; while the Brahman chroniclers set themselves to the task of ennobling their patrons; "who pass before us in the old annals like the shadows of the kings shown to Macbeth; 'one gold-bound brow is like the first, a third is like the former' and others, 'more shadowy still, like the images of the many more reflected in the glass of the spectral Banquo.'" All this is matter of history, say the Brahmins, and the origin of the title Setupathi, first conferred by Rama himself upon a former zemindar of Ramnad, some legendary Anchises, in token that he had been so divinely appointed to keep the connection of the bridge (*sethu*) between the mainland and Lanka broken in perpetuity, was miraculously revealed to Udeiyan, and by him communicated to the great Tirumalla



Naick, who, in recognition of the Maraver having opened a passage through his jungles for the pilgrims to Rameswarem, was pleased also to recognize the title. However fantastic these magnificent legends appear now, it is not to be forgotten that they still have a hold on the popular imagination, which almost rivals the unenquiring credulity of the fifteenth century, when he would have been a bold man who had ventured to doubt that the Britons were descended from Brutus the Trojan.

Prince Udeiyan died in 1621, having reigned from 1605, and was succeeded by Kuttar Setupathi, who was so little known to fame that he is not mentioned under any of the high-sounding titles claimed for his legendary ancestors, but only as "Taleivan" or headman of the Marava tribes; not at all as the sovereign of an independent territory, as he is described by Professor Wilson. We find his name inscribed on a building, which he added to the growing pile of Rameswarem; and no little credit is due to him for having inserted a correct date irrespective of the chroniclers of his father's reign, who would have made him appear to have lived a century and a half before.

With his death began the troubles of a disputed succession. The indifferent authority of the family chronicles is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in their variations in the account of this family contest. Those on which Professor Wilson has founded his Pandyan narrative, attribute to Kuttan Setupathi four legitimate sons, and one illegitimate. But the family histories, collated on the spot both by Mr. Nelson and the present writer, speak of only one legitimate son, who succeeded to the title of Dalavoy Setupathi; and one illegitimate son, called Tambi, or the younger brother, who endeavoured to wrest the crown from his brother the Dalavoy. This pretender, unable to seduce the people of the Maraver country from their proper allegiance, applied for assistance to Tirumalla Naick, the young king of Madura. It is possible that Tirumalla had already begun to dread the growing power of the Maravers, as he welcomed such an opening for interference which the arbitration of a disputed succession seemed to afford, and sent troops under Ramappayyan, his greatest general, to take the part of the bastard prince. The interference failed, as it deserved to fail; Ramappayyan died, while still endeavouring to effect a landing on the island of Rameswarem, where the Dalavoy Setupathi had entrenched himself by cutting off the communication of the Sethu, or causeway. The name Ramappayyanei or "Ramappayan's dam," is still borne by a part of the reef along which the general is supposed to have tried to approach the island; and some fishermen may still be found, who believe that they can point out in the sea traces

of the mortar used for binding the rough limestone into a level causeway. There, too, the Dalavoy himself died ; but not before he had first compassed the death of his rebellious younger brother by magic sacrifices.

There is no authority in the family chronicles for the statement made by Mr. Nelson, that Dalavoy Setupathi was imprisoned in Madura ; and considering, on the one hand, that the popular feeling in the Maraver country was wholly on the side of the reigning prince, while, on the other, we have, a little later than these events, the spectacle of the Setupathi Maravers defeating an army from Mysore, which had nearly destroyed the forces of Madura, it seems most improbable that the Madura troops ever carried the passage of the island of Rameswarem, or obtained such a permanent success as the imprisonment of the Dalavoy would imply. On the contrary, it is our impression that the united State of the Maravers had already begun to attain a vigour and power of resistance quite superior to any force that the nominal suzerain of the country, the Madura Nayakkan, could put in the field. The causes of this have been already indicated, and the progress of the change, how from a humble vassal the Setupathi of Ramnad became valued as a strong and trusty ally of Madura, must be traced now with more detail. Dalavoy Setupathi, dying in 1648, was succeeded by his sister's son, Raghunadan Setupathi, afterwards also named Tiroomalla, from his connection with the great Madura Naick of that name. From his succession without opposition it would appear that the claim of the Tambi had died with him.

The accession of Raghunadan is fixed in 1648, and there is still extant a palm-leaf document sealed by him, and dated 1658, purporting to be an order for the appointment of Sankarayya, the priest of Rameswarem to be priest of the Amman Koil in Ramnad. The adoption of the Telugu character in the seal finds an explanation in Raghunadan's traditionary respect for, and imitation of, the great prince of Madura, Tirumalla Naick, whose friendship he had won by important services, and commemorated, as already told, in an addition to his titles. It is even said that Telugu was introduced as the official language of Ramnad in this reign. Raghunadan's policy completely established the family fortunes. He was wise and patriotic enough to hasten to the assistance of Tirumalla Naick, when the troops of Mysore had descended upon the capital ; and the great victory which he obtained for his suzerain was promptly seized by the grateful Nayakkar as an occasion for loading his ally with such great titles as the "Protector of Talis" (*tali* being the neck ornament, token of marriage, worn by females), "The Founder of the Pandyan kingdom," and the like. The titles were

by no means unmerited, or of empty significance ; for the story, as it goes, shows Raghunadan to have been a prince of chivalrous feeling. Tirumalla's danger was real and great, and, when he sent a message to the Maraver chieftain for auxiliaries, the letter was signed in his wife's name, as if all the men had gone to the front of the battle and only women were left to collect allies. Raghunadan immediately collected all his men, and, surrounding the Mysore camp at night with many thousand cattle, each of which carried two lighted torches on its horns, drove the enemy off in dire panic, and gained a complete victory. So Madura was saved by Ramnad ; the mother city by the dependency.

The assertion that the Sethupathis have owed to the Nayakkar's gratitude for these services nearly all the territory which they possess now, appears ill-considered and quite inconsistent with the fact that Raghunadan collected on this occasion an army of 25,000 men. It is obvious that he must have then possessed a considerable principality, wherefrom to draw a force equal to defeating the whole Mysorean army. The barren sands of the seaboards could never have furnished such an army. The best evidence that such was not the case, and that the Maraver country then, as now, included both the Ramnad and Shivagangah territory, is that no such grant exists in any material shape ; and the Ramnad chroniclers have never seen any proof of the claims set forth by the Madura chroniclers. It is to be observed that, so far, there has been no indication that the Sethupathis had established themselves in the modern capital. Ramnad Udeiyan lived and died at Pokaloor ; Kuttan Sethupathi apparently did the same ; and Dalavoy, when defending his principality against the bastard Tambi and the allied forces of Madura, passed over to the island of Rameswaram, placing the sea between himself and his enemies. In fact one of the titles of this prince, "Ramais Warathu Ayyer," shows that his permanent residence was identified with the village of the great temple and choultry of which he had been the liberal benefactor. Raghunadan Setupathi, having no issue, had adopted Rasuriya, the son of his natural brother, Adinarayna Teven ; and this man succeeded him at his death and is no doubt the Suriyan mentioned by Wilson. His reign does not seem to have been of any great importance, as all that the chroniclers find to commemorate about him is his efforts to improve the temple of Rameswaram. He, in his turn, died issueless, and, what is more, without leaving any instructions as to his successor. We are led to believe, in the absence of any exact information, that the Maraver headmen assembled and chose Athoma Teven, a distant relation of the Setupathis, to govern the country, but

he survived his election only a short three months, dying without issue and making room for Raghunadan, surnamed Kilaven, who was unanimously proclaimed head of the Maravers by all the assembled relatives and officials, the sequel proving him to be an efficient and bold ruler, while he was related to the family as the paternal cousin of the deceased Rasuriya Setupathi. We get much interesting information about this prince from the writings of the Jesuit Fathers attached to the Mission of Madura. The Christians certainly had good occasion to remember his disservices to them, as his reign was marked by a cruel persecution of their sect, culminating in the martyrdom of John De Brito in 1693, fully described in Mr. Nelson's Manual of the Madura country. In his review of their letters, Mr. Nelson founds an argument upon the alleged liberation of Father Nello at the pressing instance of the Madura king, with which we cannot agree. At no time had Ramnad affairs assumed such importance in the district, the power of the Setupathi been so irresistible, as under the energetic and politic reign of the Kilaven. It seems more likely, that the persecutions, commenced at the beginning of his reign, were instigated by the cruel Dalavoy, Komaru Pillay, afterwards so horribly murdered, than that they were commanded by the Maraver prince. As soon as the minister was dead, the Christian persecution ceased, and there was no likelihood that the intervention of the Madura king could have secured the peaceful observances of their religion to the Christians, had the Sethupathi otherwise willed it. This prince built the fort of Ramnad, which in those days must have exhibited a considerable degree of strength. It was built in the shape of a square, each side being about half a mile in extent, with the main gate to the east facing the entrance to the king's palace. The fortifications consisted of a single wall, twenty-seven feet high and five thick, surrounded by a deep ditch, now filled with rubbish. The wall was further strengthened with thirty-two bastions, built at equal distances and loop-holed, but without any ramparts. To the west of the palace was dug a spacious reservoir to collect the rain-water as a provision against the droughts of the summer months. This proved of such benefit to the people of the town, that they subsequently gave their prince the complimentary title of "Mugaver Urani Iyer," signifying "The lord of the tank where the face was washed," the Brahmin chroniclers having previously, if not parasitically, discovered that in this tank the hero Rama bathed his face, when he was on his way to Tiruppullany to construct the "sethu" or bridge over to Ceylon, on his way to attack Ravana. This Setupathi died in 1710, when 47 of his wives were burnt with him outside of Ramnad, according to Father Martin, whose account of this horrible tragedy is most graphic.



Though he had many wives and concubines, he left only one daughter, whom he had given in marriage to Vizia Raghunadan Setupathi, as his second wife, whom he therefore nominated as his successor. Hitherto we have observed nothing to lead us to suppose that any of the rulers of the Maraver country had devoted their attention to such a consolidation of their small principality in the south of India, as would entitle them to rank above the Poligars and innumerable petty chieftains who, having taken advantage of the dissolution and decay of the Mughal empire, were to be brought into collision with the growing power of the great East India Company; but there is no doubt that this prince had consummate ability for administration; and, in fact, by giving his country a revenue system, and administering it accordingly, secured for his successors a practical recognition of independence, while other great families in the same or neighbouring provinces were disappearing from the scene. In their own chronicles he is of course mainly represented for the grandeur of his palace, his sumptuous establishment, and the lavish expense with which he kept up and added to the importance of the Brahmins. His father-in-law had done much for the local temples of Tiruppullani, Teruchooly, Tiruvadanei, and also Ramnad; but he eclipsed all previous donors. He not only increased the pile of the great temple of Rameswarem by important additions, but he honored it with constant personal attendance. Whatever State business required his attention at the public offices in Ramnad, now the capital of this Maraver dominion, he would never deny himself the privilege of evening religious exercise there, and, by keeping constant relays of horses posted along the heavy sand, the whole distance between Ramnad and Tonithorei, and boats beyond, to convey him across the narrow sea to Panmben, he managed to reach Rameswarem before sunset. Even when he had arrived at his palace in the sacred city, his first visit was to the temple, before he sought the society of his wives and concubines, the number of whom has been fixed at no less than three hundred and sixty.

With this deep feeling of religious duty, we can understand how he came to make such valuable presents to the Brahmins, whose descendants are holding to this day some of the most pleasantly-situated villages in the estate, as *dhurmasarum*, or charitable endowments. It is mentioned how on one occasion he vowed the costly produce of one whole season's pearl-fishery to decorate the idol, while the major part of the *sasanums* or copper deeds, assigning lands in foregift *in perpetuo* for the shrine, bear the date of his reign. Also in procuring for himself the honorific title "*Hir-annia gerbha yajee Raviboola*," he aspired to raise his family, by following the rigid and expensive ceremonial assigned in the Vedas and other text books for such a regeneration. In his time, and

under his direction was the altar of the goddess Doorga, obtained from Madura through the special intervention of king Renga Chokkappa Naick, set up with such wonderful ceremonies and lavish expenditure in the Rajah Rajeswary Amman Koil at Ramnad, that it became a mark for all ages and distant places, the Brahmins and travelling mendicants of all creeds taking the news of the liberality of such a prince through all lands.

But if he was of a religious turn of mind, he was no less addicted to the sports of the field and martial exercises. He was often at the head of his cavalry, or reviewing troops. For purposes of external war he had divided the country into seventy-two military divisions, appointing feudal chieftains heads of each division, which was granted to them free of any tribute so long as the service was upheld. He built separate forts in Rajasinga-mangalem, Oroor, Aruntangi, taken from Tanjore in the last reign, Tirupatoor, Kamoody, and Panmben; and in warlike equipment he was not behindhand, as the chroniclers assert that two of his guns, named Rama and Letchumana, were the terror of all enemies. With such an army were won important successes; and at one time the Ramnad dominion was extended as far as Tiroovaloor on the north, while the noble Naicken of Madura, in return for important assistance rendered in battle, handed over to his estate the taluks of Tiruppavanem and Pallimaden for ever. Proper attention was at the same time given to the fiscal administration of the country. Able accountants of the Vellala caste were fetched from Madura, and accurate accounts of the villages began to be prepared, while the whole kingdom, for easier administration, was first divided into eight revenue districts.

The fame of such a Solomon among kings, the restoration of the shrine of Rameswarem, the thousand-and-one protections and benevolences which rendered the safe performance of that distant pilgrimage possible to even the wealthy and timid, attracted many kings, and wealthy merchants from Malayalem, Cochin, and Benares to this region. To assist them, the Setupathi appointed his own son-in-law, to whom he had given in marriage both the daughters born to his senior wife, to the command of Paumben fort, with explicit orders that he should assist the pilgrims in their passage over the channel, and afterwards in their wearisome march across the sands of the island to Thanooshkoty. Now this son-in-law was himself a reformer and filled with eager desire to make a name for beneficence; but he was poor. In an evil moment for himself he devised the plan of levying a trifling boat-fee on all the passengers who passed over from the mainland to Rameswarem and back, and out of the income arising from this poll-tax he paved the weary eight miles of sandy road between Paumben and Rameswarem with parallel rows of hard stone to the great comfort of all pedestrians

and his own eternal memory. The Setupathi was simply furious when he came to hear of this action, not so much, as the chronicler naively remarks, for the sake of the pilgrims, but because the execution of this admirable plan had been devised and carried out, not in his name, but in the name of the son-in-law. Immediate orders were issued for the decapitation of such an inconveniently energetic relation; and as the stern father would not relent even to their prayers, his two daughters burned themselves with their husband, and their memory is preserved in the twin choultries of Akkal and Thangachi Mattam, reared on their ashes and still maintained along the road beteen Paumben and Rameswarem. Towards the end of his life, the rajah seems to have been troubled, or blessed, with many visible appearances of the deity, who was naturally much gratified with his unabated devotion. Among others, the deity on one occasion, after remarking how pleased he had been with the constant piety of his worshipper, informed him that if he would visit the small sacred well in the suburbs of the fort of Ramnad on the morrow, he would there find floating the ashes of yesterday's ceremonies performed in the Koditheerthem at the temple of Rameswarem. Next morning the rajah visited Lutchmeeporam (this was the name of the suburb) and there found his dream correct. After this, the daily visit to Rameswarem was less necessary, and under the title of "Muthuramalinga Swami" the Sethupathi worshipped Rama in the suburb of his own capital. To this time, also, the chroniclers have referred the name of the capital itself, which was then first called in the public accounts Ramanathaporem. By dint of a little pressure, which shows that the best intentions of regular government are sometimes defeated by poverty, a labbay, named Syed Khader Merackoyer, consented to build a stone wall completely round the fort of Ramnad at his own expense. And to this date also and the same donor has been ascribed the construction of the Ramalinga Vilasem, a long dark hall, elaborately decorated with persons illustrative of the wars of the Maravers, and pleasing subjects taken from the life of Kristna, also remarkable for a few fine monolith pillars of black marble, which is on the northern side of the palace, and is almost the only subject of interest to travellers in Ramnad in the present day.

In 1720, Vizia Raghunadan had marched with his forces to encounter the rajah of Pudukottah, who had taken up the cause of Bavani Sankara Teven, an illegitimate son of the late Kilaven, who had been aspiring to rule the Maraver country on the grounds that he had been first named the successor of his father. On his victorious return, cholera was raging at Arundanghi, and the prince took it, and was carried off very suddenly, but not before he had nominated his successor, Thandu Teven, a great grandson of the Kilaven's father, who married Seemy Natelyar and

Bakia Latchumi Natelyar, the granddaughters of the 7th king, Raghoonadan Setupathi, through his daughter, and who became henceforth known as Thaudya Setupathi.

Such had been the strength and the order of the last two reigns that the reader of these chronicles might imagine that here had been founded institutions calculated to resist both the lapse of time and antagonism from without, but as in the East the death of the leader is the constant signal for the dissolution of the army, so it was to be with the Maraver dominion. A disputed succession was to set aflame the fatal ambition of leading members of the same family and the cupidity of followers, which has on so many occasions overthrown even greater governments. This subject we must reserve for a future chapter, completing the chronicles of ancient Maraver.

. RAMNAD,  
Feb. 5th 1877.

J. L. W.

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## ART II.—GENERAL DE BOIGNE.

**T**HE last century has been often held up to scorn in our days as a period of coldness, sloth, and mediocrity. Yet it must needs be admitted that many of its men were no mean contributors to human progress ; and, if not exactly heroes, did heroic things. Voltaire ; his royal patron, Frederic ; Leibnitz ; Montesquieu ; may be cited as men who answered to this description upon the continent of Europe. In England and its dependencies, among many scarcely less remarkable names, the reader will call to mind those of Wolfe and Clive in arms, Washington and Chatham in politics, Wesley and Hume, Adam Smith, and Joshua Reynolds in the various fields of moral and mental culture.

But even these names remind us what sort of age it was and how it gained its reputations. They are not those of brilliant transcendentalists, sinking or shining in the dim distance beyond the flaming walls, but rather prudent men with practical, mundane aims which they mostly succeeded in attaining.

Of such a character was a worthy—now almost forgotten—who played a various and important part on the less distinguished scenes of Indian war and politics. And those who care to turn for a few hours from the doubts and difficulties of the present Indian problem to those simpler times, in which that problem was prepared, cannot do better than join with us in a brief retrospect of the career of BENOIT DE BOIGNE.

Like the author of the *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, and his more serious brother, de Boigue was born at Chambéry in the middle of the eighteenth century, a subject of what was then “the House of Savoy,” since promoted—with the loss of its native seats—to the thorny crown of Italy. At the age of seventeen he entered the military service of France as a cadet in the “Regiment of Clare,” one of the five composing the celebrated Irish Brigade, and then commanded by Col. Leigh. After a short period of home service, the regiment was sent to the Mauritius, and, after eighteen months of duty in that colony, returned to France in 1773.

It may well be supposed that, in the five years thus occupied, de Boigne had not neglected the opportunities he must have had of learning the art of war from the veterans of Fontenoy. But he grew weary of the unending monotony of garrison-life, and resolved to see something of a wider world. With this design he applied for a long furlough ; and, furnished with a letter of introduction from the Marquis d’Aigueblanche, presented himself

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before Admiral Orloff, then engaged in waging war against the Turks, with all the naval and military forces that the Empress Catherine of Russia was able to send to the Levant. Named forthwith captain in a Greek regiment employed in the siege of Tenedos, de Boigne was taken prisoner by the Turks, and kept a prisoner in the island of Scio till the end of the wars, about seven months after.

It is said that, during this captivity, de Boigne was employed as a water-carrier—what we call a *blishti*; and, if so, he must in after life have sympathised with the career of Rána Khán, one of his colleagues in the army of Sindbia. After obtaining his liberation, he proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he laid before the Czarina projects which struck that sovereign of masculine ambition, if of feminine sentiment. Returning southward, it was his fortune to encounter an English traveller, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest son, and to command the escort attached to that nobleman's person. On being discharged from this duty, he undertook an expedition for which Lord Percy's friendship probably supplied facilities, and to which he had been originally inspired by his imperial mistress during his visit to the northern capital. This was no less than to proceed to India by land, returning through Cashmere and Central Asia. Setting out from Aleppo, he joined the Bussora caravan; but, after getting as far as Baghdad, the travellers were stopped by the Persians, then at war with Turkey; and de Boigne, nothing daunted, entered upon the now-familiar "overland route to India," *viâ* Alexandria. Arriving at Madras, after some further adventures in Egypt and a prosperous voyage from Suez, he presented himself to the Governor with a letter of introduction from Lord Percy. This occurred in the beginning of 1778, more than a full century gone by. Here he supported himself for some time as a fencing-master, but was eventually persuaded to enter the service of the East India Company. It is amazing to think that one who was destined within the next fifteen years to revolutionise the administration of Hindustan, and to return to his own country with nearly half a million sterling, was thus starting in life, at the comparatively mature age of twenty-nine, with no more advantageous position than that of ensign in the 6th Madras Native Infantry.

It was a stirring time at Madras. Though nearly as old as the century, Haidar Ali, the usurper of Mysore, had sworn to expel the English, or perish in the attempt. In June 1780, he had collected a force of 80,000 men, many of them trained and commanded by European officers. Nor had diplomacy been overlooked, the indefatigable chief having contracted alliances with the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and even the Nawáb-vazir of Oudh.

had recourse. The death of the Mirza, whose suspicious character had led him to keep at a distance all Europeans who might be of service to his master, left these gentlemen at liberty to offer their aid to Sháh Alam. The feeble Emperor, alarmed by the distractions of his situation and the violence of his Mughal ministers, appears to have recommended an application to Sindhia. The Gohad Rána had surrendered at discretion (24th November 1784), and Sindhia, now in camp at Muttra, was planning further conquests. The result of de Boigne's interview was that he received powers to raise a force of two battalions of 850 men each. He was to be allowed a salary of Rs. 1,000 for himself, and pay at the rate of Rs. 8 a head, all round, for his men and officers. By so strange a turn of fate did de Boigne thus, after years of toil and wandering, obtain his opening to fame and fortune from the very leader whose greatness he had failed to observe, and against whose progress he had vainly attempted to operate. It is, indeed, highly probable that it was the boldness and originality of the scheme for his own defeat, propounded to the Gohad Rána in the stolen correspondence, that first suggested to Sindhia the idea of engaging the services of de Boigne.

The increasing troubles of the Mughal Court, and the circumstances by which Sindhia gradually became master of the situation, are related in a recent work by the present writer.\* All we have here to note is, that de Boigne's sagacity appears once again (though for the last time) to have failed him when Gholám Kádir had temporarily succeeded in driving Sindhia beyond the Chambal. But, before making the mistake of quitting his employer, at a moment when he may have thought him tending to eclipse, de Boigne had rendered important services which were to lay the foundation of both their fortunes. Of these services we must give the best account that somewhat scant materials allow.

Sindhia assumed the management of the empire in the beginning of 1785, and soon after recalled the army to which de Boigne's command was attached, from a campaign they had begun in Bundelkhand. Their next enterprise was the reinforcement of the army operating in Rajputana under the command of a ferocious Mughal leader named Muhamad Beg. The Rajput insurgents are believed to have opened a correspondence with the Mughal leaders, whom they finally encountered at Lálsot. Here, aided by the death of Mahamad Beg, and the defection of his followers under Ismail Beg, his nephew, they obtained a partial victory, the result of which was to reduce Sindhia and his followers to considerable straits and to divide them from their garrison at Agra,

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\* *Fall of the Moghul Empire.* W. H. Allen and Co., 1876. —

which was forthwith invested. Nothing daunted, Sindhia at once proceeded to strengthen the forces of de Boigne, whose value he had been taught to appreciate amid the disasters of this campaign. When all was prepared, they were ordered to proceed with Rána Khán to the relief of Agra, which was being vigorously besieged by Ismail Beg and the Nawáb of Salárapur, the infamous Gholám Kádir. The siege was raised, and, in a furious action fought in April at Chucksána (one-third of the way from Bhurtpore to Agra), Sindhia's army was once more beaten, and retired on Bhurtpore. Here the last levies from the Deccan were awaited, and, immediately on their arrival, a fresh attack was made, near the famous ruins of Fatehpur Sikri, on the besieging forces. Here de Boigne and Rána Khán came upon the Mughals, already weakened, it would seem, by the departure of Gholám Kádir in the pursuit of his own selfish designs at Delhi. Left to his remaining resources, Ismail Beg made a spirited defence during the long June day; but having received two wounds, in the vain attempt to break the squares of de Boigne, he at length plunged on horseback into the Jumna, and the Mahratta army entered Agra.

But de Boigne was not satisfied. In spite of the great spirit that Sindhia had shown as an administrator, the failure of that chief to support the army by his personal presence had possibly weakened the confidence of his European follower. Still more—we have it, on\* his own authority probably—de Boigne was disappointed at not seeing his peculiar arm of disciplined infantry properly appreciated and augmented. And, lastly, there was a distraction due to de Boigne's one besetting sin, the love of money. It has been already mentioned, that in 1783 he had made the acquaintance of M. Claude Martine at Lucknow, where that officer was long engaged in a variety of mercantile and manufacturing undertakings, in which de Boigne had, it is believed, made investments out of his savings. Under this combination of motives, having faithfully discharged the duties of a soldier of fortune, and failing to discern the future, de Boigne determined to resign the service of Sindhia. Master and servant parted with mutual expressions of good-will. Sindhia retired into cantonments at Muttra, to watch the progress of events, and his quondam officer laid down "the pomp and circumstance of war" to enter into partnership with Martine.

We have no exact information as to the duration of de Boigne's stay at Lucknow, or as to the details of his occupations while there. But we may safely permit ourselves to imagine that the energies of his mind were neither absorbed nor satisfied in the posting of ledgers and the cultivation of indigo. Conscious

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\* *Mémoire sur la carrière du Comte de Boigne.* Chambéry. 1830.

of extraordinary talent, and with a mind full of experience, he must have looked on his present life with weariness and with fond regret on his lost career. But, fortunately for him, Sindhia was equally ill at ease. It cannot be denied that, in the latter part of the terrible year 1788, Sindhia had shown weakness. Whether his attitude was the cause or the effect of de Boigne's departure is not clear; but certain it is that he remained supine at Muttra, while Ismail Beg and Gholám Kádir perpetrated their deplorable excesses at the capital. But the moment was of short duration. Gholám Kádir was slain and Ismail conciliated before the end of the year; and in 1789 Sindhia was master of Delhi and of all the surrounding country. The events of the past, however, working upon a sagacious spirit, soon suggested to him the precariousness of success not founded on European discipline; and it was not long before he repented having parted with the only leader on whom he could confidently rely.

In Bernier's charming book there is, upon this subject, a remark of rare prescience. Writing in the palmy days of Mughal power, when the vast force of Aurangzeb, consolidated by a long course of victory, was imposing upon all beholders, the shrewd friend of Molière and Gassendi thus expresses his opinion:—

“These great and prodigious armies, 'tis true, sometimes do great things; but when some terror seizeth and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the commotion? . . . As often as I consider the condition of such armies, destitute of good order, and marching like a flock of sheep, I persuade myself that, if in these parts we might see an army of five-and-twenty thousand men of those old troops of Flanders under the conduct of M. le Prince (Conde) or of M. de Turenne, I doubt not at all but they would trample under foot all those armies, how numerous soever they were.”

This pregnant truth, demonstrated as it had been by the career of Clive, was now to bear fresh fruit. Unable to obtain twenty-five thousand such troops as fought under Turenne, Sindhia could at all events procure the exclusive use of Turenne's system and of some sparks of that great man's genius. Accordingly, some time in the end of 1789, or the beginning of 1790, he sent a *vakil* to his Lucknow Cincinnatus with offers of something like *carte blanche* as to the conditions of his relinquishing pen and plough, and resuming the leading staff of a general.

To understand clearly the nature of these offers, it is necessary to recollect another thing. At the Court of the Peshwa at Poonah, Sindhia was nothing more than one of a number of subordinate chiefs. But in Hindustan\* he was the Mayor of the



Palace, Vicegerent of the Empire, with full powers, a Minister exercising all the dominion and prestige that belonged to a sovereignty still strong, if not in itself, in the imaginations of a most conservative people. To use de Boigne's own language—writing of 1790—

“Le respect \* \* envers la maison de Timour regnait à tel point que, quoique toute la péninsule se fût successivement soustraite à son autorité, aucun prince \* \* de l'Inde ne s'était arrogé le titre de souverain. Sindhia partageait le respect, et Shâh Alam était toujours assis sur le trône Mogol, et tout se faisait en son nom.”

The commission, therefore, that de Boigne now undertook, was that of general of the regular forces of the empire. This alone was a great step for one who had hitherto been no more than a highly respectable *condottiere*, hired by one who was a foreign adventurer himself. De Boigne rose to the occasion. Like a prudent man of business, he first wound up his commercial affairs, some of which he left in Martine's hands, while other investments were entrusted to good Calcutta firms. He then turned his entire attention to military reforms. His army now consisted of two brigades, with 100 pieces of cannon, in the following proportions:—

Each brigade comprised 4,000 infantry, with muskets and bayonets, 200 cavalry, and 500 light horse; 3 siege guns, 10 howitzers, 2 mortars, and 36 field pieces. The battalions consisted of 416 privates, 94 non-commissioned officers and 2 or more European officers. To a battery of artillery there were 5 European gunners and a serjeant-major. 35 *Golandâzes* or native gunners, and 7 Native officers. The strength of each composite unit, including staff, was 707, and the monthly pay about Rs. 4,500. All who were wounded in action got a gratuity, and their pay went on while they were in hospital, just as if they were on duty. Invalids got a pension in money and a grant of land.

Such was the origin of the famous force which, gradually augmented to 68 battalions, 427 guns, and over 40,000 horses, consolidated the country, put down rebellion, and greatly prepared the way for the present administration of Hindustan. The particulars are derived from a “sketch” contributed by one of the officers (Major L. F. Smith) to a Calcutta paper in 1803.

It was not long before the capacity of the new force was exposed to a rude trial. The storm that Sindhia had foreseen, when he sent for de Boigne from Lucknow, was now ready to burst. The submission of the restless Ismail had been but shortlived. Confident in his knowledge of a certain kind of war and in the influence of his name over the Mughals, this formidable leader of heavy cavalry repaired to a strong place, near Ajmere, called Patan where he raised his standard. Thousands of disbanded

Afghan and Persian soldiers flocked to his head-quarters; and the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur joined him with the flower of their devoted followers. In March 1790, de Boigne left his employer still cantoned at Muttra; and, sending before him a cloud of Mahratta horse, marched upon Patan with a whole brigade and 80 pieces of artillery. On the 25th of May, he reached the place, which he instantly attacked. But Ismail's lines were strong, and his guns well served. The defensive was certainly not his wonted attitude, but it was well maintained. The aggressors retired with loss. This state of affairs lasted for three weeks without any change in the apparent relative positions of the two forces. But de Boigne could bide his time, commanding as he did an open country, while his adversary was a man of an impatient nature, whose forces were cooped up in a narrow space, and with insufficient means of sustenance. On the 20th June, hearing that Ismail was coming to attack him next day, de Boigne sent him his compliments and thanks for the intended visit, with a promise that he would meet the honour half way.

Early on the following morning the drums beat the *général*; but it was three in the afternoon before the enemy left his lines. The shock was rough. Advancing under a storm of grape-shot, the heavily-armed Mughals and the opium-heated Rajputs charged fiercely down the hill. In spite of their discipline, the foot of de Boigne were cut through and through, the impetuous cavaliers penetrating to the batteries, where they sabred many of the gunners. But de Boigne and his officers kept their *sang froid*; and, after recovering finally their formation, the infantry by incessant volleys repulsed this violent attack and put the weakened cavalry to flight. The middle ages were over for India in that fleeting moment. The next, under a tempest of round shot, the whole brigade advanced; the enemy's batteries were captured by the bayonet, and by nine at night the victory was complete.

This was at once the greatest victory that Sindhia had ever gained, and the final effort of the old mail-clad warfare against the skill and science of modern battle. The spoils included the present capture of one hundred guns, fifty elephants, two hundred stands of colours, and the whole of the enemy's baggage. The small disciplined force had triumphed over twenty-five thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry. After three days of open trenches the town fell, the fortress (the Indian Gibraltar) was immediately surrendered, and the cause of the insurgent Mughals, compromised under Gholám Kádir, was for ever lost.

Ismail fled across the desert towards Multán, whence he returned the following year, and for the last time. Meantime the Rajput leaders maintained the struggle. Sindhia heard of the

victory of Patan at Muttra, and resolved at once to follow up the blow. Sending a force of some seven thousand men to hold the Jaipur chief in check, he directed de Boigne to fall upon the country of Marwar, or Jodhpur. Advancing by way of Ajmere, the general took that city on the 22nd of August, and sat down to invest the fort, which, strong by nature, was exceedingly well garrisoned. While thus occupied, he received a message from Bijai Singh, the Rájá of Jodhpur, who sought to tempt the soldier of fortune with a splendid bribe. "Enter my service," wrote the Rájá, "and I will bestow upon you the fort and town with all the surrounding district." To this grand offer the general replied by an appropriate gasconade. "What!" said he, "when my master has already given me both Jodhpur and Jaipur, will you be so unreasonable as to expect that I shall exchange those broad territories for Ajmere?"

After the expiry of about a fortnight, news was brought to camp that the forces of the Rájá were marching to the relief of Táragarh (for so is the Ajmere fort named), and the general resolved to leave a small force to blockade the citadel while he proceeded to anticipate the arrival of the enemy. He came upon them on the evening of the 9th September, encamped in front of Mirta, a large walled town, 76 miles north-east of the city of Jodhpur. De Boigne's Mahratta colleague, Gopál Rao Bhao, was in favour of an immediate attack; but de Boigne justly objected that the men needed rest, being fatigued with five days of double marches, while the hour was too late to admit of a proper use being made of the victory which he confidently expected to gain. The men were therefore ordered to take their food and repose while the leaders examined the position of the enemy and prepared for an attack upon them on the morrow.

The forces of the Rajputs consisted of no less than thirty thousand sabres, with twenty battalions of regular infantry and some guns. The Mahrattas, on the other hand, had a force of cavalry equal perhaps in numbers but of very inferior quality; their advantage was in the superior character of de Boigne's foot and the preponderance of the artillery by which they were supported. The extensive lines of the enemy were only partially defended in the rear by the walls of the town.

Before daybreak next morning, the brigade advanced and surprised the tardy Rajputs at their ablutions. The first position was already carried, when a French officer named Roban had the imprudence to advance without supports at the head of no more than three battalions. A strong body of chosen horse on the side of the enemy at once took advantage of this mistake and fell furiously upon him, driving him back in disorder. An immense flood of Rajput horse then poured upon the audacious brigade, surrounding it on all



sides. Hastily forming hollow squares the battalions of de Boigne tranquilly awaited the storm. Baffled of their prey, the enemy's squadrons turned to the Mahratta cavalry, whom they routed and chased to a considerable distance from the field. But they had to return, and their return was bloody. De Boigne had availed himself of their absence to adopt a more leisurely formation. The way by which the victorious cavalry came back was lined with slaughter. On each side stood the battalions, each a square of unceasing fire. In the intervals were placed the field pieces, vomiting grape and canister at point blank distance. It is recorded that every man of that brilliant force was slain as he rode by. This extraordinary feat occurred at nine in the morning; in another hour the camp and baggage of the enemy were taken, and by 3 P. M. the town had been assaulted and stormed.

The strength of the troops and the health of their general were alike tried by these labours, and a halt of some weeks was necessary. The offensive was however resumed on the 18th November, and the Rájá at once tendered his submission. This virtually completed the overthrow of the Hindus, as the campaign of Patan had that of the Musulmáns. Shortly after, Ismail Beg, having made an expiring effort at a place called Kanaund in association with a sister of the deceased Gholám Kádir, to whom that stronghold belonged, was captured by Col. Perron, one of de Boigne's officers. The brave but unlucky Mughal was conveyed to Agra, where he passed the short remnant of his days like a caged tiger; and Mahdaji Sindhia, who had fled for his life 30 years before from the field of Paniput, was at last the almost undisputed master of Hindustan.

Two enemies, indeed, had still to be disposed of; but their resistance was comparatively unalarming. One was Partáb Sinh, the Rájá of Jaipur, whom we have seen giving a half-hearted support to the Rajput confederacy; the other was a rival Mahratta, the afterwards celebrated Jeswant Rao Holkar, founder of the present State of Indore.

Partáb Sinh was a spirited chief, but his spirit had been neutralised by a jealousy of Bijai Sinh, his Jodhpur neighbour. After the failure of the latter, he found himself isolated, and, for the moment, consented to pay an annual tribute to the Empire represented by Sindhia, now formally invested with the powers of *Vakil-i-Mutlak*, as deputy of his nominal head the Peshwa. Holkar's resistance was more protracted. Availing himself of the services of a Breton officer, the Chevalier du Dernek, he imitated Sindhia in organising a force on the European system. With these troops he encountered de Boigne at Lakhairi near Ajmere, in the month of September 1792. The ground was well-chosen by du Dernek, whose rear was, to some extent at

least, covered by a dense forest of trees, his front being protected by extensive marshes. The regulars were supported by a strong artillery, and guarded by 30,000 Malhatta horse. Having reconnoitred the position from a rising ground, de Boigne advanced to the attack under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns. Gradually de Boigne's guns, which the badness of the ways had impeded, came to the front and replied, when, by mischance, an open tumbril of theirs was blown up by a round-shot from the enemy, and ten more, catching fire, burst with an awful explosion. Confusion spread among the ranks, and the enemy, perceiving it, advanced with all his horse. De Boigne instantly retired into the cover of some trees, with his whole line. Here Holkar's cavalry made an ineffectual charge which was rolled back by the fire of 9,000 muskets. De Boigne instantly launched his small body of chosen horsemen upon the fugitives who were chased from the field. It was now his turn to advance once more. Re-forming his infantry and guns under the shelter of the trees, he fell upon the enemy's left, where the regulars still maintained themselves. Du Dernek's raw levies fought obstinately, and were almost entirely annihilated. The enemy's cavalry failed to operate with decision—Ismail Beg and his Mughal cavaliers might have retrieved the day—and the battle, just before so nearly won, was lost without retrieval. Holkar lost his camp, his baggage, and 38 pieces of cannon; and the shattered remains of the army precipitately crossed the Chambal and fled towards the undefended country of Malwa, where, in impotent fury, they sacked the city of Ujain. But the victors were not to rest.

Partáb Sinh had broken out again. Miscalculating the strength of Holkar, he refused payment of the stipulated tribute. De Boigne marched at once upon the capital, but the news of Lakhairi so terrified the Rája that he hastened to offer his submission. To make the chastisement effectual, de Boigne insisted upon the instant payment of the arrear of tribute, accompanied by a fine of seventy lakhs of rupees; and the Rája, unable to oppose him, consented to the terms and appointed a rendezvous for the ratification of the agreement. On the morning fixed for the meeting, Partáb appeared upon a caparisoned elephant, followed by the customary cortège. On his side, the general approached, similarly mounted, and attended by his staff. The Rája received him with due respect. They embraced each other, and then proceeded, side by side, to enter Jaipur amid a tumultuous and astonished population that lined both sides of the approach.

These negotiations ended, the general prepared to return with his victorious veterans to a well-earned repose in the

Doáb; but a further adventure awaited him on the road. Having to pass through the territory of Macheri, the general was invited by the Rájá to visit him at his lately-acquired capital of Alwar. Here he was received with every mark of consideration; but the friendly sentiments of the Rájá appear to have been by no means shared by the Court in general. Seated in Darbar, on the right hand of the Rájá, he observed that a follower of the latter was leaning over the back of his master's chair and addressing him in Persian, a language which de Boigne did not well understand. The Rájá made a gesture of disapproval, the general's vakil turned pale; but the conversation proceeded without interruption till the termination of the interview. On his way home, the general asked his vakil what had passed, to which the latter replied that the Persian sentence was a proposal to the Rájá for the assassination of the distinguished visitor! The general, to his infinite credit, forebore to complain; and in due course took leave of the Alwar Rájá and proceeded on the march to his head-quarters at Aligarh.

This was the end of de Boigne's military labours, which it must be admitted had been arduous. During the past two years he had done, indeed, all that a leader could do, having succeeded in every thing that he had taken in hand. He had won three pitched battles, and stormed two of the strongest places in India, slain captured or routed about one hundred and fifty thousand hostile troops, taken an enormous quantity of booty, and rendered his employer master of half a continent. And all this he had done with men of the same origin and habits as his opponents, only differing in respect of the instruction that he had been able to give them with the aid of a few Europeans of doubtful position, whom he had trained them to obey. We are next to see him in civil life, where we shall observe an equal industry, ability, and success.

Indian administration has now become an almost mechanical trade. Its technicalities are taught, its routine is regular; the chief does a little, his various subordinates do a little, and a great deal does itself. Far other was the state of things in the days with which we are now concerned. The Mughal system had long lapsed into inefficiency, and it was now nearly broken up altogether. The field was overgrown and turned to forest; the towns were wasted with war; the peasantry, few and injured to violence, withheld payment of the public dues, and eked out their scanty livelihood by plundering such caravans as they could meet with; as in the day when there was no king in Israel, "the high ways were unoccupied and the travellers went through byeways."\*

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\* See *Statistics of Aligarh* by Sherer and Hutchinson.

It was in the heart of this ruined country that de Boigne had established his head-quarters. Aligarh, the name now given to a British district, was then the appellation of a fort hard by the town of Coel, about half-way between Delhi and Agra. The neighbourhood lies low, and was then protected from attack during the rainy season by extensive marshes. Here the general established himself, in a house that still exists, midway between fort and city, and from hence he swayed the wide territory that had been assigned to him for the maintenance of his troops, by this time augmented to thirty thousand men of all arms and divided into three brigades. His civil charge extended over thirty-two *parganas* (fiscal unions), estimated to yield about two hundred thousand pounds a year. On the collections he was allowed a commission of two per cent., besides a fixed salary of Rs. 12,000 per mensem. Gopal Rao, the Mahratta minister, was removed from office, and the Savoyard soldier of fortune, with these magnificent resources, became supreme ruler in Northern India.

Among the European officers serving under the general at this period may be mentioned Colonel Perron, afterwards his successor in the chief command, MM. Bourquieu, Dugeon (brother of a general officer in the French Army), Trimont, formerly commandant of the garrison of Chandernagore, and du Dernek, who had left Holkar's service and joined that of Sindhia. The gun-foundry was under the control of a Scotchman named Sangster, whom de Boigne had first known in the employ of the Rana of Gohad. In civil matters there were two departments—the Persian office where the details were recorded, and the French office presided over by the general himself. The public dues were fixed by a settlement of the landed estates, and the collections were made with punctuality, though not without the sanction of military force. Monthly statements were submitted to Sindhia's Darbar. The manner in which the general carried out this system is thus described by one of his followers :—

"I have seen him daily and monthly rise with the sun, survey his (manufactories), review his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, (provide for their equipment and supplies), harangue in the durbar, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of (the districts), listen to . . . letters from various parts . . . dictate replies, carry on an intricate system of (diplomatic operations), superintend a (large) private trade, keep accounts and private correspondence, direct and move forward a most complex political machine."\* The same writer, some of whose phrases—as indicated by brackets—have been curtailed or explained in the above extract

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\* Letter of *Longinus* (Maj. L. F. Smith) in the *Calcutta Telegraph*.

adds that the general employed no European assistant in civil affairs. In the army, the three brigades were commanded by Perron, Pedron, and Sutherland.

And, finally, to all these indications of a wise and intelligent minister, must be added, that de Boigne most scrupulously enforced upon his employer the strictest observance of the treaty of Sálbai, and cautioned Sindhia in the strongest manner against any steps that might give umbrage to the British rulers of Bengal.

But these piping times were subject to the inevitable uncertainties of mortality. On the 12th February 1794, Mahdaji—already planning fresh conquests—died suddenly at Wanoli in the Deccan; and the horizon quickly became overcast once more, while the prospect of honorable warfare, such as the deceased had been meditating against the Sikhs, was closed by the incapable, though intriguing, administration of his successor. Occupied with local politics at Poonah, he had to leave things more than ever in the hands of de Boigne, upon whom consequently devolved the character of arbiter of the destinies of the Empire. It was as such that he was regarded by the few remaining representatives of the Mughal nobility; and the Emperor—whose servant, nominally at least, he was—opened negotiations with him about this time. The object proposed was the shaking off all dependence upon the house of Sindhia, and de Boigne was to be made Captain-General and Premier, on condition of his carrying out that programme and establishing the independence of the Imperial throne in Mughal interests. At the same time, Zaman Shah, the ruler of Cabul, who claimed the succession in right of his mother, also sent the general a mission charged with similar overtures. But de Boigne, to the sagacity of a far-seeing statesman, united the honour of a faithful employè. It was not for him to judge as to the legitimate heir of the house of Timur. Sindhia had commissioned him, and Sindhia was in possession. For de Boigne these considerations sufficed; and he never hesitated a moment before rejecting all offers hostile to his employer's interests. Even technically it may be doubted whether de Boigne was wrong; for Sháh Alam was not, and never could be, independent. Blind, old, weak, he had no means of exercising personal sovereignty equal to what he had once wasted and thrown away. The state of things that existed not only appeared to be, but probably in fact was, the sole possible, unless European intervention were to be admitted—which nobody then proposed. De Boigne about the same time (1793-4) received a fresh patent of appointment from the new Sindhia, Daulat Rao; and Perron's brigade was detached to the Deccan to take part in the general assembly of the Mahratta States, when for the last time they met under the orders of the Peshwa. An expedition under-



taken against the Nizam by the combined forces met with instant success ; and the Nizam was glad to buy safety by an expenditure of nearly three crores of Rupees and the surrender of a large territory.

But the end of de Boigne's Indian career was now at hand. His labours had been enormous, as may be partly gathered by those who have followed us so far. He was now approaching his forty-fifth year, a time when strong men often take a fresh lease of life, but only under changed conditions. For the Landlord will not now permit the carelessness and the wear-and-tear of the former period ; and, even though they may not expect to die, men must perforce begin to set their houses in order. Daulat Rao was very unwilling to part with his great employé. Unable, as it seemed, to quit the scene of Mahratta intrigue in the Deccan, it was all the more important for the new Sindhia to be strongly represented in Hindustan.\* In Upper India there were foes almost as obdurate as Holkar and interests no less important than those which moved the Court and Camp of Poonah. Aware of the necessity to his master of an experienced hand and eye in this situation, de Boigne had already lingered at Aligarh as long as his duty to himself allowed. But, towards the end of 1795, it became evident that, without a change of scene, his life would not be prolonged ; if he was ever to leave India, he must leave India at once. Sindhia at length consented ; but he declined to accept the resignation of his general, and only allowed the solicited furlough upon an implied, if not expressed, promise of return should recovery of health permit. The general did not, in fact, return ; but, so late as 1799, we find Sindhia still writing to implore that he would do so. An extract from this curious communication will be found further on.

In February 1796, de Boigne left for Calcutta at the head of his body-guard. This was a corps of six hundred chosen cavaliers of Persian nationality, superbly armed, equipped and mounted, attended by one hundred camel-riders and four light field-pieces. Of this fine body de Boigne was proprietary commandant ; and, before leaving, he offered to transfer the men with their arms, animals, &c., to the service of Sindhia. But the negotiation failed because the wary Mahratta would not agree to pay the stipulated consideration except on a promised return to India. A halt was made at Lucknow, where the Nawáb manifested a desire to obtain possession of the corps, but the price demanded was too high. The property was

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\* English readers should remember that "Hindustan" is not really the name of the whole Continent, but

only of the provinces between the Narbada and the Satlaj rivers.

ultimately acquired, for the East India Company, by the Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis, who paid de Boigne the sum of three-and-a-half lakhs of Rupis (about thirty-five thousand pounds sterling), and gave liberal terms of engagement to the men. In September, the general, having concluded all his Indian business, finally left the port of Calcutta in the Danish ship *Cromberg*, commanded by Capt. Tennant.

De Boigne was now (as has been estimated) about five-and-forty ; and few men of that age have made a better thing of life. From the time when he carried water in Homer's rocky isle, amid baffling disappointments and repeated retreats ; captive among the Turks, the Bedouins, the Rajpoots ; fencing-master, ensign, and indigo-planter ; drill-instructor, general, and civil governor ; he had always, it seems, been hopeful, calm, and sagacious. And now the reward was come ; the goal that lures so many of us with false expectations was really reached. More than four hundred thousand pounds were at his credit, thirty-four years, nearly half of man's average life-time, remained to be enjoyed.

Arrived in London in January 1797, the General appears to have made that capital his social centre for some years. Here he met and married his wife—who only died a few years ago—the daughter of an émigré noble, the Marquis d'Osmond, peer of France. Settling eventually in his native land, he purchased an estate, near Chambéry, and opened his house to his friends with a never-failing hospitality. Whether he was "happy," indeed, it would not be safe or easy to pronounce absolutely. It is a popular truism (which is, however, not wholly true) that happiness is always on the horizon ; that, as Pope puts it—

Man never is, but always to be, blest.

But this is only to say that anticipation is one thing, fruition another ; and that the laws of being are so indulgent that we are in this manner enabled to derive two distinct pleasures from one and the same source. Certainly M. de Boigne never showed discontent, nor was there at any moment any sign of his desire to fulfil his promise to Sindhia, or return to the scenes of his early labours. In a previous paragraph mention was made of a letter addressed to him on the subject by the Mahratta chief in 1799. From this document it appears that the thrifty general had written to his former master about the affairs that he had left in India, soliciting his aid and protection for the agents employed in the administration of his estates, and amusing the chief with vague and general allusions to a probable return. Sindhia replies by according all the favours asked, and thus proceeds ;—

"Since it has pleased the Almighty and Universal Physician to restore to you the blessings of health, and knowing our jealous

impatience to see you once more, it is your bounden duty no more to prolong your stay in Europe, but to appear before the presence with all possible despatch.

" \* \* As we regard you as the ancient pillar of our State and the sole force of our arm, we consider your despatch in this matter, as a matter, in the present conjuncture, of the highest consequence. For without your wisdom the execution of the greatest projects is entirely suspended. Seeing this, delay not to embark, and to present yourself before us by the Bombay route."

The letter concludes with praises of the three brigadiers already named (Perron, Pedron, and Sutherland) and with renewed promises of aid and favour in the management of the estates.

It is to be feared that the barbarian chief was more generous than the Italian gentleman in this case. A scrupulous conscience would have shrunk from renewing, after the lapse of years, promises which even when first made were wanting in sincerity; and especially from making these falsehoods the ground for asking further favours. If de Boigne could not carry on his Indian affairs without a protection that had to be bought with such a price, he should have wound them up and sold his estates to Martine or others. But the profession of a soldier of fortune is not probably favourable to such scruples; and the love of money was the one conspicuous blemish of de Boigne's character, the product of years of anxiety and suffering.

In the early part of the present century, we find the general frequenting Paris, where Lord Wellesley hears of him as much consulted by Napoleon, a ruler whose system he nevertheless afterwards characterised as "an usurpation abounding in injustices and iniquities." At the Restoration, he was honoured by Louis XVIII, who made him *Maréchal du Camp*, and bestowed on him the Grand Crosses of the Legion of Honour and St. Louis.

While noting the general's excessive passion for amassing wealth, we should not forget that no man ever made a nobler use of wealth when he had gained it. He was now a husband and a father, created a count by his sovereign, and bent upon forming a landed estate and founding a family. Yet, in spite of these usually somewhat demoralising projects, he evidently considered first the duties of a prosperous citizen to his mother-country. On the 1st March 1822, he attended a meeting of the *Chambréy* municipality, which he addressed in the following terms.

"If divine providence has deigned to crown with success the military career that I had embraced and which I long followed, it has at the same time loaded me with the gifts of fortune beyond my feeble talents, my attempts, I may even



say, my desires. Inheriting nothing from my fathers, owing all to God, I see my duty of recognition in seeking to assuage the sufferings of humanity. \* \* \* Accordingly, I do not hesitate any longer to put in execution my long-formed projects for the foundation of establishments for the relief of the unfortunate and for the advantage of our fellow-townsmen. Trusting to your well-known public spirit, gentlemen, I flatter myself that we may succeed in introducing many beneficial changes in the town whereby it may become healthier, more agreeable to all, and at the same time more advantageous to those who, borne down by infirmities, too often perish, after enduring long trouble, for want of timely aid."

The council voted a suitable address to "General Count de Boigne" and gratefully accepted the offered liberality of which the details will be presently described. Nor was the national government backward in making due acknowledgements. By order of the king, M. de Boigne's bust was executed in marble for the public library, and he was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom and decorated with the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus.

Admiration falters and philosophy suspends her teachings before such a career. Vigorous in mind and body, victorious in war and prosperous in peace, grateful to the God in whom he trusted, honoured by his earthly sovereign, adored by his countrymen, de Boigne lived to see the fruit of his labours and a worthy heir growing up to carry them on. Thus no circumstance of success was wanting to show that it was possible, at least, for human wishes not to be vain. With the *mens sana in corpore sano* he joined all those other advantages for which the Roman satirist bids men not to pray. Or rather, as it might be more truly said, he gave proof that, with the *mens sana in corpore sano*, all the others might be attainable. To be prosperous, however, beyond ordinary hopes, was not enough for him. He lived to be informed by his wondering fellow-citizens that, already in his life-time, he had "foreseen all sorrows to offer to each a cure. The unhappy find in you support at every instant of their life. Age reposes on the side of the sepulchre, and youth gains new wings to content its ardour with; deriving from a strong, pious, and skilful education the conservative principles of human society, while your example inspires the fire of the noblest enterprises." (*Address of the Town Council of Chambéry.*)

In the midst of these good works, old age and decay stole imperceptibly upon the good old soldier. Tod, who visited him in 1829, thought him still vigorous. But a life of labour in wild climates must tell at last; and so, on Friday, the 25th June 1830, the *Journal de Savoie* recorded his death on the previous Monday,

and the consequent closing for two days of every shop and place-of-business in the city. The bells tolled without ceasing from every steeple, while the body lay in state in the cathedral, which was also the parish-church of the deceased, watched by the "company of noble knights," a Chambéry Rifle-corps. The funeral was followed by the royal staff, the town guard, the royal academic society, the royal chamber of commerce and agriculture, the managers of the hospitals, the magistrates, the heads of wards and other notables, fifty of the departed general's farmers, and a crowd of workmen. To these must be added the long line of troops, with bands playing funeral marches, the clergy, and the poor. All but the military were in black, and every man carried a lighted flambeau.

A few days later, the Academy offered a prize for the best account of the general's life, and appointed his son, Comte Charles de Boigne, an honorary member of their body, receiving him with all possible pomp and ceremony. And the municipality raised two public fountains in his honour, thus giving him, even when dead, the means of well-doing that he had cherished while living.

The following is a list of the chief benefactions made by M. de Boigne to his native city. Extension of the Hotel-Dieu by additional wards for sick paupers. An almshouse for forty old persons of either sex. Endowment of a mendicity-depôt for one hundred paupers. An asylum for pauper lunatics. Supplementry hospital for persons excluded from ordinary infirmaries by the peculiarly contagious character of their ailments. An infirmary for sick travellers, of whatever race and creed. An exhibition for the placing in life of four girls and four boys. A Capuchin Church. A foundation in the Royal College. Annuities to the Academic Society, the Rifle-Corps, and the fire-brigade. Sixty thousand francs for the repairs of the theatre. A new street and colonnade through the whole breadth of the town. The widening of two old streets and extending and beautifying the public Library and Hôtel de-Ville.

Such were the good deeds of this Italian, at a time when our English "Nabobs" were, for the most part, squandering their gains in every sort of public and private corruption.

M. de Boigne was in person tall and handsome. The portrait prefixed to the Memoir shows a fine head and projecting brow. The eyes and nose are large and prominent, the shaven lips firm, though not too thin, the chin and lower jaw boldly squared. According to his comrade Major Smith, he was a fair Latin scholar, and able to read and write several modern languages—including English—with fluent ease. He kept up his culture by constant attention to current literature; and his conversation was witty and graceful. The testimony of Col. Francklin, an

intelligent British officer and writer of those days,\* is not less eulogistic.

Such was the career of de Boigne, a man, if ever one there was, to whom we may apply the vigorous lines written by Dryden, in his youth, upon Oliver Cromwell :—

His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest,  
His name, a great example, lives to show  
How strangely great ambitions may be blest  
When piety and courage jointly go.

H. G. KEENE.

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\* *Shah Alam*, pp. 191 and following.

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ART. III.—THE HOUSE OF 'OTHMÁN.  
PART.—I.

*The Fíroz Náma-i Turk.* By Sádik ul Husaini Sharíf. Compiled under the patronage of Mirza Fíróz Husain Sahib, Agent to H. H. the Dowager Nawáb Begum of the Carnatic, and published for the benefit of the Turkish Relief Fund.

THE book now before us, called the “Fíroz Náma-i Turk,” or “Book of Turkish Victories,” owes its origin to the interest which our Musalmán fellow-subjects take in the unhappy war now raging between the Turks and the Russians. The work, as we are informed in the preface, has been published by Mirzá Fíróz Husain Sahib of Delhi, the Agent of Her Highness the Dowager Nawáb Begum of the Carnatic, relict of the last Nawab of the Carnatic who died in 1855. Mirzá Fíróz Husain’s object in publishing the book has been a two-fold one: to supply for the use of his co-religionists a trustworthy history of the Ottoman Empire, a State in whose well-being they take such a deep interest, yet of whose past history they are entirely ignorant; and at the same time to aid the Fund for the Relief of the Turkish sick and wounded, and widows and orphans left destitute by the war. The profits arising from the sale of the work are to be made over to the Fund.

The compiler of the “Book of Turkish Victories” (the Urdu title, Fíróz Náma, contains an allusion to the name of the patron under whose auspices it has been issued), who informs us in the preface that his name is Sharíf, has been employed by Mirzá Fíróz Husain to compile the work from extracts made and translated from various English histories of the Ottomans. The book is well got up and handsomely bound, and the type is clear and good. Its chief attraction and embellishment consists in thirty-three portraits of the Sultans of the House of 'Othmán, from their ancestor of that name, the founder of the nation, down to 'Abdul Hamíd the Second, who may possibly be destined to end a line which has long survived the epoch of its prosperity and glory. These portraits are said to be taken from originals in the picture gallery of the Sultans at Constantinople, a gallery of the existence of which we imagine few people to be aware.

The pictures are engraved and coloured in a style far superior to most of the illustrations which appear in vernacular works published in this country. They appear to have been taken from photographs and to have been coloured by hand. The colouring seems to have been done in India. Had a Turk coloured them, he would hardly have made the mistake of giving Sultan 'Abdul

Majíd a black fez cap, nor should we see the two last Sultans, Murád the Fifth and 'Abdul Hamíd the Second, in scarlet uniform coats.

For the Indian Musalmán, who believes that the Sultans of the house of Othman represent at once the rightful successors of the long line of Roman Cæsars and the lawful inheritors of the dignities and rights of the Abbasside Khalifs, this series of portraits must possess an absorbing interest. Here we have them all; warriors and voluptuaries; devotees and debauchees; tyrants and fratricides, fallen victims to the ambition or revenge of the relatives whom they had weakly spared, or the ferocity of the soldiery whom they fondly pampered; Salím the cruel and Salím the drunken; Sulimán the lawgiver and Sulimán the saint; Muhammad the conqueror, Ahmad the learned, Murád the terrible, Mahmúd the reformer; men who promoted the growth, accelerated the ruin, or vainly endeavoured to arrest the decay, of the Ottoman Empire.

These pictures, for the most part, represent the Sultans sitting upon a square of carpet, with their legs tucked under them in orthodox Turkish fashion, looking like those absurd toys which one sees in English toyshops—a rolling ball for a body, with a head and arms attached to the upper part of it.

The faces of the earlier Sultans betray the Tartar origin of their race; and countenance the assertion that the good looks of the Turks of the present day are due to their intercourse with the Circassians and Georgians, and with the captive women of Greece and the Eastern European nations, an admixture of blood which has overcome “the native ugliness of their Tartar ancestry.” The last three or four Sultans might be taken for Spaniards or Italians.

On the whole, the type of face in this book partakes more of the animal than of the intellectual. The Turkish legends say that Othman, the founder of the house, could like Ardishír Daráz Dast, (Artaxerxes Longimanus) touch his knees with his hands when he stood upright; but this peculiarity does not appear in the picture of him here given.

His son Orkhán and several of his successors wear a high sugar-loaf cap with a turban twisted round its base; probably the regimental cap of the corps of Janissaries of which Orkhán was the founder.

The headdress of Muhammad the Second, the conqueror of Constantinople, resembles the Affghan turban worn by many of our Native troops. His grandson, Sultan Selim the Ferocious, the conqueror of Syria and Egypt, is the first who wears an Imperial turban—a lofty cylindrical headdress with pinnacles at the top adorned with tassels and aigrettes. Whether the assumption of



this tiara was due to the conquest of the Imperial throne of the Cæsars, or to the claim of Selim to succeed to the Khalifat of Islam on gaining possession of the holy cities, we do not know. This picture is one of the most striking in the book. The cruel expression of the handsome features of Selim is not concealed by a beard, as in the case of all the other Sultans, for he was the only one of his family who, in defiance of the customs and traditions of his subjects, used the razor. A small moustache is the only manly adornment of his face.

He is dressed in a rich robe lined with ermine; he holds one arm akimbo, while the other supports upon his shoulder the mace, which was his constant companion. Furred and ermined robes frequently appear in these pictures: a pelisse braided in the Hussar fashion is another favourite costume. Selim's son, Suliman the Magnificent, whom the Turks called *sáhib-girán*, or lord of the age, does not, by his appearance, bear out this splendid appellation. He is represented as an aged man with a long white beard, a circumstance which makes us suspect that these portraits were not taken from life, but were painted in later times, when the painter knew that Suliman had died a very old man at the siege of Sigeth.

Murád the Fourth, by his debonair look, belies his reputation as "the most bloody of the Ottoman Sultans." Muhammad the Fourth, the unlucky prince in whose reign the Turkish boundaries began to recede, wears a flat-topped cap with a turban twisted round it, and the succeeding Sultans wear the same. The Imperial turban only re-appears once upon the head of Ahmad the Third. Sultan Mustafa the Third, the last Sultan who ever led an army in the field, and unluckily for himself encountered Prince Eugene, is the only one who is represented in a chair. He is sitting in an ivory arm chair, his legs hanging down in the European fashion. After him, all the Sultans are represented standing, and the portraits are half length; the fashion of the headdress changes again to a huge globular turban, with a tall upright plume standing up in front, like the hackle feather of an old fashioned shako. There is a curious ornament on the breast of the cloaks, looking like the representations of the breastplate of precious stones worn by the Jewish High Priests. Sultan Mustafa the Fourth wears a cap which looks more like the broad-topped shako introduced, about the time of his accession, into the German armies than any thing else; the stiff upright plume is stuck in front of it, and a turban is wrapped round its base. Mahmúd the Second, the Janissary slayer, is the last Sultan who appears in the old Turkish dress; he is represented in the act of drawing his sword. Sultan Abdul Majíd is dressed in a cloak and a fez cap; and the last three Sultans are in European uniforms.



We wish that we could bestow as much praise on the literary, as on the pictorial, execution of the book. For a work like this there was abundant room. The Musalmáns of India take, for the most part, a keen interest in foreign politics, in the study of history which enables them to comprehend them, and, to some extent also, in the kindred science of geography. In this respect they form a marked contrast to the Hindus, whose tastes lie entirely in the direction of what are called the exact sciences. Nor can we wonder at the Hindu's indifference to history: his history has been made for him by others. Indian history is the history of Pathan and Mughal dynasties, of Portuguese and Dutch adventurers, of Persian and Afghán invaders, of French and English intruders. And India is all the world to him. For the nations who dwell outside India he cares absolutely nothing. Between him and them there is such a great gulf fixed that he takes no interest in hearing of them or of their doings; no more than Mr. Lowe feels in reading about the wars and alliances of the old Grecian Republics. To the Musalmán, Islam is the world. The limits of Islam have been hitherto the limits of such historical and geographical knowledge as he may have acquired, but his contact with the English, and his studies of the Vernacular Press have introduced him to a new and larger world. He learns with astonishment that there are mighty nations, such as the Prussians and Austrians, whose monarchs can put lakhs of soldiers into the field, and who rival in wealth and power the Queen of England, or the Emperor of Russia. Yet he never heard of them before. His curiosity is excited and he seeks with avidity for fuller information about the, to him hitherto unknown, world of which he has only just obtained a partial glimpse.

This curiosity is no doubt due to the stimulus of foreign information and education. For it is only the isolation of Islam that is to blame for Musalmán ignorance. As Islam was all the world to the Musalmán, or at least all the world that was worth taking into consideration, the doings of the infidels who dragged on a wretched existence on the remote confines of the habitable globe were hardly worthy of much notice. A European who takes up a Musalmán historical work of the time of the Crusades, is astonished to find that the Crusades, which fill so large a portion of European history, are scarcely noticed in it. The rivalry of Amír Kámil and Amír Khair ud Dín for the throne of Syria is narrated in detail, with just a casual allusion to the fact that they were occasionally engaged in enterprises against the "Fera'ina-i Farang," or "European Pharaohs." In the whole field of Persian literature, the allusions to European nations could be reckoned on one's fingers; and Persian is the language through which the Musalmáns of India derive their information. All their historical works are

in Persian or Arabic, and the latter language is little studied or known in this country.

As Islam is all the world to a Musalmán, so the Koran may be said to be his whole library. The only ideas he has of the history of the races who dwelt in this planet during the four or five thousand years which are computed to have elapsed before the mission of Muhammad, are drawn from the mythical histories of Joseph and David and Suliman, and Alexander, in his revealed book. As there is no attempt at chronology in the Koran, he makes no attempt at it either, and never knows whether Joseph or Moses came first, whether Hazrat Isá (the Lord Jesus) lived before Nebuchadnezzar, or after him, and whether Alexander the Great and Nimrod and Pharoah were contemporaries, or not. His only authentic history begins with the life of his prophet. At that time, the Roman Empire was the paramount power in the world. The seat of government was at Constantinople. Asia Minor and Syria, the countries best known to the Arabs, were Roman provinces. To these countries, then, the Arabs gave the name of Rúm (Rome), and their inhabitants they called Rumiya (Romans), and to this day with all Islam the Turkish empire is Rúm, and the Ottoman Turks are Rumiya. It is only in India, where the Musalmans derive much of their information from English sources, that the word Turkish is applied to their government and their nation. As time went on, the Seljúkian Turks effected a lodging in the east of Asia Minor. The kingdom which they founded there was called Musalmán Rúm; and its locality is still marked by the name of the city of Arz ar Rúm, or "the land of Rome." The Christian Kaisars still held their court at the imperial city of Constantinople, while the Seljúkian Sultans carried on a perpetual holy war against their eastern frontier lands. The history of these Sultans of Rúm is well known to the Persians, and one of them, Kizil Arslán (the Red Lion), familiar to readers of Tasso under the name of Soliman, is a favourite hero of Eastern story. To them succeeded the Ottomans, who soon extended their sway over all the territories of the decaying Byzantine empire and fixed their capital in the city of Constantine. Rúm, from a Christian empire, became a Musalmán one, but it was still the same Roman empire, and the Sultans of the Ottomans were become, by right of conquest, the heirs to the throne and title of the Kaisars. We thus see that Rúm, to a Musalmán, means a country and an empire. Of the city of Rome and of the Republic of Rome he has never dreamed.

It would be a sad shock to his monarchical ideas to hear that the great empire of Rúm was ever a republic. Shah Filikús (King Philip) and his son Iskandar (Alexander) the Great were, as all know, kings of Rúm. Greece, known to

Musalmáns as Yunán Zamín (Ionian land), never had any separate political existence for them, but is only known to them as one of the Roman provinces. Only of late have the Indian Mahomedans learned, from English sources, that there is another Rome, and the *Eternal city* they now call Rúm-i-atíq or Rúm-i-qadím—old Rome. In a Persian work called the *Jéma'ut Tawáríkh*, or 'Compendium of History,' published in India a few years ago, old Rome is described as a country lying to the west of the Ottoman empire, the capital of which is the city "Italián"!

Next to the Koran, the great historical authorities among Persian-speaking nations, are the epic poems of Firdusi and Nizámi, which relate the ancient histories of Persia and the fabled exploits of Alexander the Great. None of these poems are of an earlier date than the tenth century of our era, and in them it is impossible to distinguish how much is tradition and how much pure fiction. No doubt, a great deal of the so-called historical matter is due to the invention of the poet. The fabrication of history is not uncommon among Oriental writers, to supply the deficiencies caused by their own ignorance; and these literary frauds are perpetrated with the calm conviction that the universal ignorance on the subject will prevent their discovery. Of such a nature is the history of the Ashkanian dynasties, invented to fill up the gap occurring in Persian history, between the death of Alexander the Great and the resurrection of Persia under the Sassanian kings. Another is the Turkish history of king Púzantín."

The Turkish writers have invented a fabulous history for pre-Islamitish times for the country of their adoption, in which a few grains of truth, derived from tradition or hearsay, probably from conversation with the conquered Greeks, are mixed up with bushels of falsehood. The Turks knew that the ancient name of Constantinople was Byzantium, which, after their fashion of mutilating Greek names, became in their tongue "Púzanta." Now, they knew that the name Kustuntuniya (Constantinople) was derived from its monarch Kustuntín. Púzanta must needs have had a royal founder too, and his name must have been Púzantín. Hence we have the history of king Púzantín, son of Zánkó ibn Mádiyan the Amalekite, who reigned at Constantinople 400 years before Alexander the Great. Solomon, the son of David, was, according to these veracious chroniclers, the first to build a city on that site, and Bakhtun Nasr (Nebuchadnezzar) also reigned there. But we have not space to follow them further through their amusing vagaries.

Nizámi's poem of the Sikandar, or Iskandar, Nama is remarkable for its mention of the Russians, for it is this well-

known poem that has made the Russian name so famous in the East, more than all the arts or arms of the successors of Peter the Great.

In the tenth century, the pagans of Russia became formidable to the nations of the south. They warred against the Bulgarians and against the Greek empire, and a fleet and army of Russians descended the Volga and harried the northern shores of Persia along the Caspian, and carried off immense booty and thousands of Musalmán captives. At that time, along the western shores of the Caspian, dwelt the Avars or Khazars, whose name, though their nation was swept into oblivion by the desolating hordes of Jengiz Khán and his successors, still survives in the appellation *Bahr ul Khazarán* or "Sea of the Khazars," given by the Persians to the Caspian Sea. The Khan of this nation was still a heathen, but a great number of his subjects had been converted to Islam. These attacked the Russian pirates on their return up the Volga and rescued the captives and the booty. This incursion has been placed by Nizámi in the time of Alexander the Great, who pursues the Russian invaders into their own country and subdues them after seven severe battles. The whole story is a fiction, yet it has given the Musalmán world an idea of the might and valour of the nation which could fight seven pitched battles with Alexander the Great, which the events of the present time are not likely to contradict. It is not our purpose here to examine further into the wonderful Sikandar myth, suffice to say that Alexander is described as a prophet, a servant of the true God, and an incarnation of every human virtue, and that the Muhammedan writers, rather than confess that they are in the wrong as to the character of their hero, have discovered that there were two Alexanders the Great, who conquered the world at different times—Iskandar ar Róm and Iskandar Dhúl Karnain, or "the two-horned," the last of whom is the one alluded to in the Korán.

These books of romance and the Korán are the only warrant which the Musalmán world has for pre-Islamite history. For the internal history of all the Islamitish nations, he has ample warrant, for copious histories, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, are extant and current, which bring the history of the Muhammedan world down to a recent date. However, they are accessible to the Indian Musalmáns only through the Persian language; and it happens that Persian histories of the Ottoman Turks are either not extant or are at least not current in India. It is most probable, considering the antipathy which has always existed between the two nations, and the decaying state of Persian literature for some time past, that such histories do not exist.

In the present day several efforts have been made to revive the study of history in the Persian and Urdú languages, and to make



the students of the East sharers in the benefits which a true knowledge and a right understanding of the principles of history has conferred on their brethren of the West. The most notable attempt in this direction is the present compilation of the *Násikh ut Tawárikh*, or "Abrogator of (previous) Histories," now being carried on at Tehrán under the auspices of His Majesty the Shah of Persia. The book is a universal history from the creation of the world, and is intended to be brought down to the present time. For this purpose translations have been made of the most approved histories in European languages, and these are collated with Oriental works when such exist. The style is clear and elegant, and the wilful obscurities and intricacies of style, which Persian authors are wont to indulge in, to display their own skill and learning, to the bewilderment and detriment of their readers, are carefully avoided. The book, when completed, will be unique in Oriental literature, and will be a worthy monument of its royal patron. At present, the fourth volume only has been concluded, bringing the history down to the death of Othman, the fourth khalif. But the last volume of the work, treating of the reign of the present Shah has also been published, the impatience of royalty not choosing to wait until it appeared in due course. It is, indeed, to be feared that the whole work may never see the light; the death of the Shah might at any time interrupt it, and the compiler, whom it would not be easy to replace, must now be a very old man. Unfortunately, the bitter sectarian spirit of the Shiah has not been able, in the history of the first four khalifs, to refrain from flinging unworthy imputations against those truly great men to whom so much of the past greatness of Islam is due. Another modern Persian history, which we cannot refrain from noticing here, though its contents are foreign to our subject, is the *Tárikh-i Malkam*,\* a translation of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia. This work, we are proud to say, was published under the auspices of the British Government at the instance, we believe, of Sir Frederic Goldsmith. Its translator is Mirzá Hairat, the professor of Arabic and Persian at the Elphinstone College in Bombay, probably the best scholar in those languages now living; and the translation is worthy of him and of the distinguished author who has produced the best history of Persia in the English language. The work is especially valuable to students of the Persian language, as, being written in the style now current in that country, instead of the turgid and bombastic platitudes in vogue with our Indo-Persian authors.

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\* *Tárikh-i Malkam*. A Persian translation of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, by Mirza Hairat. Published by Mirza Muhammad Ali Kashku Shirazi, Bookseller in Bombay.

The author of the *Jāma'at Tarwárikh*, or "Compendium of History," a Persian work published in India, devotes only one page of his book to an "Account of Rúm." After giving us some surprising, and to us hitherto unknown, facts in Roman history, he tells us that to the dynasty of the Christian Cæsars, succeeded the Seljukian Sultans, and to the Seljukians the Ottomans. And he gives a list of the Ottoman Sultans down to Muhammad the Fourth, after which he candidly admits that he knows no more, and he makes no attempt to give the history of any of them.

The *Taríkh-i Kaisar-i Rúm*, "History of the Cæsars of Rome," is another Persian work published in Bhopál some fifteen years ago. It is a short account of the Ottoman Empire, well written and truthful. The author has evidently drawn his materials from oriental sources of information, as the names of European places and nations are written in the Turkish fashion; as Namsa for Germany, Polonia for Poland, Maskúb (Moscow) for Russia. The book is a very brief one, less than two pages on the average being allotted to the reign of each Sultan. The history is brought down to the accession of Abdúl Azíz Khán.

We are not aware of the existence of any former work in the Urdú language on the history of the Ottoman Turks.

The *Akwam ul Musálik fi ma'rifat-i Ahwál ul Mumálik* of Sayyid Khair ud Dín, minister of the Regency of Tunis, translated into Urdú under the patronage of our Indian Mæcenæ, Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Sahib, Wazír of the Patiálá State, contains only a list of the names of the Sultans of the House of Othman with the dates of their accession, and a sketch of the reasons of Sultán Mahmúd for introducing the European system of administration known to the Turks and Western Muhammedan peoples by the generic name of Tawzímát. The writer of the *Firóz Náma-i Turk* had therefore, to use a metaphor common to both East and West, a clear field before him.

Gar sar-i-da'wa dári, biá; ín gúi o ín maidán.

His history is written on what we may call the European, in contradistinction to the Asiatic, plan; that is, the book is intended really to fulfil its avowed mission, and the history is not a mere peg on which to hang the elegant conceits, intricacies of style, and recondite allusions which beguile the leisure hours of men of letters in the East. But we do not think the author has done justice to his subject; though we imagine that lack of ability has more to do with his shortcomings than neglect of opportunity. In fact the book is just such a one as we should expect would be compiled by an Indian Munshi of superior cleverness and ordinary attainments, with ample materials, a slight knowledge of English, and a slighter acquaintance with the elements of history and



geography. The history consists of a somewhat monotonous record of the wars and campaigns undertaken by the Ottomans, stuffed full of unintelligible words and foreign names of which no explanation is attempted, varied by scraps of fine writing (*musaja*) and stanzas of the usual calibre, in the Birthday Ode style of poetry, from the author's pen.

Of the Sultans themselves, in whom the interest of the book centres, we are told very little. Indeed, the writer's treatment of them reminds us only of those ingenious children's picture-books where the identity of the hero is assured by representing his full face on the last page of the book only; the previous pages being all perforated where his head should be, to allow the single visage at the end of the book to appear. The dates of the accessions and deaths of the Sultans are given, and we are informed in melodious rhyming prose, like that of Lord Beaconsfield's *Alroy*, that this monarch was unequalled in the arts of peace, and unrivalled in the science of war; that he outshone Naushirvân in justice and surpassed Ilâtim in liberality. In short, every successive Sultan is plastered with the fulsome adulation which makes oriental sovereigns the most pitiable of mortals: even to the length of apostrophising the moon-like faces, rosy cheeks, and musky tresses of the warrior-kings of the House of Othman. The greatest and the meanest, the best and the worst, of the descendants of Othman are undistinguishable here, except for the inference which the reader may draw from the imperfect record of their actions.

Similarly, throughout the book, no mention is made of the polity of the Ottoman empire, of the nature of the Government, or of the changes which took place in it from time to time. Nothing is said of the organization of the army, on which the whole fabric of Ottoman power rested, and no clear idea is given of the periods of the growth, culmination, revival and decay of the empire. The struggles of the later Sultans with the Janissaries are related, but there is not a word to show any cause for them. One might believe that the soldiery deposed Sultan Selim out of pure wantonness, and that Sultan Mahmûd massacred his best troops out of sheer mischief. The author has also been evidently unable to discriminate between great occurrences and small ones. The battles of Zenta and of Belgrade are dismissed in a few lines, while the account of the siege of Buda occupies as many pages. One might be disposed to attribute this to partiality to the Turks, but for the result of the siege of Buda being unfortunate for their arms. In some places there is, certainly, at least a *suppressio veri* in favour of the heroes of the book. This is perhaps excusable on the score that a candid narration of the facts of the campaigns and battles of the

Turks, from the reign of Muhammad the Fourth, downwards, must have led to a change in the title of the work which would then have failed to indicate the name of the author's patron. For instance, in quoting the despatch of Sultan Mustafa the Third to his *vazir*, given in Professor Creasy's work, "If thy life is dear to thee, thou wilt rally thy beaten horsemen, and fly to the succour of Silistria," the word "beaten" is omitted. The result of the Battle of Navarino is not given. Our author states that there was such a battle, and then discreetly adds that "after the battle Ibrahim Pasha went away to Egypt." This is an euphuistic way of getting over the total destruction or capture of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets and the capitulation of their land army. The last chapters of the book are devoted to a description of the present war in the East and of the causes which led to it. Sultan 'Abdul Azíz Khán is extolled, even above the rest of his race, as the best of men and monarchs, and we are informed that he was the husband of one wife; but this did not surprise us, as we had previously read that Ibrahim, the most vicious and depraved of all the Sultáns, was "a bright lamp of the Palace of Dominion," as well as other nice things. The deposition of the unfortunate 'Abdul Azíz is attributed to the discontent caused by the peculations of his ministers, who failed to be kept in check even by his superhuman virtues. The details of the present war, again fortunately for the title of the book, only come down to the last Russian unsuccessful assault on Plevna. These details are apparently taken from the war telgrams published in the vernacular newspapers. One cannot avoid the reflection, in reading these accounts, how entirely deficient are the descendants of the Persian and Mughal conquerors of India in military genius. The only idea which a native of India seems to have of soldiership is the whirling about of a sword in a demented manner. He is blissfully ignorant of the fact that an indifferent European fencer would in a few seconds without fail for ever remove the sword-whirler from the scene of his grotesque labours. Of the object of drill, of strategy and tactics, or even that there are such arts, he has not the slightest conception. We have seen an educated native catalogue Colonel Hamley's "Operations of War," as "a work on military engineering." Perhaps we should particularise the people of Southern India: in the North, the Maharajah Sindia is certainly a shining exception to the general rule; and there may be others with whose names we are unacquainted. But the Urdù\* language itself strangely belies its name and bears testimony to the unwarlike character

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\* *Urdu*, Turkish for "Camp." camps of the Mughal and Pathán invaders of Hindustan. The language, a mixture of Persian and Hindi, was first spoken in the

of the race to whom it belongs. It has no recognised military nomenclature. Such words as "Baterie" (a battery), or "Atash-kári" (fire business) to express Infantry or Artillery fire), are either borrowed direct from the English, as in the first instance, or, as in the second, invented by munshis who have been driven to coin them under the stress of necessity in assisting English officers to translate into Urdú, for the ulterior benefit of an examination committee, the despatches of the Duke of Wellington, or some similar work. The Turks and Persians have a regular vocabulary of military terms, and new terms have been invented, and old ones altered, to suit the conditions of modern warfare; while the Arabic words, common to all Musalman languages, are used with a precise and definite signification: as *Kashf* for reconnoissance, *Muháribat* for battle, *Hujum* for charge, *Ghalba* for assault. But in Urdú all these words are used indiscriminately, without any specific meaning being applied to them. Thus, the military operations with which the book is filled, would task a cleverer and better-informed writer than our author to give a clear and intelligible account of them.

The author, however, makes up for his want of military knowledge, and keeps the interest of his readers from flagging, by the use of what Mrs. Malaprop called "a nice derangement of epitaphs;" the Russians and Servians being cowards, hyenas, vultures, &c., and the Turks lions, falcons, heroes, and the like.

There are some errors in the book, which evidently arise from a misconception or mistranslation of English terms occurring in the author's authorities, and which go conclusively to prove that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

"The Emperor of the Greeks" is literally translated *Sháhin-sháh-i Yunán*, a term which conveys no idea at all to the Musalmán mind. It should have been translated *Kaisar-i Rím* and would then have been understood immediately. The word *Sháhin-sháh*, usually adopted by Urdú writers, is not a faithful, or a good equivalent for the title of "Emperor." The Latin *Imperator*, which has been adopted into their respective languages by the Turks and Persians, is more faithful and more suitable. One *Shahinsháh* is surely enough in the world, and the title is looked on in Islam as an especial prerogative of the ancient kingdom of Irán; as *Kaisar* is of the empire of Rím. The English word Prince, meaning simply a ruler, or a title of nobility, is translated invariably by our author as *Shahzáda*, or king's son. Prince Eugene is the *Sháhzáda* Eugene; the Prince of Valachia is the king's son of Valachia, where there never was a king, and so on. *Amír* would have been a proper equivalent here. The proper form of Sultan Orkhán's name is not *Arkhán*, as it is spelt here. Some of the mistakes show considerable ingenuity, as in the name of Kiliç Ali

Pasha, the renegade captain who saved the Algerine squadron from the havoc of Lepanto, and afterwards became High Admiral of the Turkish Fleet. In consequence of his valour, the Sultan gave him the title of Kiliġ Ali, or "Ali of the sword," Kiliġ being the Turkish for sword. Under the corrupted form Kirich, it is used in the north of India and is perhaps the origin of the Malayan *Kris*. Our author, however, knowing Ali to be a sailor, has made an unlucky shot at his name and has transliterated it into Khalġ Ali, or "Ali of the Gulf." He is equally unfortunate with the name of another famous renegade, the Italian Cicala. The Turks, following the Italian pronunciation, write his name Chaghála, but our author has transliterated his name, according to the English spelling, Sikála. By-the-bye, he never takes the trouble to mention that these two famous Turkish commanders were European renegades. Turkish names are invariably spelt wrong. One most amusing instance we must notice. Our author has come across the word Haznadár Báshi in some English work, probably in Creasy's history. The word is obviously a mis-spelling for Khazáúadár Báshi, chief treasurer. But our author fails to see this, and gives us, in a footnote, the information that Haznadár is the Turkish for Khazáúadár.

The word Janissary is another instance of perverted ingenuity. It is Yangġchari in Turkish (pronounced Yanġchari), derived from the Turkish words *Yangi* new, and *chari* soldier. The word having come to the Western nations through the Germans, who use *J* to express the sound of *Y*, has assumed its present form in English. But the author transliterates it Ján nisari, the Persian word for life-devoted, one who lays down his life for another. These Janissaries are evidently a sad trouble to him. He cannot make out for his life who or what they were. In one place he explains that they were the bádi giád (bodyguard) of the Sultans, having probably in his mind's eye the bodyguard of His Grace the Governor of Madras. Again, he talks wildly about the nation of the Janissaries, and the combats between those infidels and the Turks. Why any description of troops should have a particular name, why there should be any particular descriptions of troops at all, is a mystery to the Indian mind. The term "Nizám," used throughout the rest of the Musalmán world to denote "soldiers drilled and equipped in the modern European fashion," is only unknown in India. Our author must have felt relieved when he gave a parting salvo of abuse to the Janissaries, as enemies of the Turks in the reign of Sultan Mahmúd the Second. His strong point, however, is geography. His nomenclature here is positively bewildering in its richness and variety, not to speak of the heightening of the interest of the narrative, caused by such incidents as the successive conquests of the countries of Morea and



Peloponnesus by the Turks. The exploits of King Puzantín pale before such various triumphs. We do not find fault with our author for any transliteration of English geographical names: the names of the same countries and places are commonly spelt and pronounced differently by all the nations of Europe. We need only instance the Germans, who are *Teut-eh* or *Deutsch* in their own language, *Allemands* in French, *Tedeschi* in Italian, *Nience* in Slavonian. In Islám, owing to the fact that all the learning is contained and centred in the one Arabic language, which has imposed its alphabet and its study on all converted nations, these discrepancies seldom appear, and it is rare to find a proper name spelt differently in two different countries of the Islám, like the word *Mogul* which is spelt *Mughal* in India and *Maghúl* in Persia. But, now-a-days, the Urdú language derives its inspiration not from Arabic, but from English. The Turks have a geographical “loghat” of their own, with names for all the countries and cities of Europe, previously unknown to Arabic geographers. In Turkish, England is *Ingil-terra*; London is *Landara* (Londres); Germany is *Namsa* from the Slavonic; Poland is *Polonia*; Hungary is *Majar*, or *Majaristan* (Magyarland), &c. Long names, like Adrianople and Philipoppolis, are for convenience sake shortened into *Adrana* and *Filiba*. These names are, however, quite unknown in India. The Indian Musalmán derives all his knowledge of geography from the English, and all geographical names he transliterates direct from English books. One difference may be remarked; the Turks in transliterating words from the languages of Greece and Europe, always use *Qáf* and *Ghain* to represent the letters K\* and G, while the Indians invariably represent these letters by *Káf* and *Gáf*. Thus the Turks write *Balgh-ád* for Belgrade and *Qúr-sú* for Corfu. They have changed Walachia, or Valachia, into *Iflák* which is their attempt at catching the pronunciation. They did not trouble themselves to learn the name of Moldavia, but gave it the name of *Ak Iflák*, or White Valachia. Finding that this bred confusion, they changed its name to *Boghdán*, the name of the ruling Hospodár at the time. The Danube they called *Tona*, from the German Donau. Bulgaria they called *Balghár*. Early Arabic geographers place the land of *Balghár*, somewhere in Central Asia, the early seat of the Bulgarian nation before it migrated westward. Serbia is *Sarb*, Bosnia *Bosna*, and Herzegovina, with the usual passion for abbreviation, is *Harsak*. One of the most curious instances of their corruption of Greek words is the name they have given to Constantinople; *Istambol*, formed of the two syllables *Stan* and *Pol* from the

\* We have used K always to represent the awkward appearance caused by the present the sound of Qáf ق to avoid the use of the letter Q in Romanizing.

word Constantinopolis. Like the natives of India, the Turks are unable to pronounce two consonants together at the beginning of a word without putting a vowel before them. They call Scutari, *Iskúdará*. Some writers derive the name Istambol from the Greek words "*cis tén polin*," "to the city," but we think the first the most natural derivation. The Turks frequently alter the name to Islambol, or the City of Islam.

*Aya Sofia* represents their pronunciation of Hagia Sophia, Saint Sophia. The cathedral, which was turned into a mosque on the conquest of the city by the Islamites, still goes by the name of its Christian patron saint. These names, whether Greek, or Turkish imitations of it, are all Greek to the Indian scholar. We have seen a copy of the *Jahán Kushái-i Nádirí* of Mirza Mahdi Khan, printed at Bombay, in which the words "Mulk-i Karím," "the country of Crimea," have been altered by the ignorant transcriber to "Mulk-i Kadím," "the old country." Wherever they occur, our author has perforce stuck to English pronunciation and orthography. In so doing, the distinctive meaning of the word has sometimes been lost, as where *Akísár* is written for Ak-Hisar (the white castle) and *Fangísár* for Yangi-Hisar (new castle). This last must be partly due to a printer's error, as also *Fangishahrí* for Yangi Shahr (new town), and *Bacíra* for Jazira: *Kaisariá* would be the proper equivalent for Caesarea, not *Sésúria*. The Turks and Arabs call the Black Sea *Kará Deniz* and *Bahr-i Aswad*, and we are sure that no Musalmán reader would recognise it under the designation of *Behr-i Uksáin* (Enxine). And *Misir*, the city, entitled by the Arabs, to distinguish it from all other cities, *Misir al Káhira* (the victorious city) may have had its proud title miscalled Cairo by foreigners, but that is no reason why a writer using the Arabic alphabet should write it down *Khairo*. While we are on the subject of geography, we may observe that our author gravely narrates the fact of the Sublime Porte remonstrating with the Venetians for having permitted the Russian Fleet to pass from the Baltic into the Adriatic, but quite misses the joke, and is apparently as innocent of the absurdity of the request as were the ministers of Sultan Mustafa themselves.

Turkish history is scarcely more familiar to Englishmen than it is to the Musalmáns of India. The voluminous histories of Knolles and Cantemir are almost out of print and rarely to be met with. Professor Creasy's history is the only complete modern work on the subject that we are aware of, and its value is lessened by the fact that it was written during the time of the Crimean war and under the influence of the strong partisan feeling evoked by it: when the dream of a free and progressive Turkey in the future possessed men's minds. Its prophecies of a weakened and decaying Russia, confronted by a renovated and vigorous



Ottoman Empire, read strangely by the light of present events. In those days, as in these, there were many to exclaim triumphantly that "the gigantic windbag of Russian power had collapsed at the first prick of a Turkish bayonet," and to point the contrast between the despotic ukases of the Czar and the goody-goody style of the Khatt-i Humáyuns, Khatt-i Sharifs, Irádas, &c., which were issued from the Imperial Cabinet of Constantinople as freely as its paper money. To all this there is but one answer—"By their fruits ye shall know them." The Russians are working out their destiny: the Turks are fighting against their fate. The story of their future may be read clearly enough by the light of their past history.

The Ottoman Turks are one of the most remarkable races which have ever sprung up in the East, like Minerva from the head of Jove, fully armed, going forth conquering and to conquer. A leader suddenly appears among the people, a warrior and a sage; and it is as if God had said again, "And I will make of thee a great nation," and lo! the nation is there, when, hardly has the leader been laid in his tomb, the Mughals under Chaghiz, the Mahrattas under Sivaji, pass at a bound from insignificance and obscurity to empire and renown, the Sikhs become a great and a chosen people in the course of a few generations, while some future Colenso may dispute the facts of their increase with the infallible logic of arithmetic. Such was the rise of the Ottoman nation, which, in less than one hundred years from the death of its founder, 'Othman, had spread itself over very nearly all the territories in Europe and Asia which now own its sway. The lineage of the house of 'Othman is traced back through fabulous ages by Turkish chroniclers; but we do not care to follow their uncertain guidance into such unexplored regions. It suffices us to know that a Turkish prince of Central Asia, migrating to escape from the Mughals of Chaghiz Khán, was drowned while swimming his horse across the swollen Euphrates. His four sons separated to seek their fortunes; three of them were lost to fame, but the fourth, Ertoghrul, took service under the Seljukian Sultan of Rúm. It is said that he was wandering in quest of adventure with a band of followers, when he came by chance upon two armies striving for the mastery. Ertoghrul gallantly ranged his men on the weaker side, and their assistance retrieved the fortune of the day. After the battle, the Seljukian Sultan, who was the leader of the conquering army, took Ertoghrul into his service and gave him a fief for his support. Ertoghrul became his most trusted general and assisted in supporting the tottering Seljukian State against the assaults of the conquering Mughals from the East. His son Othman became the vizier and mayor of the palace to his master, and soon bore the whole weight of the kingdom on his shoulders. The

Sultan dying without issue, 'Othman, amidst the acclamations of the whole people, ascended the vacant throne, in the year 1299, A.D., and instantly entered on a career of conquest which continued unchecked for three hundred years. The Turks claim to be all descended from him and his immediate followers, and, though there is no doubt of their Turkish lineage, they disown the name of Turks, calling themselves Othmánli, which the European nations corrupted into Ottomans; but in the present day they have softened the pronounciation of the Arabic *th*, *ث* into *s*, like the natives of India, and they pronounce Othman, Asman, and call themselves Osmánlis.\* But there is little doubt that the greater part of the Seljukian Turks of Asia Minor became merged in the Ottomans. The Turks are fond of boasting of the purity of their blood, but they speak only of their descent on the father's side. They imagine, in common with other Muhammedan nations, that the lineage of the mother has no influence on the breed of the offspring: a supposition strangely at variance with fact. The Ottoman Turks of Algiers, it is true, refused to admit their children by Moorish mothers into their own caste; but this was probably from the political motive of confining the profitable pursuits of government and piracy to the members of a limited oligarchy. The European renegades, whose numbers were comparatively few, were adopted into the governing class. It is of course futile to speak of real purity of blood in countries and among races where polygamy and female slavery flourish. The scions of the noblest Muhammedan dynasties would be base born in a European's eyes. Selim the Second, the drunken, son of Sulimán the Magnificent, and the first unworthy Sultan who sat upon the Ottoman throne, was the son of a Russian and a Christian, called Roxolana by European historians, who received the name of Khurram, or "Pleasant," on her ostensible conversion to Islám. The blood of his hereditary foes, and probably that of a dozen races more, runs in the veins of Sultán Abdul Hamid the Second.

The period at which Othman rose to the hegemony of the scattered Turkish peoples of Asia Minor was one of those epochs of transition which are peculiarly fitted for the development of new political forces. The tide of Mogul invasion which had rolled over Asia with the force of a torrent, had ebbed away. Some of the Musalmán kingdoms, which had been submerged beneath it, were emerging from the waves; others had been totally swept away. New States were springing into existence; new races appearing

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\* Spelt 'Othmánli. So "Oghli," pronounciation in Turkish as in most of the languages which use the Arabic Alphabet. The Turkish for "son," is pronounced "Oghli." The orthography of a word is not such a sure guide to its

upon the scene. All around was a chaos, waiting for a master hand to evolve order out of it. Such at least was the prospect to the eastward; to the westward was the decaying Roman empire of the East, almost in the throes of dissolution. The descendant of the Cæsars, who reigned at Constantinople, had scarcely any authority beyond the immediate precincts of the city. The state of the empire resembled that of the Mogul empire in India after the invasion of Nadir Shah. Different members of branches of the Imperial house proclaimed themselves Emperors in various cities. The Servians, Bosnians, and Poles wrested away the northernmost provinces. The provincial governors established independent principalities, of which they called themselves the Despots. Is it the very breath of liberty, we wonder, that breathes through the ages in the Greek language that has given the originally innocent names of Tyrant and Despot such an odious signification?

The Venetians and Genoese held the ports and dominated the seas, and treated their Byzantine suzerain and his satraps much as the English of Warren Hastings's time treated the Grand Mogul and the Nawab of Bengal. This tempting prize lay open to the ambition of Othman, and at the same time the flames of Musalmán fanaticism, which had been quenched for a time by the Mogul deluge, burst forth with renewed fury. The Crusades were about to be avenged, and the tide of war rolled backwards from the banks of the Nile to the borders of the Danube, from the dykes of Damietta to the ramparts of Vienna.

Othman vigorously attacked the Greek possessions in Asia Minor and brought most of them under his sway. One of the Christian governors or princes, called by the Turks *Mikkáil Kusa*, or, "Michael of the scanty beard," turned traitor and Musalman together, and was of great assistance to Othman in his enterprises. His descendants, under the name of Mikkail Oghli (Michaelson) long continued to serve Othman's successors as Sanjak Begs. The narrative of Othman's exploits are strongly tinged with romance both by Christian and Musalmán historians. The latter fondly call him Kara 'Othmán, or Black Othman; the term "Black" among the Turks being the highest attribute of manly beauty.\*

It is related how he beheld in a dream the Imperial city of Constantinople, situated between the two seas and the two lands

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\* An olive complexion with jet black hair and eyes is the most admired style of manly beauty among the Turks; to such a one they give the name of Black (*kará*) as "Kará Mustafa," "Kará Jirjis" (Black George

of Servia). Byron has seized on this peculiarity where he says,

"Black Hasan from the Harem flies,  
Nor bends on woman's form his eyes :"  
— *The Giaour*.

(*barain va bahrain*) like a diamond set in a ring between two sapphires and two emeralds ; and how he awoke in the act of placing the ring upon his own finger. His military exploits partake of the character of those of Wallace wight and the Black Douglas. On one occasion, a treacherous Christian chief has invited him to a wedding feast, intending to seize him. Othman, forewarned by Mikkáil Kúsa, requests permission to be allowed to bring his harem with him to the festivities ; it is gladly granted, but the veiled beauties who are borne in at the gates suddenly spring from their litters, and with free display of mustachio and play of scymitar turn tables on the astonished Greeks. Othman takes Brusa, by walking in at the gates as a mourner with thirty others, behind a coffin, which, they tell the Greeks, bears the mortal remains of the late famous Othmán Beg, Amír of the Turks ; but the coffin is filled with arms, and the thirty aged mourners are the stoutest champions of Othmán's stout army.

He is also said to have shot his aged uncle, the only brother who followed the fortunes of Ertoghul, with an arrow, as the late Jang Bahádur cleared his path of rivals with a rifle, but the story of Othmán's uncle's murder rests on doubtful tradition. It were pity that his name should be sullied by a crime too fatally connected with the subsequent history of his family.

He was succeeded by his son Orkhán, who completed the conquest of Anatúl, as the Turks call Asia Minor, and extended his operations into Europe. He and his brother, Ala ud Dín, who was his faithful Vazír, instituted the new military body of Janissaries. The Turks had a great dislike to serving on foot. Their yeomen all went mounted into the field ; and only the necessity of poverty could drive them into the infantry service, opposed as it was to their national instincts and traditions. Orkhán had plenty, and to spare, of good cavalry ; but good infantry he had none ; and yet, to besiege cities and to campaign in difficult country, good infantry must be got. Perhaps the fiery dash and wild valour of the Osmanli horseman made him useless where steadiness and endurance were required rather than more brilliant qualities.

The origin of the Janissaries or New Militia is attributed by the Turks, who hate any thing new, to the Prophet Muhammad. They say that, in the tenth year of the Hijra, after the conquest of Makka, the Prophet distributed the captive children taken in war among his followers, enjoining that they should be brought up as Musulmán warriors ; this was the first origin of the Ajam-Oghlám, or "rude boys" (recruits). Their second origin was when Sultán Orkhán, finding among his Christian captives some hundreds of boys, presented them to the famous saint Háji Beg-



tásh to be instructed in the true faith. As Orkhán was setting forth on one of his expeditions, the saint offered the young men again to him to serve in his army saying, "*Yani chari dir*," "They are a new militia," which name stuck to them ever after. The European historians give a somewhat different account of the origin of the corps; but whether the step was the result of accident or of policy, the fact remains, that one thousand Christian lads were formed into a corps by Amir 'Orkhán, and that their numbers were kept up and recruited at first by the enrolment of Christian boys taken in war, and afterwards by a regular annual levy of boys on the Christian families subject to the Sultan.

The introduction of the system is probably due to Orkhán's brother, Ala ud Dín, and his friend Kará Khalil (Black Khalil), but the chief merit was ascribed to the saint Haji Begtásh who had given his efficacious blessing to the new levy. The Janissaries ever after swore by Haji Begtásh and went by the name of Haji Begtásh's soldiery. Though born of infidel parents, they became the most uncompromising supporters of Islam and the bitterest foes of the races from whom they sprung. They were, as boys, instructed in the doctrines of Islam, lodged in barracks under the charge of experienced officers, trained to gymnastic exercises and the use of arms, and condemned to celibacy as long as they remained in the ranks. They got free rations and liberal pay, and were clothed and armed by the Sultan. In short, they were the first example on a large scale of what we call "regular troops". They were for long the finest body of soldiers in the world. Their name and fame spread through all Europe. "A Janissary of the Sultan," was a password almost as potent to move respect as the Imperial Firman itself throughout the Ottoman dominions from Buda to Baghdád. The history of the Turkish Empire is little else than a history of the Janissaries.

They were its bulwark and its pride in the days of its glory, and when they degenerated from their ancient discipline, and became a political rather than a Military organization, they dragged the empire down with them, became for a time the tyrants of their own masters and of the Ottoman State, and had well nigh caused its total ruin.

Amir Orkhán's eldest son, Suliman, was killed by his horse running away and dashing him against a tree; and his younger son, Murád the First, called Amurath by European writers, succeeded him. Like all the early monarchs of the house of Othman, he was strong and active, brave in the field and prudent in council. His camp was his court, and his sons were brought up from their boyhood among the soldiery, whose dress they wore and whose sports they shared. Murád conquered Rumíli from the

Greeks and made Adrianople his capital ; Orkhán's capital had been Brusa. He made war on the Bulgarians, overthrew their kingdom, and by its annexation extended the Ottoman frontier to the Danube. He next attacked the Servians, and, after some changes of fortune, he destroyed the Servian army and monarchy at one blow in the great battle of Kossova, where he lost his own life. The manner of his death is variously related. Some say that he was walking over the field, viewing the scene "where the battle's wreck lay thickest" when a wounded Servian, springing from the ground, plunged his dagger into the conqueror's breast. The spirited Servian ballads on the battle represent him as having been slain by a Servian patriot who had sworn to deliver his country and had been admitted to Murád's presence in the pretended character of deserter and renegade. Murád solaced his dying moments by having the captive king of Servia executed in his presence ; a deathbed scene more than once repeated in Ottoman history.

He was succeeded by his son Báýázíd (Bajazet) the First, who was nicknamed *yildarím* or lighting, from the furious rapidity of his charges, or, according to some authors, from the frequency his forced marches.

He signalised his accession by the murder of his brave brother, Yakub, who had shared equally with himself the affections of the soldiery, and whom he therefore regarded as a possible rival. Bazíd Yildarím completed the subjugation of Asia Minor, and conquered Bosnia and Greece. The successes of the Ottomans alarmed the Christian nations of the West, and Pope Boniface the Ninth preached a Crusade against them ; and a large army of Crusaders, principally French, advanced to join the Hungarians and Bosnians in their attempt to check the progress of the Turks. The Crusaders boasted that if the sky fell, they would support it on their lances. A great battle was fought at Nikopoli, where the skill of Báýázíd and the discipline of his troops gained a signal and complete victory over the motley host of the Crusaders. His triumph was celebrated by the murder of all the Christian captives, many thousands in number ; and, we are told by Froissart, that three hundred noblemen and gentlemen of the best blood in France perished thus ingloriously and unavenged by the sword of the executioner. This success seems to have turned Báýázíd's brain. He vain-gloriously boasted that he would stable his horse under the dome of St. Peter, and make the high altar into a manger ; and he gave himself up to drunkenness (he was the first of his house who drank the forbidden wine) and to the odious vices which are best described by the epithet "unspeakable." A Turkish historian relates the following anecdote of him. He had finished building his great mosque, 'Ulú Jáma,' at Brúsa, and took in with



him the famous holy man, Amír Sultán, the saint of Brúsa, to view the completed building. He asked him whether it was not a perfect mosque, and the saint answered, "Yes, it is a very elegant mosque, but some cups of wine for the refreshment of the pious are wanting in the middle." The Sultan replied with surprise "How, would it be possible to stain God's house with the liquor forbidden by the law?" "Well," said the saint, "thou hast built a mosque, Báýázíd, and find it strange to put cups of wine therein; and thou, whose body is God's house, more excellent than a talisman composed of the divine names, or the throne of God, how is it thou art not afraid of staining the purity of this Godlike house with wine day and night?" From that moment, says the chronicler, Báýázíd, repenting, left off drinking wine. Báýázíd's war with Amír Taimúr, his overthrow and captivity, are too well known to need repetition here: his misfortunes were owing as much to his own rash folly as to the superior genius of Taimúr and the larger numbers of the Tartar army. "Báýázíd Yildarím," says the Turkish historian, "was a great monarch but he could not war against fate."

Báýázíd is said to have been the first to assume the title of Sultán, the sanction for which he sought from the puppet successor of the Khalifs, who was maintained as a pageant by the Mamlúk Sultáns of Egypt. Up to this time the heads of the House of Othmán had styled themselves only Amír. They afterwards also took the title of Khán, which among the Ottománs is restricted to the person of the sovereign. In Persia it is granted to the great lords of the kingdom only: in Affghanistan it is the hereditary privilege of every freeborn Affghán; and in India is borne by men of Affghán descent, and is also adopted by converts from Hinduism; under the Mogul Empire it was granted as a title of honour. It would be curious to know whether its use as a patronymic was then allowed in India, or whether the unauthorised use of the title has arisen since the general confusion which supervened on the decay of the empire of Delhi. The title of Páshá, which belongs to every high official in the Turkish empire, and now marks a general officer's rank in the Nizám army, has been derived by some from the Persian words *Pái Sháh* "the foot of the King." But we observe that, in old European books, the word is invariably spelt Bassa, or Bashaw; and we are inclined to think it is derived from the Turkish Básh, Head, like the Persian Sardár. The Turks seem inclined to soften the sound of *B* into *P*, as we see them writing Puzanta for Byzantium, and in modern Turkish maps the word Bazár is spelt Pazár. The form Básha was, at least until lately, used in compound words, as Doli-Básha, a captain of bravos: and Báshi, with the same signification, is common.

The princes of the House of Othman were at first distinguished by the title of Chalabi, which answers to the English Esquire, and was afterwards superseded by the similar appellation of Afandi. The title of Beg \* was confined to the feudal lords and the superior officers of the military ; it now denotes field rank in the Turkish army.

After the captivity of Báyzíd, his four sons disputed the remnant of Ottoman sovereignty between them, but Muhammad the First overcame his brethren and restored the fallen fortunes of his house. He was surnamed Pahlaván, the athlete, by his subjects. The absence of surnames, and the limited stock of proper names, common to Musalman peoples, led to the Turks giving nicknames to eminent men, founded on descent or accident, or on some personal peculiarity, to distinguish them from the others who bore the same name, such as Kamán Kash Ali Páshá (archer Ali Páshá), Gúrji Muhammad Páshá (Georgian Muhammad Pasha), Ján Pulád Mustafa (Iron-souled Mustafa), Na'lbánd Ali (Farrier Ali), &c. Some of these names seem rather blasphemous to devout Muslims, as Dev Suliman Agha (Demon Suliman Agha), Shaitán Ibrahim Páshá (Satan Ibrahim Páshá), Kará Jahannum Ibrahim (Black Hell Ibrahim), the Topjí Báshi, or Colonel-general of Artillery, under Sultan Mahmúd the Second, the Reformer. Muhammad the First recovered his patrimony from the Tartars, and waged incessant war in Asia and Europe. Had the Ottomans possessed a temple of Janus, its gates would have been seldom shut. He was succeeded by his son Murád the Second, who was a devotee as well as a soldier,

One of that saintly murderous brood,  
To carnage and the Koran given,  
Who think thro' unbelievers' blood,  
There lies the safest path to heaven."

But he was a just and humane prince, as princes went in those times. Though inclined to peace, his fortune was to be continually at war. The Christians had gained breathing time since their defeat by Báyzíd at Nikopolis, and a new league was formed to oppose the Ottoman advance. Murád besieged Constantinople in vain ; and the Hungarians, led by the famous Hunniades, defeated the Turks and followed them across the Balkans. Murad was compelled to relinquish Servia and Bosnia, and Albania was freed from the Turks by the hero Scanderbeg (Iskandar Beg). A Treaty was signed which confined the Ottomans to Bulgaria and Rumelia. Murád, after this, abdicated in favour of his son Muhammad, and retired into private life ; but the Slavonian and Hungarian chiefs regretted that they had granted the Turk such easy terms, and

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\* Pronounced *Bé* (Bey) by the Osmáuli Turks.

the youth of Muhammad tempted them to again attack their formidable enemy. They broke the treaty and invaded the Ottoman dominions with a mighty host, advancing down the valley of the Danube to the sea, Murád was called from his retirement to save the State, and he met the Christian confederates at Varna. A copy of the violated treaty was borne aloft on a lance, and the Sultan invoked Hazrat'Isá to punish the perfidy of his disciples. His reported exclamation, "Jesus, if thou be the true God, avenge me upon thy worshippers," has most likely been put into his mouth by Christian writers to excuse their defeat; the battle was long doubtful, but at length the valour of Murád, the opportune death of the king of Hungary, and the iron firmness of the Janissaries, decided the fortune of the day.

The king fell in the midst of his foes, and his head was instantly struck off and placed upon a pike alongside of the copy of the treaty. The result of this unfortunate battle was the re-conquest of Servia and Bosnia by the Ottomans, but Scanderbeg still held out successfully in Albania. Murád resigned the crown once again, and was again re-called to the helm of affairs by a mutiny of the Janissaries, the first recorded in their history. Murád died while still in power, after a reign of thirty years, and was the last of the House of Othmán who was buried at Brúsa. Knolles says of his sepulchre, "Here he now lieth in a chapel without any roof, his grave nothing differing from that of the common Turks, which they say he commanded to be done in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God might come unto him by the shining of the sun and moon, and the falling of the rain and dew of Heaven upon his grave." The sentiment reminds us of the inscriptions on the tomb of Jabânará Begum, the favourite daughter of Sháh Jahán, who lies buried in the mausoleum of the saint, Nizám ud Dín, near Delhi. The Turkish chronicler, Auliya Afandi, however says that Sultan Murád the Second lies in more magnificent state than any of the Sultans buried at Brúsa, his tomb being covered with a golden stuff.

Murád's son, Muhammad, surnamed "al Fátih," the Conqueror, succeeded him. In the reigns of the two preceding Sultans, cannon had been introduced into the Turkish army. Though the author of the *Firóz Náma-i Turk* tells us that Murád the First "cannonaded" a Bulgarian town, he is as much in error here as Auliya Afandi, who says that, in the time of Constantine the Great, there were five hundred cannons on the ramparts of Constantinople. The author of the *Jámá'ut Tawárikh* says that gunpowder was invented by a Kaiser of Rúm named Constantine (Constantine Pogonatus) at the first siege of Constantinople by the Arabs: the allusion is of course to the Greek fire, which the writer has confounded with gunpowder. It is remarkable that the Turks,

during their early history, as long in fact as their Sultáns were men of spirit and talent, eagerly adopted improvements in the art of war. The batteries with which Muhammad the Conqueror assailed the walls of Constantinople were the wonder of the world for the number and calibre of the guns. By the reign of Salím (Selim) the First, all the Janissaries were armed with the arquebus or caliver, and their pikes, maces, and battle-axes finally laid aside. In the arts of sapping and mining, the Turks were far in advance of European nations; and it seems likely that the modern method of sapping up to a besieged town by trenches and parallels was adopted from them. Military music was in a great measure copied from them; and the French word "tambour" testifies to the source from whence the drum was adopted into the armies of Europe. The cymbal and, perhaps, the fife, were also taken from them, and up to comparatively recent times the combination of a standard and a musical instrument called "the Turkish bells" was part of the furniture of British military bands. The oriental dresses, which it was the fashion until lately for bass drummers and cymbal players to wear, also marked the Turkish origin of those instruments. The example of the Turks acted on the European nations in more important matters, and to it is due the improvement in cavalry tactics inaugurated by Frederic the Great. But military enterprise among the Ottomans themselves came to a stand-still with the cessation of their national growth. After the death of the great Suliman, the name of reform or of change of any kind became hateful to the nation and the army; and from that time forward to the present day the military nation of the Othmans has not given birth to a single military commander who could be called a great soldier.

Muhammad the Conqueror took the Imperial city of Istambol, the last refuge that Turkish conquest had left to the relics of the Eastern Empire of the Romans. It was said by the Turkish writers that Constantine, the founder, or renovator, of the city, foreseeing, in a prophetic vision, its conquest by the Muslims, laid its foundations under the sign of the Cancer; which malignant prevision sufficiently accounts for the dreadful riots and massacres which continually disturbed the peace of the city under Ottoman rule. The capture of the city by Muhammad the Second was foretold to him by a Turkish saint who accompanied him in the expedition. The details of the skilful attack and courageous defence, and the final fearful assault of Constantinople are well-known; and the body of the last of the Eastern Cæsars was discovered, like that of Típu Sultan, under a pile of slain at the foot of the great breach. Thus Sultán Muhammad the Conqueror, in the year 1453, just a century-and-a-half from the time that the first foundations of the house had been laid by Amír Othman, crowned the



edifice with the old capital of a new Empire. All, Muslims, however, refuse to acknowledge it to have been a new Empire, and assert that it was merely the transfer of the Imperial sceptre of the mistress of the world to a new dynasty, of a different faith.

It is said that the Prophet (on whom be peace) had prophesied, "Verily they shall conquer Kustuntuniya; the best of commanders is their commander; the best of armies is that army." The Muslim accounts of the siege and the capture of the city teem with marvels and miracles which it would be tedious to relate. One or two of their anecdotes, however, may bear repetition. As the victorious Sultan, entering Saint Sophia, sword in hand, planted the standard of the crescent on the High Altar, an archer of his guards, following him in, clapped his bloody hand on one of the white marble pillars and left the impression of his five fingers upon it, which remains there unto this day.

The daughter of the king of France, with a large fleet and strong escort as convoy, arrived during the siege, to be married to the accursed Constantine, and the French ships, in total ignorance of the siege in progress, fired off all their guns as a salute on entering the harbour. Before they could reload they were boarded by the Turkish galleys and fell an unresisting prey. The daughter of the king of France was set aside as Muhammad's share of the spoil. He espoused her, and hence arose, according to the Turks, that political connection with France which was really due to the hostility of both French and Turks to the German Empire. This story of the French marriage is firmly believed by the Turks. The real truth of it appears to be that Muhammad the Conqueror had a concubine who was the daughter of a French renegade. We may remark that, in the present day, it is generally believed by the vulgar in Persia that Nasr ud Dín Shah is married to a daughter of the Emperor of Russia.

Muhammad is said to have given a great banquet to his troops after the capture of the city, at which he girded up his loins and waited at table with a napkin in his girdle, handing bread and salt to his men and bringing water afterwards to wash the hands of the officers. The images taken from the Greek churches were put up in the *ok maidan*, or Archery ground, as butts for the archers of the Ottoman army. They had, says the Muslim chronicler, a grand match at archery.

It is related of this Sultan that he ordered a mosque to be built that should exceed Saint Sophia, but when it was completed, it was found to be lower. The Conqueror, in a rage, cut off the two hands of the unfortunate architect. The man appealed to the Kádhi, who summoned the Emperor before him. Muhammad attended the court and defended himself in person. The judge pronounced



that the Sultan's hands must be cut off in retaliation, unless he could satisfy the architect, so that he might forego his claim to revenge. The Sultan offered him a pension, but the judge, interfering, said, that the pension must not be given from the public treasury of the Musalmans. Muhammad then said that he would grant the plaintiff twenty aspers a day from his private purse; but let the cutting off of his hands be legalised. The architect, in the contentment of his heart, exclaimed, "Let it be accounted lawful in this world and the next." The Kadhi then pronounced the acquittal of the Emperor, and, the court having risen, he apologised to him for his strictness, pleading the duty of administering the law impartially. "Afandi," said the Sultan, somewhat irritated, and drawing out a mace which he had concealed under the skirt of his robe (we are quoting from a Turkish historian),\* "if thou hadst shewn favour to me, saying, this is the Sultan, and hadst wronged the architect, I would have broken thee in pieces with this mace!" "And if thou, prince," said the Kadhi, "hadst refused to obey the legal sentence pronounced by me, thou wouldst have fallen a victim to Divine vengeance; for I should have delivered thee up to be destroyed by the dragon beneath this carpet." On saying which he lifted up his carpet, and an enormous dragon put forth its head vomiting fire and smoke from its mouth. "Be still," said the Kadhi, and again laid the carpet smooth; on which the Sultan kissed his noble hands, wished him good day, and returned to his palace.

The last incident shows the apocryphal character of this story, which has a wide circulation in the East. But in truth Muhammad the Conqueror was a brutal and licentious ruffian, without a spark of humanity or generosity. He consolidated the Ottoman conquests in Europe and Asia, and the empire, at his death, consisted of almost the same possessions as own the sway of the house of Othmán at this day. At the end of his reign, he was signally repulsed from before both Belgrade and Rhodes. He was fitting out a mighty armament afresh, but he kept the secret of its destination jealously within his own bosom, when death surprised him, and he was buried in the splendid mausoleum which had cost the unlucky architect his hands.

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\* Aoliya Afandi.

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#### ART. IV.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES.

Trumpp's *Pushtu Grammar*.

Beames' *Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India*.

Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages of India*.

Skrefsrud's *Grammar of Sonthal Language*. 1873.

Bryan Hodgson's *Essays on the Tibeto-Burman Languages of the Himalaya*.

McCulloch's *Languages of Munipur Frontier*.

Lewin's *Languages of Chittagong Frontier*.

Max Müller's *Letter to Bunsen on Turanian Languages*.

Crawfurd's *Dictionary of Indian Islands, and Adjacent Countries*. 1856.

*Journals of the Asiatic Societies and the Indian Archipelago*.

*Geographical Magazine*. 1878. January and February.

*Language-Maps of British and Further India*.

IN the Book of Esther we read how, in the fifth century before the Christian era, before Asoka had carved his inscriptions on the pillars of Allahabad and Delhi, and on the rocks of Girnar, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri, the great king Xerxes, son of that Darius who has left his imperishable inscriptions on the Rock of Behistun, in languages of three separate and distinct families, issued his orders to the deputies and rulers of the provinces, which are from Ethiopia to India, a hundred and twenty-seven provinces, to every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing and their language. This last language has survived to our days, but the character then used can be found only in the manuscripts of the Samaritans; and in the characters and languages of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia and Asia Minor, as revealed to us by modern science, we can find some vestiges of the forms of speech and writing used by the scribes of Shushan to convey the Imperial edicts, on slips of bark, papyrus, metal tablets, or baked clay, to the Nile and the Indus, to the Araxes and the Cydnus.

Had the document which was transmitted to India, survived and come down to us, it would have been of more value than the Book of Esther, or a contemporary Egyptian papyrus or Greek lapidary inscription, for it would have settled the question as to the language then spoken, or at least understood, by the people of Afghanistan and the Punjab, and solved many problems which are now hopeless. The earliest written document

in India is the inscription of Asoka, which is subsequent to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, and the language, in which those inscriptions are written, is one of the Prakrits, which are manifestly of Aryan and Sanskritic origin. The Prakrits have long ago died themselves and given place to a new crop of vernaculars, but the discovery of these Aryan inscriptions on the western coast at Gujerat, on the eastern coast at Cuttack, and on the Ganges at Allahabad, places the fact beyond doubt, that the present ethnical distribution of the Aryan, Dravidian, Kolarian, and Tibeto-Burman people, must have settled itself before the time of Alexander. More than two thousand years have elapsed since then, and we propose to pass under review the languages spoken by the people of Nearer and Further India, and the Indian Archipelago at the present moment, which languages are the lineal descendants, in uninterrupted succession, of those spoken at that distant period.

We do not find such a review of the languages of the East Indies in the pages of this or any other Indian periodical. We deliberately use the phrase East Indies, as by that general term we understand the whole of those ten great peninsulas of Hither and Further India, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, over which, from the time of the Greeks and Romans, a halo of mystery and magnificence was cast; which for the last three centuries have been the dreamland of European nations, and which are now unequally partitioned among the English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese nations, for no portion of this vast field lies beyond the possession, protection, or political influence of one of these European powers. Parts of this great field have been described by different writers at different times, and from different points of view. There is no lack of material, but it is scattered in the pages of periodicals, and in books not readily accessible. Moreover, it is only within the last ten years, that even, as regards British India, it has been possible to make a Language-Map, and to feel with some confidence that no race or language has been omitted. The books placed at the head of this paper are merely representative works chosen to cover the whole ground, and to give a clue to others required to fill up the picture. Buchanan, Leyden, and Colebroke, wrote to the extent of the knowledge available at their time. Marsden and Crawford added enormously to the general stock from their local and personal researches. Max Müller and Latham, who had never seen India, arranged and popularized the knowledge of others. In every part of the field new workmen seemed to spring up, with a divine gift, and devoted years, to tedious and often unremunerated investigations. Logan, in the Indian Archipelago; Hodgson, in the Nepalese mountains; Dalton, in the

Central Provinces and Assam; John Wilson and Stephenson in the west of India, are but types of a class. After all, Missionaries have done the most good work, from the time of old Carey and Marshman of Serampore, whose zeal outran their discretion, as they wrote grammars of, and translated the Bible into, languages of countries which they had never visited, and of the inhabitants of which they knew nothing, down to Gundert, Pryse, Trumpp, and Skrefsrud. A good grammar or dictionary, such as each of the four last-mentioned have left, is a permanent addition, and a solid brick added to the Tower of Knowledge. Following in the wake of the army of linguistic skirmishers, who deal with a single language, come the great grammarians who deal with a class or a family of languages, who are represented by Beames and Caldwell, and indeed Trumpp and Gundert have so handled their books on one language, as to give them a value as partaking of the comparative method. Yet, after all that has been done, and is being done, we feel that we are still only on the threshold of knowledge, and one great object of throwing together the facts contained in these pages is to point out, to the linguistic aspirants now in the field, how much remains to be done.

The field of the East Indies is a peculiarly interesting one to a linguist, and contains representatives of all the morphological strata of languages, some in a state of high civilization, others, though closely allied, still in their natural simplicity. The action of the language of the subdued non-Aryans on the Aryan conquerors, and of an inflected language, the vehicle of Religion, on agglutinative and monosyllabic languages is most marked. The extent to which dialectal variations prevail upon the borders of two linguistic areas, has not yet been fully examined into. In some cases the borderers may be bi-lingual, and, in others, a rude amalgam of two wholly unsympathising languages has resulted in a mixed patois, or jargon, analogous to the Pidgeon-English of China. Some languages, like the Hindustani, the Tamil, and Malay, have risen to the position of a *lingua franca*, with a usage far exceeding their natural territorial limits. Others are being choked, or trodden out, or driven fairly out of their ancestral inheritance.

In the space assigned to us, we can only go lightly over the whole field without attempting to define boundaries, or state populations of linguistic fields, as this has lately been done in the Geographical Magazine of London, 1878. Nor shall we stop to indicate the Grammars and Dictionaries of each language, and to descant upon their linguistic peculiarities, nor shall we describe the literature, as either of these subjects would supply materials for a separate and interesting volume, the former describing the material of which the language, whether literary or not, is composed, and the latter, where the language is literary, de-



scribing the nature and extent of that literature. Our object is to take care, that no form of speech escapes our search ; to distinguish dialects from languages, and to bring the latter under such of the former as they belong to ; to group the languages into classes and families, and to treat the subject in a general historical and geographical way, rather than on a scientific method.

What is a dialect and what a language ? Now, there is room for difference of opinion, but, so long as an intelligible principle is laid down and adhered to, no great confusion will arise. Italian and Spanish are separate languages, and Venetian and Tuscan are separate dialects of Italian, the latter being the standard or dominant type of the language. A dialect differs from another of the same language in grammar, vocabulary, and phonetics, in all three, in one, or in two, of these particulars, and of course in some cases it is a nice question, whether they are sister languages, as we have now classed Panjábi and Hindi, or only a western and eastern dialect of one great language, as will probably be found to be the case. But the case is not so clear as regards non-literary languages, where there is obviously no standard of purity, and where the struggle for life, or linguistic supremacy, which has been fought out in every European country, has still to be decided. Where the language has a special name, such as Tamil, it is easy to enter that name as the language, and group all the dialects under that name, but where a cluster of languages is represented by general tribal names, of which little is known beyond scant vocabularies, which show dialectal divergence among themselves, it is difficult to decide by what name the group is to be entered. Of this the Naga group in the Assam hills is an instance.

Of the Semitic family, there are no representatives in the East Indies. The influence of Arabic is felt through the Persian, in many of the Aryan vernaculars, and directly in the Malayan family, and Hebrew and Syriac are used as religious languages, possibly in a debased form, by small colonies of Jews in Bombay, Calcutta, and Cochin, and the small Church of Nestorian Syrians on the West Coast. Arabic is the religious language of the Mahomedans throughout. There are also considerable colonies of resident Arabs, who must be deemed to be aliens.

The Indo-European family is amply represented. We merely notice the English, French, and Portuguese languages as those of settlers for long periods or for life. The influence of the former is felt only by the loan of words. But the Portuguese has gone far to make up a mixed dialect by combination with the languages of the country. The Dutch has nearly died out of Ceylon, but, in the Indian Archipelago, Dutch and Spanish are the languages



of the ruling classes. Italian and Latin came in with the Roman Catholic Clergy: Danish, Norse, and German with Protestant Missionaries. Persian is the court and polite language over the whole of British India; and Pahlevi is the sacred language of the Parsi fire-worshippers. Armenian is the language of a rich and industrious colony of the highest respectability. The Chinese is spoken by the numerous immigrants of that nation in Calcutta, the seaports of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the islands. One Turki language crops out among the Dard tribes, the Khajuna, as neither Turk nor Mogul was ever able to colonize India, however much they might dominate the subject population and leave their mark in the name of the great *lingua franca*, the Urdu. Of the great Slavonic family, as yet at least, not one word has ever been uttered by a native of India.

We now proceed to classify the fixed and indigenous population. There are seven families:

- I. The Indo-European or Aryan.
- II. The Dravidian.
- III. The Kolarian.
- IV. The Tibeto-Burman.
- V. The Khasi.
- VI. The Tai.
- VII. The Mon-Anam.
- VIII. The Malayan.

Of these, the first belongs to that morphological class which is called the Inflexive: the three next to the Agglutinative: the three next to the Monosyllabic; and the last to the Polynesian type.

Our task lies mainly with languages living and spoken to the present day; but there are certain dead languages, which have so largely influenced certain members of some families, that they deserve a notice. The first of these dead languages is Sanskrit, the influence of which is felt in all the Indic branches of the first family, except the two first, which must be considered pre-Sanskritic. The first four of the Dravidian languages also are deeply affected by Sanskritic influence.

The influence of the Sanskrit is also felt in the Java group of the Malayan family, having been introduced with the Hindu religion into that island from the East Coast of India at a period which is quite uncertain.

The influence of the Prakrits is in some particulars greater. The Magadhi, better known as the Pali, became the vehicle of Buddhistic teaching, and has deeply affected the Sinhalese, itself the offspring of another Prakrit, the Burmese, the Mon, the Kambojian, and Siamese. From other Prakrits, some of the Aryan vernaculars are traced in direct descent, and another has become

the religious language of the Jains. Another important dead language, of which a vast literature has survived, is the Kawi, or Archaic Javanese.

Of the Aryan family there are two branches represented in one field:—I. The Iranic, II. The Indic. The Iranic is only represented in part by two languages, the Pushtu and Balúchi. The Indic is represented in its entirety by fourteen languages. We must notice them individually, but briefly.

The two languages of the Iranic family are Pushtu and Balúchi, both spoken by the troublesome border tribes, which vex the Government of India by their lawlessness, beyond the river Indus, in that so-called neutral zone which divides British India from Persia and Russia. The Pushtu is the language of the Afghan nation, who are Mahomedan, actual or nominal subjects of the Ameer of Kabul, or totally independent. It is one of the languages which the servants of the State are bound to know, and there are several excellent Grammars and Dictionaries. As was to be expected in a language which occupies a position between India, Persia, and Turkistan, there are several dialects, but enough is not known to analyse the differences. They have a certain literature in the Arabic character. The Balúchi is the language of the race which occupies the tract that intervenes betwixt Afghanistan and the sea. The Balúchis are Mahomedan and lawless, but the Sindhi seems to encroach upon them on the east, the Persian on the west, and the Pushtu on the north. Moreover, intermingled with them in their villages, in one portion of their territory, is a totally different race, speaking a totally different language,—the Brahui. The Balúchis are totally illiterate. If any written character is used, it is the Arabic. The language has lately become one of the standard languages for the officers of the State. There are several dialects: the Mukrani, or Western, shades gradually off into Persian; the language of the centre tract is the present type; and there is a strongly-marked dialect used by the half-independent tribes, whose frontier marches with that of the districts of the Punjab.

We pass on to the Indic branch of the Aryan family. It occupies a larger linguistic platform, with a larger population in a ring fence than any group of languages in the world, with the exception of Chinese, regarding the internal divisions of which we are imperfectly informed. The highly-developed type of this lordly language has left its mark on several languages of the Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Tai, Mon-Anam, and Malayan families. Two of the languages of this branch are pre-Sanskritic. They represent the Aryan type before it blossomed on Indian soil. These are the languages of the Siah-posh Kafirs and the Dards. In the lofty mountain-gorges and elevated valleys, which lie in the

angle formed by the contact of the Himalaya range with the Hindu-Koosh, dwell the stout-hearted pagans, who have defied Hindus and Mahomedans for centuries, and kept their religion, language, and liberty in a safe retreat, which no European has ever visited. These are the Kafirs. Their language has been carefully analysed by Dr. Trumpp and pronounced to be Aryan. Between these and the Indus in Yaghestan, and beyond the Indus, in the territory of the Maharajali of Kashmir, dwell the Dards, who are for the most part Mahomedans, with a mere handful of Buddhists. We know more of their language, which has several dialects, and is pronounced by Dr. Trumpp to be Aryan. Both these languages are savage and without literature. The next on the list is Kashmiri, the speech of the inhabitants of "the happy valley" chiefly Mahomedans of a degraded type, but with a sprinkling of remarkable Hindu Brahmans, distinguished for their appearance and their ability. There is no question that this language is Aryan, but we know far less of it than we ought to do. We have nothing beyond meagre vocabularies and grammatical notes. There is reason to believe that the valley must have been peopled by a reflux of the Aryan wave over the outer range of the Himalaya, as there are evidences of culture in both the language and the customs of the people far beyond that of their neighbours beyond the sunny range, the Dards. There is a special form of the Nagari character belonging to the Kashmirians, but it is little used. The Persian language and the Arabic character are used for purposes of State and private correspondence. The Pukári and Kishtwári, spoken by the mountaineers of the middle range of the Himalaya, are provisionally grouped as dialects of Kashmiri.

The Panjábi occupies a much larger linguistic field, but with less decided claims to an independent position as a language. It is bounded on the west by the Pushtu and Balúchi, on the east by the Hindi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sirhind: on the north by Kashmiri and its dialects; on the south it passes by gentle transition into Sindhi. Thus, it embraces the country of the five rivers, hill and plain, and is spoken by a population partly Hindu, and partly Mahomedan. It differs from its sister Hindi in its phonetics, in much of its vocabulary, and some of its grammatical inflections, and yet no one but a pedant, who knew Hindi, would pretend to arrogate the knowledge of a second language by learning Panjábi, in the same sense as he certainly would, if he acquired a knowledge of Bengáli or Sindhi. No additional test is imposed on public officers: there is no separate literature, public or private. Public business is transacted in Hindustani; and private correspondence in that language or in Persian. Even the Grunths, when examined critically by

Dr. Trumpp, have revealed a singular fact, that the last Grunth of Govind Sing's is in Hindi, and that the first Grunth of Baba Nanuk is replete with quotations from archaic Hindi, and is certainly not in Panjábi as now known. The character used by the Sikhs, called Gurmukhi, is obviously a variation of the Nagari, as is also the mercantile character of the Bazar. Treating Panjábi as a language, it may be said to have many dialects, the most marked being the Dogri and Chibhali of the outer or lower range of the Himalaya, and the Multani of the extreme south, which is transitional to Sindhi. An uncertain patois varies from Doáb to Doáb among the agricultural class, unregulated by any standard of purity or literature.

The Brahúi may be dismissed in a few lines, as so little is known of it. It is spoken by a race of Mahomedans, who are blended with the Balúchi-speaking population of Balúchistan, from whom they differ totally in language and race. The Chief himself is a Brabui, but he and his nobles speak both languages. Bishop Caldwell, on a review of the scanty grammar of Leech and Bellew, has expressed an opinion, that it is, in its structure, of the same stock as Sindhi, though with strong Dravidian affinities. There the matter rests for the present, and as officers now pass a test in this language, and a book has been published in it at the Kurrachi press, it will not be long before it will be classed with certainty.

The Sindhi language is spoken by a Mahomedan population in the delta of the Indus, and somewhat beyond the delta, on both sides: for the population of Kach Gundava in Belúchistan and of the peninsula of Kuch in the province of Bombay speak well-defined dialects of Sindhi. Trumpp's excellent grammar has told us all that is to be known of this markedly Prakritic language. It has no recognized and established character. Trumpp has adopted a modified Arabic alphabet, which is objected to by the Sindhi-speaking Hindus, who had a variety of bad forms of the Nágari. The confusion has been intensified by an attempt on the part of the educational officers to introduce a new and unscientific form of the Nágari alphabet, and of some of the Missionaries to introduce the Gurmukhi of the Punjáb. There are distinct dialects of upper, middle, and lower Sindhi, and of the Desert, in addition to the two above-mentioned and two other dialects, the Jugdali and Mendh, spoken in Mukran and on the seacoast of Belúchistan.

The great Hindi language would require a volume for itself. Shall we be far from the truth in hazarding the assertion that it is spoken by eighty millions, in upwards of thirty dialects? It impinges on all of its great sisters, the Panjábi, the Sindhi, the Gujaráti, the Maráthi, the Uriya, and the Bengali. It reaches north and south, from the Himalaya middle range to the river Nerbudda, and



far beyond, and east and west from the mountains of Nepal to the deserts of Sindh. By many, both Panjábi and Nepáli would be classed, not without reason, as dialects of Hindi: for the present they are excluded. Its great mixed dialect, which sprang from the Turki-Urdu, or Camp, at Dehli, in the Mahomedan period, and is known as Hindustani, has almost attained the status of a separate language, with its boundless Arabic and Persian vocabulary, its readiness to adapt itself to new words and new ideas, its harmonious sounds, and its elegant idioms. This language uses two distinct, but well-adapted characters, the Nagari, and the adopted Arabic, and to this must be added a third rival, the adopted Roman alphabet. The Hindi has all the attributes which go to make up a strong vernacular; one of the dozen which will eventually divide the world among them. It would be too long a task to describe the dialects of Hindi. We must bear in mind, that the Aryan race were immigrants from the north-west, and, as they advanced from the Himalaya to the Vyndya, they absorbed numerous non-Aryan races who had occupied the soil before them. In so vast a field, as that possessed by the Hindi-speaking races, we can remark obvious subdivisions: (I) The outer ranges of the Himalaya. (II) The Upper Doab. (III) The Lower Doab. (IV) The tracts east of the Ganges. (V) Buhar. (VI) Bundelcund and Bhagelcund. (VII) Marwar, Mewar and Malwah. (VIII) The Nerbuda valley. (IX) The tract south of the Nerbuda. Some of the dialects are transitional from one neo-Aryan language to the other. Other dialects are poisoned, as it were, with Kolarian and Dravidian vocabulary. Some are free from, others are hopelessly tainted with, the Mahomedan importations: but generally all keep the strong backbone of Hindi structure.

The Nepáli is classed as a language, but we know little of its linguistic features, and it will probably fall to the position of a dialect of Hindi. It is also called Khas or Purbutya, and is the language of the Court and dominant tribe of Goorkhas in the valley of Nepál. As will be seen hereafter, the language of the great mass of the subjects of the Raja of Nepál belongs to a totally distinct family, and the majority of those who speak this Aryan language, are obviously non-Aryan in race, or, at the best, of a mixed race, though professing the Hindu religion in a degraded form. The language is totally without literature, and the people are without culture. A form of the Nágari character is used for writing. Two dialects are assigned to this language, the Palpa and Tharu, but the boundaries are quite uncertain.

The Bengáli is a language spoken by thirty-six millions in the delta of the Ganges, pretty equally divided betwixt Mahomedans and Hindus, and, if the truth were known, it would probably appear that one-half were by race non-Aryan, having even now



only a veneer of Hindooism over their pagan superstitions and practices. Shut in to the north by the Hindi, and to the south by the ocean, and on the south-west by the independent Uriya, it has still wide room for expansion among the wild hill-races, speaking languages of the Tibeto-Burman family on the east, and the Dravidian and Kolarian mountaineers on the west. It uses a variation of the-Nagari character. It is impossible that it should not have very distinct dialectal variations considering the linguistic influences at work and the constant immigration of aliens both on the eastern and western flanks, but there are no well-established names, with the exception of the Mahomedan dialect, which applies rather to individuals than to regions, and the literary dialect which applies rather to words written than words spoken.

The Assamese was by some deemed to be a dialect of Bengáli, but its claim to independence as a language has been strongly maintained by those who know it best. It is akin to the Bengáli, but quite distinct, and has maintained its individuality in spite of the domination of the Shans, speaking a language of the Tai family; in spite of the numerous Tibeto-Burman savage races surrounding and often overrunning the valley, and in spite of the Mahomedan invaders. There is no literature, though there is a written character, another variety of the Nágari. It has loan words from Sanskrit, but with modified meaning and pronunciation, and, as the province is now entirely separated from Bengal, will doubtless maintain and amplify its independence.

Adjoining Bengáli is the Uriya language, which is spoken by a population of eight millions in the provinces of Bengal and Madras and the Central Provinces. They are chiefly Hindu, and use a separate character which, though primarily a modification of the Nágari, has undergone that change which is the feature of the characters of Southern India and of Further India, arising from the fact that the use of the palm leaf and the iron style has compelled the writer to substitute circular for straight strokes. The Uriya language is inclosed amidst Dravidian and Kolarian languages, touching Telugu and Gond, and inclosing Khond of the former, and touching upon Kole and Juang of the latter. No dialects are dignified by a special name, but they must exist. The best known and the standard form is that of the littoral betwixt the mountains and the sea, but the language extends far into the interior, into the territory of semi-independent Chiefs, lying off any high road, and in very unhealthy localities, and therefore very little known.

In speaking of the Maráthi language-field, we must carefully distinguish betwixt the limits of the Maráthi political domination and the boundaries of the Maráthi-speaking population. In the upheaving of races which followed the decadence of the Mogul

Empire, the Maráthas overran vast tracts occupied by populations who spoke Hindi and Gond. Gondwana, originally occupied by the Gonds, was overrun by immigrants from the north, and thus an extensive enclave of Hindi, the Chutisgurhi dialect, separates the Uriya language field from the Maráthi. This language is spoken in the central and southern portion of the Bombay province, a portion of the Nizam's dominions, and the eastern portion of the Central Provinces. It is bounded by the ocean on the west, impinges on Gujaráti to the north, and on the east and south comes in contact with Telugu and Malayálam of the Dravidian family. The population is reckoned at ten millions Hindus and Mahomedans. Several well-defined dialects are named, the Khandesi, the Dakhini on the plateau, and the Goades and Konkani in the littoral betwixt the mountains and the sea. This language is too well known to require further notice. It has an excellent dictionary, but no sufficient grammar. It uses the Nágari character.

Last of the neo-Aryan languages of Northern India and completing the circle round the central Hindi, is the Gujaráti, which impinges on the west on Sindhi, on the south and east on Maráthi, and is the only one of the great family entirely free from contact with alien languages. It is spoken by a population within its proper language-field of six millions, but it has a currency also as the mercantile language of Bombay, especially of the Parsi population, who have lost the use of their ancestral vernacular. A character is used which is an unsightly variation of the Nágari, the top line being omitted. The area of this language is limited, and, though dialects are mentioned, none are well marked. Towards the north, the Marwári dialect of the Hindi is, as it were, transitional betwixt the sister languages. There is no good Dictionary or Grammar. This language field is in the Bombay province and the territory of certain independent Chiefs.

One more Sanskritic or Aryan language remains, and we find it where least we expected, in the Sinhalese, the vernacular language of the south portion of the Island of Ceylon. Long deemed to be a Dravidian language, it has been tested by scholars, such as Childers and Max Müller, and pronounced to be Aryan. Nor does the history of the Island at all render this improbable. It has come down in the ancient legends of the Island, that Ceylon was colonized by one Vijaya, son of Sinkála, from Buhar, in the sixth century before the Christian era. Buddhism was introduced by Ananda from the same quarter two centuries later. The language spoken by Vijaya and his followers was one of the Prakrits. The invaders absorbed the wild natives. Inscriptions are found in Sinhalese of a date of at least two thousand years. This places this language upon a much more ancient platform

than any of the non-Aryan languages of Northern India, none of which have an antiquity of more than one thousand years. The boundaries of Sinhalese and Tamil is a line drawn from Ghilaw on the east coast to Batticaloe on the west. The population is about one-and-three-quarter millions, who are Buddhists. Elu is the high poetic dialect, and an archaic form of the language. Another dialect is that of the Veddahs, the pagan aborigines. A third is that spoken by the inhabitants of the Maldivé Islands who are Mahomedans.

Thus far we have described the sixteen living Aryan languages of India. Four dead languages suggest themselves in connection with them,—the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Pali, and the Prakrit, or rather group of Prakrits. By far the largest portion of the area and of the population of India is comprised within this category. Moreover, the Hindustani dialect of Hindi has a still further extension as the *lingua franca* of Southern India, while the dead languages of Sanskrit and Pali have left an indelible mark on the cultivated languages of all the other families, except the Kolarian and the Khasi. We pass on now into new linguistic worlds, replete with new names and new phenomena. We have hitherto only had to deal with languages of the well-known inflective type, of which the Aryan and Semitic families are the familiar examples. But languages are divided morphologically into three types. I. The Monosyllabic, II. The Agglutinative, III. The Inflective. We have now, in reviewing the languages of India, to deal with those of the two elder and simpler types. The Chinese is the well-known representative of the Monosyllabic type, where each monosyllable is an independent root, unalterable, and incapable of adhesion to another. The paucity of vocables under such a system is made up by the use of tones, and the grammar of the language consists of Syntax only. The Agglutinative type, of which the Turki is the great representative, consists of an unchangeable root, to which suffixes and affixes are attached by a mechanical process. In the Inflective type the union of roots and particle is by a chemical process: tones are no longer so extensively required in the unlimited facility of building up compounds to express every new idea. It may be added to this brief description, that no language adheres to its type without some modification. Even in Chinese the use of empty words, which have no meaning when they stand alone, appears to be a transitional stage to Agglutinative; and in the most highly developed languages of the second type there is an evidence of a transitional stage to Inflective; and in Inflective languages there is a constant use of Monosyllabic and Agglutinating method.

The second family of Languages in India is the Dravidian, and the type is Agglutinative. There are twelve living languages,

four of which are highly cultivated. The Dravidian races entered India from the west, probably by the Bolan Pass, as they have left traces of their languages in that of the Brahui above-noticed, and there are affinities betwixt this family and that form of speech which has survived to us on the Second, or Scythian, Tablet of Belistun. This family even now extends from the Ganges at Rajmuhál to the centre of Ceylon. At one time it occupied a wider field, for the Aryan immigrant has for centuries invaded and occupied the inheritance of the northern Dravidians, while, on the other hand, Aryan culture and Aryan religion have added to the strength and consistency of the southern and cultivated members of the family. First in order comes the Tamil, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, below Pulicat in the Madras Presidency, and in the northern half of the Island of Ceylon. A population of fourteen-and-a-half millions, chiefly Hindus, speak the language, of which there are two marked types, the Literary and the Vulgar, in addition to dialects spoken by wild mountaineers. All the world knows about the Tamil and the Telugu language, which last is spoken by a population of fifteen-and-a-half millions, chiefly Hindus, along the east coast above Pulicat in the Province of Madras, and in the interior, in the dominions of the Nizam, and across the Godaverí in the Central Provinces. The boundaries of this language field are not well defined in the Nizam's territory. The language makes its way in a debased form into the savage wilds of Bustar in the Central Provinces, but no other dialects are recorded, though on the sides where it impinges on the Uriya, the Khond, the Gond, and the Maráthi, dialects of a transitional character, doubtless exist. Each of these languages has a character of its own, a rounded variation of the Indian alphabet.

Two other of the Dravidian languages are cultivated, the Kana-resse, and the Malayálam. The former is the speech of the centre of the peninsula, the latter of the east coast. The former is spoken by a population of three-and-a-half millions, chiefly Hindus, in the Province of Madras and the territory of the Raja of Mysore. Its character is separate and nearly resembles the Telugu. Archaic dialects still are found among the wild mountaineers. The latter is spoken by a population of nine-and-a-quarter millions, chiefly Hindus, in the Province of Madras, and the territory of the Raja of Travancore, and Cochin. It uses the same character as the Telugu. A remarkable dialect is that of the Mappila of Cannanore, which extends also to the Laccadive Islands, the ancient inheritance of the Chief of that place. Among the forest tribes is found a still more primitive dialect.

The fifth Dravidian language is the Tulu on the west coast, adjacent to the Malayálam, and three languages spoken by small clans of mountaineers in the Nilgíries, about whom much more



has been written than their interest warranted, the Coorg, the Teda, and Kota. The two former, the Tulu and Coorg, are Hindus, with a certain amount of civilization ; the two latter are shy, savage races. The number of all four is very limited. Had they happened to have lost their languages and adopted that of their conquerors, not a word would have been heard about them.

Four more Dravidian languages are spoken in Central India. I. The Gond, II. The Khond, III. The Oraon, IV. The Rajmaháli. The Gonds exceed one million in number, and are the remnant of a much larger population of the old Province of Gondwana, which has been invaded from every point of the compass by Hindi, Maráthi, Uriya, and Telugu immigrants. They are now divided into two or more enclaves. The northern Gonds on the Nerbuda formerly attained to sovereignty, were independent, and enjoyed a rude civilization, but never had a written character. The southern Gonds extending down to the Godaverí are wild and shy savages. Some are Hinduized: the majority are pagan ; all reside in the Central Provinces. The Khonds inhabit the plateau of low hills, where the Provinces of Bengal and Madras meet, the debateable country being held by petty Uriya Chiefs, ruling subjects who are pagans, and who, until lately, indulged in Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide. They are in a very low state of civilization. To the north of these come the industrious Oraons, the Dangers or day labourers of Bengal. They inhabit districts of Chutia Nagpore. They are pagans.

Still further north, in the hills overhanging the Ganges at Rajmahál, are the Rajmaháli Puháris, or Malers, who, though tamed by the exertions of Cleveland in the last century, have still maintained their wild habits, and their primitive Dravidian language, though encroached upon by the more hardy and industrious Aryan and Kolarian races. These are the twelve Dravidian varieties, as laid down by Bishop Caldwell, the esteemed authority on this subject which is fairly exhausted, though some vocabularies still exist, such as those of the Gadaba, Yerukala, and others, which have not as yet been assigned their proper position. The whole population amounts to forty-six millions, which anywhere but in India would have been deemed considerable.

Next in order comes the Kolarian family, which incloses the vocabularies of those remaining rude tribes of Central India, which the Dravidian authorities could not accept into their family, from the great difference of vocabulary and structure, though still of the Agglutinative type. The Government of Bengal have commissioned the Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud to prepare a Comparative Grammar of this family, which is not large, with a total population of less than one million, and some of the languages of which will



scarcely survive much longer. We have provisionally registered seven names. I. The Sonthali. II. The group of Mundári, Bhomij, Ho or Lucka Kole, which are mutually intelligible. III. Kharia. IV. Juang. V. Korwa. VI. Kur. VII. Savara. The Sonthali is a beautiful and elaborate language, though without literature or written character, yet as symmetrical and richly supplied with agglutinated word-forms as the Turki. It is spoken by an industrious and thriving people of agricultural pursuits in the Province of Bengal. They are pagan and in a low state of civilization, but neither their race nor their language runs any risk of being extinguished. Equally full of vitality, the language of the Mundári, Bhomij, Ho, or Lucka Kole, who are an industrious and thriving people in the Chutia Nagpore of the Province of Bengal amounting to eight or nine hundred thousand. Of the Santali and Mundári we have sufficient Grammars from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud and Rev. Mr. Whitley, both in the Roman character, and among both races there are established energetic and thriving Christian Missions. The circumstances connected with the four next languages are very different. The Kharia is a small tribe in the district of Singhbhum of the Province of Bengal. Col. Dalton in his *Ethnology* gives a vocabulary, but does not state the number of the population. The Juangs are even more savage. They inhabit the forests of Orissa, and wear no covering to their bodies beyond leaves of trees: they are said to number three thousand. The Korwals are found in the forests of Chutia Nagpore: their number is not stated, but a vocabulary is supplied. The Kur or Kuiker are found in detached enclaves in the Central Provinces, and their number is not stated. The Savara are found in the Bengal Province, but have lost their ancient language. In a corner of the Ganjam District of the Madras Province, they are found still speaking their peculiar language, and their language field is marked off in the *Language-Map of the Census*. Other vocabularies have been brought forward, but the habitat of the speakers has not been pointed out. Other tribes, evidently Kolarian in race, have lost their ancient language, or retain only a few words grafted on a dialect of a neo-Aryan language, such as the Bhils and others. We may leave this Language-family with the conviction, that in the struggle for linguistic life these venerable fragments of ancient languages will scarcely survive under the strong light which is now brought to bear on them. But their existence is of intense interest, as they are no doubt anterior to both Aryan and Dravidian families, and the Kolarian immigrants found their way to Central India from the east over the passes of the Himalaya, down the valley of the Brahmaputra river. The streams of the Aryan immigrants descended the Ganges,

and, absorbing many into the lower grades of Hinduism, pushed back a remnant into the hills, where they have maintained a miserable existence up to the present hour.

A wider and more important field lies before us, that of the Tibeto-Burman. Here we have fifty-seven distinct languages, divided for the sake of clearness of description into seven geographical groups, extending along the north-east frontier of India from the Pamir mountains, behind Kashmir, to the confines of China and Siam. The great majority of these are savage languages, but still their existence cannot be overlooked. The work of the Botanist lies with wild flowers, and their peculiarities subserve more to true science than the regular beauties of the cultivated specimens: so is it with languages. Out of this large number of languages, some of which have numerous dialects, or are themselves but the selected type of a group of several kindred languages, two only have attained to the dignity of literary languages, the Tibetan, and the Burmese, and a few more have a written character; the rest are merely oral means of communication betwixt persons in the lowest rank of agricultural and pastoral civilization, or outside the pale, in a state of migratory savagery. Our knowledge of them is still very imperfect. Much that we know is due to the labours of one or two pioneers of science, such as Bryan Hodgson and William Robinson, who made local researches, and Dalton and Max Müller, who arranged and collated the collected material.

We proceed now to notice the groups in regular order.

1. The *Nepal Group*, consisting of twelve languages: Sunwar, Gurung, Murni, Magar, Kusunda, Chepang, Pahri, Newar, Bhramu; Kiranti, Vayu, Limbu.

We have already mentioned that the language of the Court and dominant tribes of Nepal was of the Aryan family, but in the valleys and middle and higher ranges of the Himalayas, which constitute the kingdom of Nepal, dwell non-Aryan tribes, speaking these different languages. Owing to the zealous seclusion maintained by the Goorkha State, and the gross ignorance of the people, no approximate idea can be formed of the population, but their location is known. Of the Kiranti, there are no less than seventeen dialects. In fact, where there is no literature and no standard, each valley acquires a distinct patois. They are Buddhist or semi-Hinduized.

The second group consists of a single language, the Lepcha, spoken in the kingdom of Sikkim, and of some promise, as it has a character, and a Missionary literature is developing itself. Col. Mainwaring has, in 1877, published a Grammar of this language, which is called the Rong. The population is mountaineer and Buddhist, low down in the scale of civilization.

The third group, the Assam group, is a remarkable one, one of the most remarkable in the world, consisting of thirteen languages. The river Brahmaputra flows through the whole length of the valley of Assam: on the north side is the main range of the Himalaya, separating the valley by an impassable barrier from Tibet: on the south is a lower range of hills, separating it from Kachár and Sylhet. As already stated, the valley itself is occupied by Aryan immigrants from Bengal, intermixed with semi-Hinduized non-Aryans, who have descended from the hills and accepted civilization; but round the valley, dwelling in the hills at different elevations, are a series of savage tribes who have shown no inclination to be civilized or good neighbours. In addition to the Assamese above described, there are thirteen distinct non-Aryan languages, and, in some cases, groups of languages spoken in the amphitheatre of hills which surround the valley. The Dhimal, Kachári, Deoria-Chutia, and Pani-Koch are spoken by agriculturists actually settled in the valley, but the following hang upon the skirts of the cultivated area, and, in some cases, receive from the State annual grants in compensation for the loss of their vested right to levy black mail at time of harvest. Commencing from the confines of the Lepcha, we have the Aka, Dophla, Miri, Abor, Mishmi, with several dialects, Singpho, or Kakhyen, Naga, Mikir, and Garo. The majority are pagans, and those that come into contact with the territory of British India, are but portions of a much larger community which lies behind. We have scanty vocabularies and grammatical notes of most of these languages, and a grammar of the Garo language. It must be observed that, what is called the Naga is in reality a cluster of several totally distinct languages, each having dialects. Naga is a tribal rather than a linguistic name, and under the term are three languages and eleven dialectal variations. There is no written character in any one of the languages of this group. The labours of Mr. Bryan Hodgson, and Col. Dalton have done much, but much more remains to be done. The linguistic problem is one of exceeding interest; the ethnical problem perhaps still more so. A Grammar of each language, and a Comparative Grammar of the whole group, are the ends which should be aimed at. Through the Mishini country, sooner or later, a road to Tibet and China will be worked out. Through the Singpho or Kakhyen a road will be thrown open to peaceful commerce over the Patkoi range to the headwaters of the river Irawadie. These same Kakhyens occupy the mountains betwixt Bhamu and Momien in China. The Garo and Mikir will subside into peaceful agriculturists: with the fierce Nagas, a pressure on both sides from Assam and Kachár must lead to eventual submission or migration.

The fourth group, the Munipúr-Chittagong, comprises thirteen languages, and is of the same character as the preceding group. It appears to be but a list of names, hard to pronounce, and carrying with them no geographical impression. Yet still these names are facts, almost unknown twenty-five years ago, dimly understood now, but which will come forth into the clear light of day during the next quarter of a century. The names are as follows, and dialects are excluded:—Munipúri, Liyang, Maring, Maram, Kapui, Tangkhul, Luhupa, Tipura, Kuki, Shendu, Banjogi, Sak, Kyau. Of these, Munipúri and Tipura represent the languages of well-known principalities, and Kuki has been brought into prominence by a military expedition of some importance conducted a few years ago against the Lushai, one class of this great community called by their neighbours, but not by themselves, Kukies. Two servants of the State, and two only, claim to be acquainted with the Munipúri language, which has a character and a Dictionary, but of the others we have only vocabularies, and a tolerably exact geographical allocation, thanks to the labours of Colonel McCulloch, Lieutenant Stewart, and Major Lewin. These tribes occupy the mountains extending from Assam to Chittagong, which are in fact the frontier of India Proper, of Hinduism, and of the Aryan race. Far beyond we come upon Further India, or Indo-China, the Buddhist Religion, and a non-Aryan race, both among the governing and governed classes. These mountains appear to have been always an impenetrable barrier, and it is doubtful whether any Englishman ever travelled by the land route from Dacca to Rangoon. In leaving these two remarkable groups of Assam and Munipúr-Chittagong we may venture to repeat, that in this quarter lies the work of the Philologist during the next quarter of a century.

With the fifth group, that of Burma, we find ourselves outside the Province of Bengal, and in the Province of British Burma, and Independent Burma, peopled by a proud, warlike and civilized nation. The Burmese is the head of the group, which comprises eight languages, all in close relationship. The Burmese is a highly-cultivated language with a character derived from the Indian character, and a literature, much of which is derived from, and the whole imbued with, the Pali, the religious language of the Buddhists. Thus the agglutinative language is deeply influenced in its vocabulary by loans of inflected words from an Aryan language. The Burmese is known as the Mugh, or Rakheng, and has dialects, the Arracanese, the Tavoyi, and the Yo. The following are the minor languages of this group:—Khyen, Kumi, Mru, Karén, Kui, Kho, Mu-tse. Of these the Karén have attained a world-wide reputation owing to the labours of the celebrated American Missionaries. They are numerous scattered both in



hills and plains, and divided into separate clans, who speak the well-defined dialects of Sgan, Bghai, Pwo, 'Tounglithu, Karenni and others. There is no character, and they are pagans, and backward in civilization. The other six are uncultivated languages spoken by wild mountaineers in the Yoma mountain range, or in the hills beyond the river Salween.

The sixth group consists of seven languages, spoken by populations who reside in the Trans-Himalayan Mountains and valleys beyond the great watershed, they are the Gyarung, 'Thochu, Manyak, Takpa, Horpa, Kunāwari, and Tibetan. The first five are but linguistic and geographical expressions, as little is known about them beyond their existence, and the direction of their habitat; but the last two require a more particular notice. The District of Kunawur is part of the territory of the Raja of Bussahir, a tributary and dependent of the Province of the Punjáb, though beyond the snowy range and the river Sutlej. The people are non-Aryan, and Buddhists, mountaineers, backward in civilization. But the language has three dialects, the Melchan, spoken in Rampur, Tibarskad in Kunawur, and Bunan in the petty sub-division of Lahul in the Kangra District of the Punjáb. These last two dialects according to Jaeské, the Moravian Missionary of Lahoul, are something more than dialects, and really represent an Archaic language, which is both pre-Aryan and pre-Tibeto-Burman, or, in other words, is the language of a race who existed before the immigration of the first from the North-West, and the second from the North-East. If such be the case, the vocabulary will be one of the highest interest, and, like the discovery of the Proto-Babylonian language in Mesopotamia, gives us a peep into the mysteries of an elder world. For the present we have classed them as dialects of Kunāwari. We now approach the great language known in India as Bhotia, and to the Persians as Tibetan. It is spoken in one small district only of British India, viz., Lahoul or Spiti in the Punjáb, and in portions of the territories of Native Chiefs under British influence, viz., the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jummū, the Raja of Bhotan, and Towang. It is the language of that great and unknown country beyond the Himalaya, named Tibet, of which the capital is Lassa, the religion Buddhist, and which forms an integral part of the Chinese Empire. It is a highly-cultivated language, with a character, borrowed from the great Indian character, and a literature, which has been circulated by native block printing for many centuries. The Tibetans borrowed their religion and their religious terminology from India, and Sanskrit has made a profound impression on their literature. This language has not been studied in Europe as it ought to be: it is doubtful whether there is a living Englishman who knows the language. Grammars



have been compiled by Hungarians, Germans, and Frenchmen, and a Dictionary is now in the press which has been prepared by Jaeské after many years residence in Lahoul. The extent of country over which the Tibetan language is spoken is enormous. Little as we know of Tibet, we can estimate the prodigious expansion of its frontier from the confines of Dardistan on the Indus to the neighbourhood of the wild tribes of the Assam frontier on the Brahmaputra. There are many dialects. In the territory of the Maharaja of Kashmir, we find the Balti spoken by the Mahomedan population of Iskardo or Baltistan, who are non-Aryan in race, and the Dah spoken by Buddhist Dards, who are Aryans. Further up the Indus we come to the Ladakhi, Zanskari, and Champas, spoken by Buddhist non-Aryan Polyandrists: on the higher waters of the Ravi, we come on a dialect of Tibetan spoken in Spiti. Further on, the unknown regions of Nepaul intervene betwixt Tibet and British India, peopled by non-Aryans speaking a score of independent Tibeto-Burman dialects. In the independent kingdom of Bhotan, we come on another dialect of Tibetan, the Lhopa or Bhotani, and the Twang of Towang. There are doubtless many others which will be made known when, in the fulness of time, the course of the river Sampa is traced up from the head of the Assam valley to Lassa, and becomes the Brahmaputra.

There remains the seventh group, that of China, in which, owing to the paucity of our knowledge, three languages only are entered, the Lolu, Mantse, and Lisaw. These are scarcely more than linguistic and geographical expressions, and, as our knowledge extends, the group is capable of infinite expansion, and as it lies wholly beyond the frontier and civilization of the East Indies, it might have been omitted, but for the convenience of devising a group to comprehend all that remains of the great Tibeto-Burman family. Future linguists must fill up the vacuum.

Many authors still persist in describing the two great typical languages of this family as Monosyllabic. We incline to class them in the Second or Agglutinative category, but in the earliest stage of that method. When as much is known about them as of the Aryan and Semitic families, we shall be able to speak with certainty, but not till then. We may hazard the opinion, that the seed plot of this great family was in the Central Plateau of Asia, near the fountainheads of the great rivers, the Irawadie the Salween, and the Mekong, and the descent of this family to the plains was subsequent in date to that of the Mon, who will be noticed further on. We may also hazard the hypothesis, that the Kolarian race of Central India were at some period connected with this family, and it is remarkable that the descent of the powerful Aryan race down the basin of the Ganges separated them for ever more than two thousand years ago.

The fifth family, the Khasi, will not occupy us long. It consists of one single language, the Khasi, which has four dialects. This isolated family has Aryan neighbours on its north and south, and Tibeto-Burman on its east and west, occupies a most inconsiderable area, and yet has maintained its individuality. An admirable Grammar and vocabulary was published in 1855 by the Rev. W. Pryse. It is the language of a single tribe, numbering about 200,000 souls, living on the range of the hills to the south of the Assam valley, with the Garo tribe on the west and the Naga on the east. They have no literature, no written character, and there is a great variety both of vocabulary and pronunciation: the dialect of Cherapunji is considered the standard. The Roman character has been adopted in the Grammar abovementioned, and the Anglo-Khasi Dictionary, published by Rev. H. Roberts in 1875.

The sixth family, known as the Tai, or more commonly as the Shan, is a remarkable one for several reasons. It extends geographically fifteen degrees of latitude in a narrow column from the upper end of the valley of Assam in British India, through the valley of the Upper Irawadie in the independent kingdom of Burmah, along the river Mekong, in the empire of China, and the kingdom of Siam, and along the river Menam to Bangkok on the Gulf of Siam. It contains five languages: the Siamese, Lao, Shan of Burma, Tai Mow of China, Khamti of Assam. It gives a high idea of the civilization of the speakers of this family of languages, that each language has a separate character, a modification of the Indian character. The Tai race must have descended from the Central Plateau at a date anterior to that of the Tibeto-Burman, and subsequent to that of the Mon-Anam, through the field of which they pass, like a distinct geological stratum, dissevering that family from its component parts. The Siamese is the language of a proud, haughty, and civilized people, who hold subject other races, and have preserved their own independence. The whole of this family are Buddhists, and, with their religion, came into their language a great influx of Aryan vocabulary, but the genius of the languages is monosyllabic. In the dependent Province of Lao, proceeding northward, we come upon another language in a rude state: further onward we pass the frontier of Shan and enter Independent Burma, and find the Shan language, of which we have a grammar by the Rev. Mr. Cushing. The Tai Mow are otherwise called the Chinese Shans. They extend over the debateable frontier of China and Burma to the banks of the river Mekong: of their language little is known. At a time when the power of the Tais was very great, anterior to the rise of the Burmese kingdom, they invaded the valley of the Assam across the Patkoi ranges and

a branch of the race, known by the name of Ahom, founded a dynasty and gave their name to the valley. The Aryan immigrants from the side of India had a hard struggle to hold their own against these powerful immigrants of the east. The Ahom gave way, and their language, as left behind them, is dead, but a powerful class still holds a portion of the hills, called the Nora, of which there are two branches, the Ai-khan or Khamtee, and Ai-ton.

The seventh family, or Mon-Anam, contains four languages regarding which we have some information, and an indefinite number regarding which we know nothing beyond the probability of their existence. The known languages are the Peguan, or Mon, the Kambojan, the Annamite, and Paloung: the unknown ones are the languages of those wild tribes in the basin of the Upper Mekong, of which Lt. Gamier in his voyage of exploration brought home scant vocabularies. The inspection of a Language-Map will show how the Tai family and the Tibeto-Burman have poured like a stream of lava through the language-field of the Mon-Anam, and separated it into fragments, which have no longer any communication with each other. The Mons of Pegu were once powerful; but the Burmese overthrew them, and the nation and language were in course of extinction, when the cession of the delta of the river Irawadie to the British Power gave both a new term of existence. A very large number of Peguan exiles settled in the kingdom of Siam at the time of the Burmese oppression, and have not returned. The number of speakers of this language may amount to one hundred and eighty thousand. They have a character of their own, and a certain amount of literature derived from the Pali, their sacred language. The whole of the Mon-Anam family are Buddhists, and the language is Monosyllabic. It is singular that, in the same manner as the interference of the British Power has saved the Mon nation and language, the interference of the French has saved the Kambojan, who occupied the delta of the river Mekong and had enjoyed an ancient civilization anterior to, and parent of, the civilization of the Siamese. They have an archaic language and character distinct from the modern, and remains of magnificent temples, but the national life was weakened by the constant attacks of its powerful neighbours to the right and the left, the Siamese and Annamese, who would have divided the territory or fought for possession but for the arrival of a stronger power, the French, who bought the neutrality of the Siamese by the cession of a portion, annexed a portion, and maintained a reduced kingdom of Kambodia under their own protection. The number of speakers of this language amounts to one-and-a-half millions. It has a certain number of dialects. For all the information which we possess, we

are indebted to the French, and we may anticipate a considerable addition. At this point we reach the extreme limit of the great Aryan civilization, which through the dead and sacred languages of Sanskrit and Pali has permeated the literature of the Indo-Chinese languages. But with the Annamite language we find ourselves in a new world. It is asserted (and we accept the assertion provisionally) that the language of Annam or Cochin-China is of the Mon-Anam family, but the civilization, the form of Buddhism, and the written characters are borrowed from China. The country lies along the littoral of the China Sea, consisting of three provinces, Tonquin, Annam, and Saigon, which latter has now become a French colony. The French have long had a footing in this country, and have supplied us with Grammars and Dictionaries. The fourth language of this family is the Paloung, a wild race, isolated in the midst of the Burmese and Shans, and we know little of it beyond scant vocabularies.

The eighth family consists of ten groups, and we enter entirely a new world, though the influence of the civilization of India is to a certain extent felt in a portion of the field. By some it is included in the general category of Polynesian, but it is more convenient to limit the subject to that portion only which may be described as "Malayan." The field consists of an archipelago of greater and smaller islands, extending from the coast of China to that of Africa. Ethnologically speaking we come upon two races, one with a brown skin and straight hair, and a second with frizzly hair and of a negritic stamp. Many parts of this language-field are but imperfectly known, and the races occupying it are in the lowest and most abject state of savagery, and yet the whole of it has been more or less under the control and influence of the English, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese nations for more than two hundred years.

The first group is that of the Malay language, which has a double capacity, being the special language of a certain region, and the *lingua franca* of the whole archipelago. Its special region is the peninsula of Malacca of the mainland, partly in the kingdom of Siam, partly under independent Chiefs subject to the control of the British Government: a portion of the Island of Sumatra, the islands of Banca, Billiton, the Rhio Lingga archipelago. The speakers of this language are reckoned at two millions-and-a-half, and are Mahomedans. The character adopted is the Arabic. There is an abundant literature, and the language is one of the great vernaculars of the world, with a capacity for absorption of alien elements, a freedom from grammatical restraints, a readiness to adapt itself to new civilization, and a power of expression, only equalled by the English and Hindustani. In the forests of the peninsula of Malacca are savage races, in a wild



state, who are provisionally classed under the Malay. They are known as the Onrung Binwak—the men of the soil. Some of them, the Jakuns, are clearly Malays in a savage state, but the Samangs are obviously Negritos.

In the second group, called from the Island within which the languages are spoken, we find four languages, the Achinese, Batak, Rejang, and Lampung. The speakers of the first name are Mahomedan with a certain amount of civilization, using the Arabic characters, and waging a war of independence against the Dutch nation. the speakers of the other three are pagans. The first are in so backward a state, that they practise cannibalism of so monstrous a character, that they eat their aged relations, and yet the Bataks have three distinct dialects, a character peculiar to themselves, and some literature on palm leaves. This language has been studied, and illustrated by the celebrated Dutch scholar, Vander Tuuk: the Rejang and Lampung have also separate indigenous characters. Lying off Sumatra are small islands, the inhabitants of some of which speak languages akin to those spoken on the coast of the greater Island, while the inhabitants of others are totally unintelligible.

In the third group, that of Java, we come once more on traces of the great Aryan civilization of India, for, many centuries ago, some adventurous Brahmans, probably from the Telugu coast, conveyed to Java their religion, their sacred books, and their civilization; and Java became the seat of a great and powerful Hindu monarchy. When the Mahomedan storm fell upon the Island, the remnants of the Hindus fled with their manuscripts to the small island of Bali, where they have survived to this day. Together with the ruins of magnificent temples, an Archaic language has come down to our times, known as the Kawi, which for some time was considered to be an Aryan language, and a debased form of Sanskrit, but which is now thoroughly understood to be of the Malay-an family, and an Archaic Javanese, heavily charged with Sanskrit loan-words. In this language is a copious and most interesting literature written in a character of Indian origin, and entirely of an Indian type, being in fact the old legends of the Ramayana and Maha Bharata, handled freely by native authors. The Islands of Java, Bali, and Lompoh, belong to the Dutch. On the greater island there are three distinct, but kindred, languages, all illustrated by excellent Grammars and Dictionaries: the Sundanese spoken by a population of four millions: the Javanese by a population of thirteen-and-a-half millions: the Madurese by a population of one-and-a-half millions: all use the same character, and are Mahomedans. In the Island of Bali, and on the littoral of the Island of Lompoh the vernacular spoken is the Balinese. They are Hindus with a population of half a million. But the



interior of the Island of Lompoh is occupied by a totally different people, who speak a different language called Sassak: they are Mahomedans, and amount to three hundred and eighty thousand. Perhaps this is the only instance of a Mahomedan population being subject to Hindu Chiefs.

We pass across the Java Sea to the Celebes Group. The Dutch are paramount here, as in the rest of the Archipelago, and to their scholars we are indebted for a knowledge of the four languages which we record, though no doubt there are many more. The Macassar, the Bouton, and the Bugi, are well-defined languages, spoken by a Mahomedan population of a certain civilization, and great commercial activity; there is a distinct written character; and elementary works have been published. The Bible has been translated into this and other of the languages of this family. The Dutch Missionaries are pioneers of linguistic knowledge, and worthy rivals of their brethren in British India. To the north of the Celebes we come on the Alfurese, or Harafura, which is merely a Portuguese term for the tribes "outside the pale," a mixed compound of the Arabic article and the word "fuori" or "outsider." In these general terms are included numerous imperfectly-known pagan savage tribes, who have the diabolical practice of "head-hunting," and testify their prowess by the number of heads of their fellow-creatures, which by means fair or foul they are able to accumulate. Of the languages of these savages little is known with certainty. The existence of such savages shows how great the work has been in the cause of civilization, that has been done by the professors of the Hindu, Buddhist and Mahomedan religions.

Over against the Island of Celebes lies the fifth group, the Island of Borneo on the Equator, one of the largest in the world. The littoral fringe is colonized by Malays, Bugis, Javanese and Chinese, according to the front of the Island exposed to those different nationalities. The Dutch are now paramount over a portion, and the remainder is independent. Malay is the language of the littoral fringe, and the interior can be divided roughly into Dhyak, and Kyan. Numerous other tribal and language names are on record, but they mean nothing in the present state of our knowledge.

Turning to the north, we come upon the sixth group, the Philippine Islands, discovered and still possessed by Spain. Out of a much larger number which are imperfectly known, four well-defined languages stand out as representatives of, rather than a complete enumeration of the languages of the fifth group: the Tagál, Iloko, Pampanga, and Bisayan. The Philippines consists of two larger, and a great many smaller, languages: but the interior of the larger, and many of the smaller are unexplored and unpossessed by the Spaniards either from weakness or indifference.

The Spaniards have published numerous Grammars, and the bulk of the community are nominal Roman Catholics. Of the dialects of the known languages, and of the populations we have no certain knowledge: such tribes as are beyond the Spanish influence are either pagans or Mahomedans.

The seventh group comprises the Moluccas or Spice Islands. For practical purposes, Malay is the language of this group, for it is a medium of communication betwixt native tribes, as well as between the natives generally and Europeans. Attempt has been made by Dutch scholars to study and report the different languages spoken in the Islands, and we may hope for further information.

The eighth group is the greatest linguistic puzzle. On the Map we see a long string of islands stretching out from Java towards Papua. These are deep-sea islands with a Fauna and Flora totally distinct from those of the continent of Asia, and in these islands the Negritic population, akin to the Papuan, is found, though they are totally absent from Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Borneo, having either never existed, or more probably been killed out: they exist however on the peninsula of Malacca, as we have already noted. In this Timour group we have noted nine languages: on some of the islands there are Malay or Bugi settlements: on some there are Dutch or Portuguese establishments: but the impression conveyed by an inspection of the populations of this group is that of unmitigated and hopeless savagery. The areas are too small, and the population is too insignificant to afford hope for improvement under a deadly climate, and with the absence of all specially valuable products or culture. In the west of the Island of Sumbawa, the language is the same as that of the adjoining Sassak mentioned above: in the east of Sumbawa, and the west of Flores it is Bima, the first on our list. In the centre of Flores it is Endeh. In the east of the Island of Flores, and the adjacent Solor and Allor Islands, the people speak languages kindred to Endeh. The same remark applies to the language of the Island of Sumba as far as any thing is known at all. The language of the west of the great Island of Timour is called Timourese: that of the east end is called Teto. The best known language in the island of Serwati is the Kissa. The languages of the Islands of Savoe and Rotli have a distinct individuality. The influence of the Dutch is paramount throughout this group, save in the small Portuguese settlement of Dili, all that remains to them of their great conquests in the East. Of the languages above enumerated we have nothing beyond vocabularies, and the number of distinct languages may prove to be much greater, or they may resolve themselves into dialects of two or three leading languages. The linguistic interest of a proper study of this virgin soil is wonderful. As we approach New Guinea we may expect the appearance

of new elements. Mr. Whitmee's *Polynesia Polyglotta* now in the course of publication, will throw a flood of light upon these dark places.

We must travel far to the north-east to find the ninth group. North of the Philippines is the Island of Taiwan or Formosa, within the dominions of the Emperor of China. Half that island, the littoral and the plain, are occupied by Amoy Chinese, but the mountainous portion is peopled by a race of Malay extraction and Malay speech. We find them in two stages of civilization, either half civilized, or downright savages, in both cases pagans. At what period the early settlers were blown over from the Philippines we can only speculate, but the absence of Aryan words from the vocabulary indicates a date anterior to the arrival of the Hindu colonists in the Archipelago.

For the tenth and last group of the great Malayan family we must sail over the Indian Ocean many degrees of West longitude till we reach Madagascar, not very far from the coast of South Africa. The circumstances of this island are now very well known. No less than four Protestant Missionary Societies have established important Missions: Education is being prosecuted under a most enlightened ruler: the Bible has been translated, and is now under revision. It cannot therefore be said that information is wanting, and the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of there being one general language of the whole island, with certain well-defined dialects. Grammars and Dictionaries have been published by French and English scholars, and the great Malay scholar, Vander Tuuk, has applied his mind to the question as to the family to which the Malagási, the sole representative of this group, belongs; and his opinion, coinciding with that of the Rev. Mr. Cousins, who is charged with the translation of the Bible, is in favour of its belonging to the Malayan family. What chance wind, blowing from the East, brought the early settlers from the west coast of Sumatra, we know not, nor do we know the precise relation of the language to the Papuan division of the great Polynesian kingdom, but these are problems which are rapidly preparing themselves for solution, as the lines of operation of Vander Tuuk in the Malayan field, Whitmee in the Polynesian, and Cousins and others in Malagási, gradually converge to one point.

We have thus gone over the eight great Families of languages spoken at the present time in the East Indies in its widest sense, and in those outlying regions and islands, which by the linguistic necessity of the subject have been caught into our net. We have exhausted our readers, but have by no means exhausted the subject. One hundred and thirty-five languages are but the representatives of a greater number which we have been unable in the seventh and eight families to specify with precision, and, if we

touch the subject of dialects, we must indeed enlarge our tent-ropes, for the Hindi has upwards of thirty dialects, and the obscure Kiranti of the Nepal group of the fourth family is credited with eighteen. Moreover, we have omitted the groups of islands of the Nicobar, Andaman, and Mergui, and many other wild savage groups, of which vocabularies exist, from the impossibility of fixing their place in the proper family with the inadequate information available. But it is wonderful how each year makes some contribution to the common stock by correcting errors, or adding positive information from original sources.

Pliny mentions that there were one hundred and thirty dialects spoken in the market-place of Colchis. This must be taken with some reserve, the same reserve with which we read of the number of languages of which Cardinal Mezzofanti had a good practical knowledge. The immense variety of languages which exist, has forced itself on the notice of all thoughtful persons. We find the attempt to explain the problem in the story of the Tower of Babel and the remedy for the inconvenience in the Pentecostal outpouring of linguistic knowledge, though of a very limited number of languages. A much more expansive conception of the boundlessness of the subject is conveyed in the passage in the Revelations: "I looked, and behold a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and peoples, and kindreds, and tongues."

We are far from having arrived at facility on the subject in British India. We were informed only a few months ago that the supreme Government will not admit that the Brahui language is distinct from the Belúchi. We read in a late Administrative Report of the Punjab, that the *Urdu* language is one of the languages spoken in every district of that Province. That Urdu is spoken in the Cutchery is possible, and in that sense English might also be entered as one of the languages spoken. We wonder how a transfer of District officers is managed in the Central Provinces, where Maráthi, Telugu, Uriya, Hindi and Gond are spoken in different districts, not to make mention of such dialects as Chutisgurhi and Nimari, which are unintelligible to a scholar of ordinary Hindi. Do the wild Kolarian races, the Sontháli and Kole of Central India, the Kachári, Mishmi, Khampti, and Khasi get justice done to them in their own languages? Are there honest paid interpreters, or are the people of those parts gradually becoming bilingual? It is of no use shirking the question. Since the abolition of the native army, and the admission of civil servants by competition, it is notorious that the standard of knowledge of the language of the country has greatly fallen even as regards the ordinary language. There are still a few excellent scholars in India, but the question still remains unanswered, Can



the European officers understand what is said by the people who have business to transact with them, and, if they cannot, is there any provision for interpreters?

Thirty-two years have passed since the writer of these lines penned his first contribution to the *Calcutta Review*. How little was known in 1846 of linguistic science in general, and of the languages of India in particular. Cosma di Koros had indeed revealed the secret of Tibetan and had died. Leech had written small Grammars of Brahui, Kashmiri, and Pushtu, and both of these scholars had died, too soon, alas! for science. The veteran Bryan Hodgson was still collecting and collating vocabularies of what he *then* called the Tamulie, and enunciating as discoveries what are now admitted as facts. Henry Rawlinson had just passed through Calcutta on his road to Baghdad with a fixed determination to copy and decipher and translate the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun. But of any classification of the languages of India, of the existence of the Kolarian group, of the number of the Dravidian languages, nothing was known, nor had the Missionaries, and the few servants of the State who had a taste for such things, furnished the materials for generalizing. We trust that the *Calcutta Review* may last another thirty-two years, and be the vehicle of communicating much sound archæological, linguistic and administrative knowledge; and if, after the lapse of that period, the list of the languages of the East Indies in 1878 which we have ventured to attach to this paper, should fall under the eye of the administrator or educationalist of that epoch, and he should, from the standpoint of knowledge *then attained*, remark that the writer of the paper was very ignorant indeed in assigning only one hundred and thirty-five languages to the East Indies, when in fact they exceeded six hundred, exclusive of dialects, and some groups still unattached to their proper family, we shall not turn in our graves at the imputation, if he but adhere to the cautious rules of science, using a sound judgment after a careful diagnosis. We wish we could live long enough to read his more correct and more detailed account of the languages of the East Indies. We have done our best, and left a point of departure for future scholars.

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## ART. V.—ALFRED TENNYSON.

**T**HERE is a tide in the popularity, no less than in the other affairs, of men ; and it is, perhaps, the baldest platitude to remark that excessive praise bestowed upon a public man, whether he be great in art, in song, in statesmanship, in war, is always, and it may be necessarily, followed by a re-action, so that the golden image before which men bow themselves to-day becomes despised as worthless brass upon the morrow. Such, among careless critics, is the fate of the reputation of any living poet. He is perpetually ascending and descending in the scale of public appreciation ; and not till long after his death is tardy justice done to him, and is he ranked in his due order in the Pantheon of Genius. The men who live and move in our midst are so near to us, we know so much about their daily life, their personal character, their habits and disposition, that it is almost as impossible, it would seem, to pass an impartial judgment upon their works, as it is to determine accurately the value of the productions of our own private friends. The critic, when he turns to living writers, at once assumes the character of Zimri—

So over-violent or so over-civil,  
That every man to him is God or devil.

Few more striking examples of the truth of these remarks could be found than the subject of this criticism—the present Laureate. When the writer of these pages first began to have any knowledge of the literature of his country, Mr. Tennyson was at the height of his popularity and renown. At that time, the judgment of one of the writer's friends would have been endorsed by a large section of the reading public:—"Tennyson is the greatest poet we have had since the days of Milton ; he is great not only as a poet, but as a prophet and a teacher." Now, the tide is at its lowest ebb ; and it requires a considerable amount of effort to persuade some people that the Laureate is a 'poet,' at all. Between these two extremes, there is room for infinite gradations of appreciative comment. And perhaps some service may be done to the cause of art by attempting to forget for a brief space the shallow laughter of buffoons and the equally shallow adulation of school-girls, and to examine Mr. Tennyson's works briefly, but with what care and impartiality we may, with the view of obtaining in conclusion materials for some definitive judgment upon them.

It has been said, and there is much truth in the remark, that the best test of a poet's real worth is his capacity for writing a good song. In this age of hyperbole, one always fears to quote anything

which sounds like an exhaustive dogma, lest one should seem to include the whole matter in the nutshell of a formula. But if the remark just quoted be not pressed too far, it may be taken as an important contribution to criticism. The poet is the maker, the creator ; so we have called him for now some two thousand years. But before he took that name, he was known as the singer ;—the man whose whole heart was filled to overflowing with the glory and delight of the outward world ; whose soul was lightened by bright visions of things unknown, encharged with high hopes for the future of mankind, with burning love for his fellows, with the deepest sympathy ; with the sufferings and sorrows of humanity ; until the pent up feelings and aspirations within his breast could no longer be restrained, and he was forced to give vent to them in song—

I do but sing because I must,  
And pipe but as the linnets sing.

This expresses the standpoint of every true poet. A true lyric is one which almost compels the reader to sing it. Like the song of the nightingale, or the strain of some sweet instrument of music, it may be valued more for the impression produced upon the heart of the hearer, than for the absolute ideas which it conveys. We would not be understood to mean that good ideas are valueless in a lyric ; but that although in this, as in every variety of verse, both the formal part and the material part are of vital importance, it seems to me that here, contrary to the customary rule, the formal part is of more importance than the material. We hold it true that a man may receive a really great moral good, besides no ordinary pleasure, from the effect upon his emotions of a really perfect lyric, such for instance as any of the choruses in Mr. Swinburne's *Atalanta*, even though he fail to grasp a single idea, or though his mind reject the truth of every conception. Happily, it is not necessary to insist very strongly on this point, for, as the writer just named has somewhere said, Nature never gives a perfect organ of expression without at the same time imparting some great message to be sounded through it. The chief excellence of a good lyric is sweetness and clearness of tone. It is an error—to refer once more to the author of *Under the Microscope*—to suppose that epigrammatic point is essential, or even conducive, to the beauty of a song. No bird sings epigrammatically. Too many writers spoil their lyrics by a mistaken effort to achieve that which is really a defect. So much for the general characteristics of the lyric. It is evident that it includes an almost infinite variety of subordinate forms, from the lightness of the love-song to the solemn grandeur of the psalm, or the stately restraint of the sonnet. It has as many varieties as there are diversities of form in musical compositions.

Few critical lovers of poetry will deny that Mr. Tennyson has proved himself to be a lyrist of the purest and sweetest tone. It is as a lyric poet that, as far as we can now judge, he will be remembered and honoured by posterity. Perhaps one of his most striking characteristics is the versatility of his genius. The range of notes which he commands is greater than that of almost any other poet. Here, at least, he has no peculiar and special mannerism to mark off his pieces from those of others. No two of his songs, like no two dreams, are alike. For lightness and grace, we have *The Miller's Daughter*; *The Merman*, and its companion song, *The Mermaid*; and the *Lotos-Eaters*; to mention a few among many. For depth of passionate feeling, the songs in *Maud*; and *The Sisters*, a wonderful song, with the true ballad ring in it, worthy to be ranked beside Rosetti's *Sister Helen*. *Locksley Hall* is an effort in perhaps even a higher range of song than any of these. It aims at giving expression to the spirit of the age. Every true poet is at once the exponent and the fashioner of the spirit of the time in which he lives. The influence of the period on the poet, and of the poet on the period, is reflex and mutual, not unlike the respective influences on each other of language and thought. In this respect, as we think, Mr. Tennyson is somewhat deficient. He has done something, no doubt, to mould the intellectual character of the age; but with the exception of *Locksley Hall* and *In Memoriam*, there is little in his work to entitle him to be considered as "in the foremost file of time." We find, among his best poetry, no 'Song of Italy,' no 'Ode to the French Republic,' nothing to correspond to that marvellous series of sonnets which Wordsworth poured forth at the opening of the present century. He lives and writes too much as a recluse, to be concerned immediately with the stirring topics of the day. This, as denoting, in some measure, a failure in sympathy with the throbbing human hearts around him, must be taken as a defect. But in this instance of *Locksley Hall*, - he has succeeded in tracing with wonderful precision and force the thoughts of the youth of to-day under the influence of strong excitement and indignation. These are very masculine lines, albeit the poet himself stigmatizes them as "bluster" :—

Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength of youth !  
 Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth !  
 Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest Nature's rule !  
 Cursed be the gold that gilds the straiten'd forehead of the fool ! "

The swing and rush of the metre bears one on like the sweep of an irresistible torrent. This is one of those lyrics which might be read and enjoyed for the mere sake of its tumultuous music. In passing, we cannot forbear to allude to a coincidence which may be well-known, but which we remember to have seen no-



where mentioned. The line,

And our spirits rushed together at the touching of the lips,  
is curiously paralleled by this passage from *Sartor Resartus*—

Their lips were joined, their souls, like two dew-drops,  
Rushed into one,—for the first time, and for the last.\*

Equally perfect in their own way are *The Two Voices*, a slow and solemn lyric of the very highest excellence; and *A Character*, which might have been written immediately after reading *The Poet's Grave*. Both of these pieces show strong marks of the influence of Wordsworth. And this mention of the influence exercised upon the Laureate by the works of one of his predecessors gives me an opportunity of remarking upon a very noticeable characteristic of our author. He is, more than most others, "the heir of all the ages," in that he stands upon the vantage-ground of the mound raised by the labours of all who have ever worked at poetry. To the poets of Greece and Rome, no less than to those of his own country, he is under the greatest obligations. They supply the skeleton, and in some cases even more than this, of many a famous line. He is, perhaps, a good example of the amount of truth contained in the definition of genius as 'the infinite capacity for taking pains.' He assimilates what is best in the works of others, by means of careful and appreciative study; but he is not a plagiarist, for whatever he takes he stamps with the mark of his own power. Nor is he to be considered, like Matthew Arnold, as a poet mainly by reason of his culture. There are signs in his works that, whatever might have been his fortune as to intellectual training, he could scarcely have failed to develop large poetical powers. The result of his education is shown in the direction to which his genius turns, and the form which his verse assumes. With other associations he might have been a poet of a different kind; but he would still have retained his degree. In some cases, one almost feels that he carries culture to too high a pitch; that he polishes and refines until he allows the white-heat in which a lyric has been struck out to grow cool. A lyric should be spontaneous; and Tennyson, true artist, and therefore conscientious worker, as he is, seems almost to destroy some portion of this charm, at times, in his efforts to attain an absolute ideal of perfect form. But who can read *A Farewell*; *Break, break, break*; *The Poet's Song*; or the interludes of *The Princess*, and pause to note such faults as these? At his best, our author's lyrics touch the heart of hearts of each of us, and move the emotions as deeply as any songs of our tongue. To our mind, *The Bugle Song* is the most perfect lyric that we know in any language.

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\* *Sartor Resartus*. Peoples' Edition : p. 102.

The recent mention of the influence upon our poet of scholarship and education brings us to the consideration of one of his most characteristic styles—that which he has made most peculiarly his own—the *Idyll*. In the use of this term we would for a time exclude the *Idylls of the King* which must be considered by themselves, and confine the attention to those poems which partake of the idyllic nature, in the meaning usually connoted by the term. Tennyson must be ranked, as we have hinted before, with the poets of Nature rather than with those of Humanity. His love of the external forms of the Universe, his appreciative and sympathetic study of Nature in her varied moods, is perhaps his prevailing characteristic, and gives him his greatest charm. Thus he was led, probably, by a kind of kinship with their genius, to pay special attention to the idyllic poetry of Theocritus and Virgil. And, following closely in their wake, as far as was possible under the altered circumstances, he has introduced a new form of verse into English literature, and found a suitable means of expressing to the full his fellow-feeling with the beauties of the outward shows of sky and earth. His *English Idylls* and pieces of the same stamp, do not aim at re-producing the form of the *Bucolics* or of the *Idylls* of Theocritus; they merely give utterance to the same spirit, transferred to other scenes and ruled by different conditions. The success which has attended these efforts, might have warned Mr. Tennyson against another mode of working, in *Queen Mary*; the *English Idylls* are more truly Virgilian, in any reasonable and critical sense, than are the formal imitations of Pope and his school. The sweet and simple grace of these idylls is incomparable; it places the author of them on the same level with, if not above, his masters. Take, for example, this absolutely perfect piece from *Ænone*:—

Then to the bower they came,  
Naked they came to that smooth-swarded bower,  
And at their feet the crocus brake like fire,  
Violet, anaracus, and asphodel,  
Lotos and lilies: and a wind arose,  
And overhead the wandering ivy and vine,  
This way and that, in many a wild festoon  
Ran riot, garlanding the gnarled boughs  
With bunch and berry and flower thro' and thro'.

Here the poet's imagination almost waxes wanton in its profuse and lavish picture of the beauties of the spot where Paris laid the foundation for the ruin of Troy. Then, too, as essays in the same style, and each in its own way a masterpiece, we have *The Gardner's Daughter*—whose face Frank Miles has made familiar to us:—*Dora*; *The Brook*; *Aylmer's Field*; *The May Queen*, whose mingled sweetness and pathos few, especially of those who

have heard it read by Mrs. Scott-Siddons, will care to deny. As studies of provincial life, these rank, slight as they are, with "Middlemarch;" than this we can give no higher praise. For this style we have no word of censure. In this branch of art, Tennyson is "the first, the last, the best," among English poets. He made the style; and though he has had many imitators, not one has approached him even at a distant interval. Grace, sweetness, delicacy and firmness of touch, purity of diction, simplicity and freedom from mannerism, are the virtues of these pieces. We wander with the poet through the "green-veiled lanes," and listen to the "murmur of innumerable bees," or the glad notes of the thrush, singing

"each song twice over,  
Lest you should think he never could recapture,  
The first fine careless rapture;"

and watch the golden and purple splendours of the dying sun; or stretch ourselves for a careless hour beside a babbling brook, joying in Nature for her own sake, and gaining strength thereby for the more serious toils of life. We are more truly grateful to the Laureate for these, than for almost any other of his works.

We now pass to the analysis of the dramatic powers of our author. No true poet is without some portion of this faculty. From the intensely subjective and introspective nature of Wordsworth to the absolute objectivity of Shakspeare, there are many grades. But though a man may chance to be, like the former, among the greatest poets and still the worst of dramatists, yet no true poet can be utterly and entirely subjective. Wordsworth and G  the approached as nearly as might be to this point, and by their influence they have cast a subjective glamour, so to speak, over all poetry which has been since written in the Teutonic tongues. But, happily for themselves and for the world, they fell short of that absolute and perfect subjectivity, which falls to the lot of none save an Eastern *fakir*, on the point of being absorbed into the Divine Essence. The dramatic instinct is the salt of poetry; without it, any kind of writing would fail to satisfy either the heart or the intellect. The excess, or abundance of it, in a poet's composition makes the dramatist; the defect leaves the epic-writer; the golden mean belongs to the lyrist. But a poet may be essentially dramatic without adopting in any single instance the conventional dramatic form. It is a peculiar gift, which imparts to a poet the power of divesting himself of his own personality and assuming for a time the being of another; of speaking, not as an actor through the mouth of a mask, but as a God through the mouth of one whom he inspires. A careless reader might fail to discover traces of this faculty in Mr. Tennyson's

writings ; but it does really exist to no inconsiderable extent. It seems to have been latent, to some degree, in the earlier works, whereon, too, the shadow of Wordsworth lies perhaps almost more deeply than one might wish ; but in some of the finest of our author's writings it is strongly marked. The wonderful idyll of *Ænone*, to which I again refer with delight, is essentially dramatic. Apart from its significance in an idyllic point of view, it carries us back to the "wooded heights of Ida ;" shows us the gracious beauty of those forest glades and the chastened splendours of those bowers, which overhang the "plains of windy Troy ;" and brings us face to face with "beautiful Paris, evil-hearted Paris," with "beautiful-browed Ænone," with the goddesses who strove together for the palm of perfect loveliness. The chief charm is, no doubt, the pure idyllic grace, on which we have commented above ; but as a dramatic effort it is very noticeable. Ænone herself speaks as the "daughter of a river-god" could not fail to have spoken in those distant, dim, and passionate ages ; so, too, the goddesses speak, each in her proper person. Can anything be more intensely and purely dramatic than the words of "Idalian Aphrodite"

I promise thee  
The fairest and most loving wife in Greece.

*Ulysses*, *Tithonus*, *Locksley Hall*, are each special instances of the dramatic power. Take, for instance, the following lines from the first-named poem :—

I cannot rest from travel : I will drink  
Life to the lees : all times I have enjoyed  
Greatly, have suffered greatly, both with those  
That loved me, and alone ; on shore, and when  
Through scudding drifts the rainy Hyades  
Vex't the dim sea : I am become a name ;  
For always roaming with a hungry heart  
Much have I seen and known ; cities of men  
And manners, climates, councils, governments,  
Myself not least, but honour'd of them all ;  
And drunk delight of battle with my peers,  
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.  
I am a part of all that I have met.

Here we have Odusseus speaking in the flesh ; not the debased Ulysses of the later authors, but the great and wise chieftain whom we know, and venerate almost too much to fully love, in Homer. Take, for another example, *Lucretius*, which we hold to be the Laureate's crowning dramatic effort.

The gods ! and if I go, my work is left  
Unfinished—if I go. The gods, who haunt  
The lucid interspace of world and world,  
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,  
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,



Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,  
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar  
Their everlasting sacred calm! and such,  
Not all so fine, nor so divine a calm,  
Not such, nor all unlike it, man may gain  
Letting his own life go."

This is supremely excellent. The poetic instincts of the great speaker, struggling, in the pauses of his madness, to reconcile the conclusions of his own clear mind with the fantastical, sweet creed of his countrymen, and investing their gods with a halo of gracious peace which lesser souls than his own failed to grasp or contemplate, is shown by a master-hand. If this poem stood alone, it would be sufficient of itself to prove the dramatic power of the author.

Finally, in touching on this point, some perhaps more extended notice is due to *Queen Mary* and *Harold*, as the latest of Mr. Tennyson's productions. As the work of a poet of high rank, as a venture in perhaps the noblest field of poetry, we consider the former to be a failure. There is less real dramatic power in the whole of *Queen Mary* than there is in the single little lyric of *The Sisters*. For it must be remembered that there are three essential elements in a great drama—unity, not of time or place, but of interest; vigour of action; and development and subtle analysis of character. In each of these points, as any careful reader may easily discover, *Queen Mary*, when weighed, is found wanting. The reason, as it seems to us is, not that Mr. Tennyson has begun too late to cast his thoughts into an unaccustomed form, but that he went to work in this case, if we may say so without presumption, in the wrong way. *The Times* spoke of the play as an eminently Shakespearian drama; and one would suppose that Mr. Tennyson sat down to write *Queen Mary* and to make his characters speak and act, not as his dramatic instinct should direct, but as nearly as possible as he conceived Shakespeare would have done, had he tried the same subject. Neither the poet nor the critic seems to have remembered that this is precisely the way, of all possible ways, to write just as Shakespeare would not have written. His method was to write according to his dramatic instinct, without regard to any other man's style. This is the only way in which a great drama can be produced. No one will ever rise to the level of Shakespeare by copying the mannerisms of the Elizabethans, and re-producing the faults of their style, without their living force, any more than a Chinese copyist could become the equal of Michael Angelo by imitating one of his frescoes and reproducing the very cracks which time has made upon its surface. Tennyson is not a dramatic poet of the order of Browning and Swinburne; he has a large measure of the



dramatic faculty, but not sufficient to entitle him to a place among the great lights of the English drama.

Thus far had we written before the appearance of *Harold*. The study of this last production served to confirm our judgment on *Queen Mary*; but to modify it considerably on Mr. Tennyson as a dramatist. We can express our opinion of *Harold* no better than by extracting a few remarks which we had occasion to make upon it, elsewhere. "We recognize this as a play which, "for sustained vigour of action; for height of dramatic realism; "for poetic beauty, now light and gay, now soul-stirring and "inspiring, now deeply and humanly pathetic; for delicate and "subtle analysis of character; in a word, for every point which "marks a great poetical drama, has had no equal, save one by "a living poet, since 'the spacious times of great Elizabeth'. . . . "Taken as a whole, *Harold* will rank by the side of *Guinevere* "among Mr. Tennyson's works. It is a true drama. There is "no pitiful strife after Shakespearian effects, no catching at "Elizabethan mannerisms, no servile imitation of the tricks of "speech of the older dramatists. This is a work which an Eliza- "bethan might have written, because it is a work of true dramatic "power, a splendid reproduction of those glorious times of English "liberty. and, above all, because it is the effort of a man of genius, "not written with the fixed intention of keeping closely to the "formal grooves hollowed out by a man of genius of a different "order, but with the design of permitting free outlet to the "current of his own impulses."

There are many men, like Barry Cornwall and Charles Kingsley, who, with the richest gifts of poetical feeling and the purest graces of melodious expression, fail to take rank among the chief poets by reason of the absence of any evidence of sustained power in their works. They have given us sweet and perfect songs which the world will not willingly let die; but, either from press of other occupations or from real lack of sustained power, they have raised no monument, *cere perennius*, which might place their names upon the burning scroll of the world's highest poets. This cannot be said of Mr. Tennyson. He has given abundant proof of his power of keeping up a prolonged effort of song in *Maud*, *In Memoriam*, *The Princess*, *The Idylls of the King*. Of the last, I must speak in some detail presently. *Maud* is one of the best instances of a story, told in lyrical form, that can be found in modern verse. In spite of its occasional obscurity and extravagance, it is a passionate embodiment of the life of the age; and ranks with our author's greatest efforts. Of *In Memoriam*, called as it has been, not lightly, but with all reverence, "the 19th century Book of Job," it is impossible to speak in the limits of a paper of this description. We can do no more than mention

it; and leave it for consideration at, perhaps, some future time. But we would hazard a few words of comment upon the *Princess*, a poem which we always read with renewed interest and pleasure. The misconceptions of critics with regard to it are occasionally ludicrous. For the most part, they seem to be content with a perusal of the title, and perhaps of the introductory pages; and because it is called a "medley," and because there is a certain amount of comedy in the introduction, the critics take the *Princess* to be a mock-heroic poem after the fashion of Stirling's "Richard Cœur de Lion." We remember one writer gravely saying that the burlesque nature of the subject consorted ill with the stately grandeur of the Tennysonian blank verse. Of course, any one who has read *The Princess* knows perfectly well that there is nothing approaching the ludicrous or burlesque, in the ordinary acceptation of the words, in the body of the poem. It is a pure and simple romance; a miniature epic of a world of the poet's own creation, in which he refuses to be bound by the ordinary canons of time and place, and commits anachronisms with malice aforethought, but not of such a nature as to impart anything of a burlesque character to the real heroism of the principal persons. There are few more noble figures than Ida, in the gallery of Mr. Tennyson's works. There are few more pathetic touches, in his poetry than the sorrow of Psyche for the loss of her child, and her joy at its recovery. Every page contains some great idea, some beauty of expression. Let us quote the closing lines, and then ask if they sound like the epilogue to an ordinary *vaudeville* :—

My bride,  
My wife, my life. O we will walk this world,  
Yoked in all exercise of noble end,  
And so through those dark gates across the wild  
That no man knows. Indeed, I love thee : come,  
Yield thyself up : my hopes and thine are one :  
Accomplish thou my manhood and thyself ;  
Lay thy sweet hands in mine and trust to me.

We suppose the work upon which the Laureate would wish his fame to rest, is that to which, begun and abandoned in his youth, he has devoted so many careful years of his mature powers—the *Idylls of the King*. And yet, one fears that this hope or longing, if it really exist, is doomed to disappointment. As a whole, the Arthurian epic cannot be considered a work entitling the writer to stand with the great masters of epic verse, to meet on equal terms, in the Elysian fields, with Homer, with Dante, with Spenser, with Milton. Like the *Fairy Queen*, it has a deep allegorical signification; and, like the work of Spenser, it may be read with the greatest profit and pleasure, by simply disregarding the allegory entirely, and giving up the mind to the overstrained delight of the deeds which it

commemorates. Before we proceed to consider it in its details, it may be well to combat one objection which has been made to it. It has been said that the subject of this epic, the deeds of Arthur and his Round Table, is not great enough for the true epic dignity; and it has been unfavourably contrasted, on this ground, with the subject of the Homeric poems. Here, as it seems to us, 'distance lends enchantment to the view,' and our critic forgets that the size—if that had anything to do with it—of the kingdom of Achilles was probably no larger than Lancelot's principality; and that, in reality, as far as we can ascribe historical accuracy to any account of either period, the wars of Arthur were probably considerably more important than those of Agamemnon. Surely the motive of the one—

To break the heathen and uphold the Christ—

is greater than that of the other—to reclaim to the side of a somewhat small-souled hero the frail loveliness of Helen. In truth, the only reason why an *Arthuriad* should not be written, worthy to rank for ever by the side of the *Iliad*, is that we have, unhappily, no poet quite equal to Homer. Given that chief requisite, all the conditions might easily be fulfilled. Unfortunately, we are as unlikely to obtain our postulate, as was Archimedes to get his *πύλον* wherefrom to move the world. As to the persons in the *Idylls of the King*, they are as splendid a circle as any in the history of classical or mediæval chivalry. In chivalry at its best, *pace* the "*Saturday Review*," there was poetry, there were heroism and greatness of soul, there was a holy hatred of all that is mean and base and wicked, and there was an earnest striving after truth and purity and a higher life. And seldom has the spirit of true chivalry been more splendidly embodied in poetry, than in the greatest of the Arthurian Idylls. Arthur, "the blameless king," whom we recognize as "the highest;" Lancelot, in sympathy with whom our hearts beat strongly and fervently; Geraint; Percivale; Galahad; Guinevere; Enid; Elaine; these are but a few of the great souls with whom we are brought into contact. "Geraint and Enid," showing "the golden prime" of the glory of the Round Table and rendered sweet and ennobling by the beautiful picture of Enid's womanly devotion, is dear to us for its own sake, and as the earliest of the idylls which we learned to love almost in our childhood. Enid's speech at the table of the fierce Earl Doorm is intensely pathetic and beautiful. "Lancelot and Elaine," the story of "Arthur's greatest knight," marred by

A sin

So strange, of such a kind, that all of pure,  
Noble and knightly in him twined and clung  
Round that one sin;

yet so splendid in his generous valour, so glorious in his heroic humanity, that we cannot fail to love him, any more than could the hapless maid of Astolat—the pure, sweet soul, who cast herself down before him whom she held to be “God’s best and greatest.” This, too, strikes some of the profoundest chords of our nature, and calls forth our deepest sympathy and tenderest pity. The quest of the “Holy Grail,” though not one of the four original Idylls, is more worthy a place of honour, than is *Vivian*. We confess to a horror of this last-named Idyll. It may be a subtle analysis of a peculiar phase of life and character; but, to our mind, the treatment in no way tends to elevate the debasing nature of the subject. But *The Holy Grail* is in Tennyson’s best style, as the following passage will go far to prove:—

And o’er his head the Holy Vessel hung  
 Redder than any rose, a joy to me,  
 For now I knew the veil had been withdrawn.  
 Then, in a moment, when they blazed again,  
 Opening, I saw the least of little stars  
 Down on the waste, and straight beyond the star,  
 I saw the spiritual city and all her spires  
 And gateways in a glory like one pearl—  
 No larger, though the goal of all the saints—  
 Strike from the sea; and from the star there shot  
 A rose-red sparkle to the city, and there  
 Dwelt, and I knew it was the Holy Grail,  
 Which never eyes on earth again shall see.

But wonderful and great as are these three Idylls, each in its distinctive beauty, their light grows pale and dim before the marvellous splendour of the star of *Guinevere*,

Last love-light and last song of the year’s.

We know not how sufficiently to express our admiration for the sublimity of tragic power, the depth of passionate feeling, the unutterable pathos, the divine sorrow and devotion, the unspeakable love and human sympathy, which are shadowed forth so gloriously in *Guinevere*. This is the crown of the work; and it is worthy of the hand of a master. The majestic and sonorous flow of the verse is unsurpassed in modern poetry. Here is the description of the object of Arthur in founding the Round Table, fulfilled with the true spirit of knighthood, and holding good not for one age only but for all time:—

I made them lay their hands in mine and swear  
 To reverence the king, as if he were  
 Their conscience; and their conscience as their king  
 To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,  
 To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,  
 To speak no slander, no, nor listen to-it,  
 To honour his own word as if his God’s,  
 To lead sweet lives of purest chastity,  
 To love one maiden only, cleave to her,

And worship her by years of noble deeds,  
Until they won her : for indeed I know  
Of no more subtle master under heaven  
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,  
Not only to keep down the base in man,  
But teach high thought, and amiable words  
And courtliness, and the desire of fame,  
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

There is no finer piece of verse, we had almost said in the whole range of English literature, than this continuation of Arthur's farewell to the guilty queen :—

I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere,  
I, whose vast pity almost makes me die  
To see thee, laying there thy golden head,  
My pride in happier summers, at my feet.

\* All is past, the sin is sinned, and I  
*Lo ! I forgive thee, as eternal God*  
*Forgives :* do thou for thine own soul the rest.

*Let no man dream but that I love thee still.*  
Perchance, and so thou purify thy soul,  
And so thou lean on our fair father Christ.  
Hereafter, in that world where all are pure,  
We two may meet before High God, and thou  
Wilt spring to me, and claim me thine, and know  
I am thine husband—not a smaller soul,  
Not Lancelot, nor another.

The depth of Guinevere's misery, the anguish of her repentance, and the bitterness of her sorrow, are all contained in her words after she has seen Arthur "moving ghostlike to his doom." The closing lines are all that we can quote ; we should like to reproduce the whole Idyll :—

Ah my God,  
What might I not have made of thy fair world,  
Had I but loved thy highest creature here ?  
It was my duty to have loved the highest :  
It surely was my profit had I known :  
It would have been my pleasure had I seen.  
*We needs must love the highest when we see it,*  
*Not Lancelot, nor another.*

The last two lines speak volumes. They are among the few lines of English verse which Carlyle has deigned to quote in the course of his works. Finally, the *Passing of Arthur*, the earliest written of the series, must be mentioned. It is quite a fitting companion even for *Guinevere* ; and the speech of Arthur from the barge is a worthy pendant to those which we have cited.

And yet, after dealing such liberal measure of unqualified praise, it remains for us to say that, in our judgment, the Arthurian epic, as a whole, is not the complete and magnificent poem



that it would have been, had every part corresponded to the four Idylls we have just considered. There is a certain want of unity about it, induced by the fragmentary nature of its composition. But there is yet a graver fault. The rest of the Idylls fall far below the standard of the best. *Pelleas and Ettare*; *Gareth and Lynette*; *The Last Tournament*; both in point of interest and in care and beauty of workmanship, are unworthy to form part of the same poem with *Guinevere*, and mar the completeness of the work. *Gareth and Lynette*, for example, is told more finely in Malouy's old book, than in the modern version. This is a fatal defect; and will effectually debar the *Arthuriad* from ranking with the great epics of Greece, Italy, and England.

This brings us to a final remark, with which we will conclude this paper. It is that, with his great and manifold excellencies, Tennyson is by no means an equal and uniform writer. Like Dryden, he amazes us by the sublimity of his flight; but he too often sinks below the level of less gifted rivals. We fail to appreciate the beauties of *Oriana*, though we have tried hard for the last seven years; to read *The Goose*, makes us feel inclined to abjure Tennyson altogether. We cannot yet forgive, we shall never, we fear, forget that climax of absurdity, *I stood on a tower in the wet*. *The Victim* was little better, and, "O, that 'spiteful Letter,'" as a friend of the present writer exclaimed after the publication of the three last mentioned pieces; and, to our mind, not one of the occasional pieces, not even *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, nor the *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, rises above the dead-level of respectable mediocrity. These are the only remaining points of any importance, in which we find anything to blame. We have no intention of adding another example to the absurdities of contemporary criticism by gathering up our conclusions and forming them into dogmatic assertions. If this paper is of service to any true lovers of poetry, in assisting them to estimate with some amount of precision the worth of the work of a man, whose name will be remembered long after we and our readers pass over to the majority, its object will be sufficiently attained.

B. N. C.

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## ART. VI.—FAMINE TAXATION.

### *Independent Section.*

THE necessity of making distinct provision for the expenditure which famines throw on the Treasury has been growing upon the public mind during the last five years. In 1874, Lord Northbrook first publicly formulated an idea which had been floating in official correspondence for some time previously, and which has more recently revealed itself in a general demand for some kind of famine insurance fund. Reviewing the financial situation in April 1874, Lord Northbrook found that, although they happened at irregular periods, famines occurred with sufficient frequency to admit of a heavy famine expenditure being treated as an inevitable condition of every Viceroyalty. That is no doubt a rather loose fashion of expressing the fact; but the fact being that a disastrous famine took place in Orissa in 1866, severe scarcity in the North-Western Provinces, Rajputana, Ajmere, and Mairwarra in 1868-69, and a terrible famine in Behar in 1873-74, some latitude may be allowed in the description of their financial legacies in the ensuing years. One lesson which these calamities seemed to teach, was that the best plan of dealing with them was perhaps to sum up the total famine expenditure of regular periods of, say, ten years; and, after obtaining an average famine expenditure for each year, to provide, firstly, for its realisation by taxation in each year, and secondly, for its custody or disposal until it was actually required for famine purposes. No one can require formal proof of the fact that, if a heavy expenditure is likely to occur at some uncertain period or periods in every ten years, the wisest course is to lay up for it regularly by small instalments from year to year. It is apparently not so clear, to many persons at all events, that, if special funds accumulate in a public treasury which is also compelled to borrow money from time to time for its regular needs, it might be justifiable to employ the special accumulations for general purposes, and to reserve the borrowing power for the special demands. It is an obvious reflection, however, that, if this plan possessed no other advantages, it would possess the advantage of preventing the accretion of superfluous interest charges. It is hardly doubtful that, if Lord Northbrook had proceeded to realise the prospect which he held out before the public, his experience as a financier would have enabled him to familiarise the public mind with the inherent innocence of the plan, before it had been prejudiced by association with obnoxious forms of taxation. As a matter of fact, the merits of the plan of preventing the accumulation of interest charges

are entirely outside of any system of taxation, good or bad. But, either because events were not ripe for some satisfactory scheme, or a scheme was not ripe for events, Lord Northbrook let his great opportunity go by, and contented himself with describing the general outlines of a financial compromise, in contemplating which the public mind should have a chance of familiarising itself with the more or less shadowy details of alternative contingencies, the choice between which was relegated to future accident. Herein Lord Northbrook probably disclosed unaccountable weakness. It may be as well perhaps to recall here the language which issued in his name to the world. "Such being the facts with which the Government of India has to deal," we read at paragraph 22 of the budget for 1874-75, "it would not be safe to depend upon loans for the purpose of meeting future charges on account of famines. Although means have been taken and will be taken to obviate or mitigate those calamities, some such charges must, for a time at least, be looked upon as contingencies to be expected to recur with more or less regularity. It is necessary therefore that, besides a fair surplus of income over ordinary expenditure, such a margin should be provided as shall constitute a reasonable provision for meeting occasional expenditure upon famines. If the surplus be employed in the reduction of debt, in the construction of reproductive public works, or remain in the cash balances, the expense caused by future droughts may fairly be met by appropriations from cash balances, or by loan, to the full extent of the accumulation of surplus. This condition of things has existed in India during the last four years, and the Government of India are resolved to use their best endeavours to maintain for the future a considerable surplus of income over ordinary expenditure, and thus to make provision beforehand for any calls which are likely to occur on account of famines." Now it is a mere truism that, if the Government maintains a steady annual surplus, famine expenditure may be met out of it. That is practically what Sir J. Strachey has said in other words four years later. But the amusement which Lord Northbrook's declaration occasioned in well-informed circles was nevertheless perfectly intelligent in the face of the great facts of Indian finance. It is true that all expenditure, whether raised by loan, or taken in taxation, takes place in the first place from the cash balances, which, apart from all irrelevant refinements, is but a book-keeper's name for the contents of the public treasury at any time. But for many years past all expenditure in India has been systematically divided into ordinary and extraordinary, *i. e.*, into expenditure of money raised by taxation and employed on general, and immediately unremunerative, purposes, and expenditure of money obtained by loan and used on reproductive works. The

theory underlying the distinction is, of course, that the returns looked for from extraordinary public works are a set-off against interest charges, on the lowest computation of those returns; all by which they exceed those charges being so much to the good. Under such a manipulation of credits it is an obvious anomaly to treat famine expenditure as expenditure which might be indiscriminately met from loans or from money raised by taxes; for although, if carefully analysed, famine expenditure will be found practically to divide itself into reproductive and unproductive outlay, Lord Northbrook's declarations give no sign that he intended so to divide that expenditure, or to debit outlay against taxes or loans in the precise rates of their productiveness. Nor, although the practical division of famine outlay into the two heads mentioned above is undeniable, is the distinction so sharply cut in every instance as to admit of the breaking up of large expenditure into two accounts, and the disposition of nicely-arranged items under each. Even the Government is fully prepared for Indian famines, and knows exactly what public works to open out in any province in which famine may reveal itself. The man must be very hopeful who can feel confident that no expenditure originally incurred as reproductive will in the final issue be found to be unproductive; and, in any case, there has to be set down on the unproductive side all that necessary expenditure in relief operations from which no return, susceptible of treatment in figures, is probable, and which has sometimes been described as the dead weight of Indian famine. To speak therefore of indiscriminately drawing upon cash balances for famine needs was to commit an error for which no justification seems possible. At the same time it must be evident to most persons that Lord Northbrook's declarations contained the germs of the schemes which have lately been developed by Sir J. Strachey. If it be the fact that the famine expenditure of given periods of, say, ten, or any other number of years, can be ascertained with tolerable precision, there seems to be no reason why an average famine expenditure should not be formulated for each year, and realized by taxation, and disposed of in the most economical way.

The points, then, which claim attention, are, first, the best method of formulating an annual average of famine expenditure; secondly, the best method of realising the money needed for such expenditure; and thirdly, the best method of disposing of such money.

As to the best method of formulating an annual average of famine expenditure, attentive readers of Sir J. Strachey's financial exposition must have perceived to how great an extent any estimates which may, in the first instance, be formed must partake of a speculative character. Those who might object to the adoption of



such a contracted period as five years as a basis of calculation, must surely see that, in halving his figures in an arbitrary manner, Sir J. Strachey effectually disposes of their objection. It might of course quite reasonably be contended that, instead of basing his calculations on the five years extending from 1873-74 to 1876-77, during which famines have been crowded a little thickly, the finance minister might have obtained a truer average by including the famine operations of ten or twelve years. Not only, however, have famine relief operations in recent years become so searching that the expenditure of remote years would furnish an inadequate criterion of future expenditure, but in fixing the annual average of famine expenditure at £1,500,000, after trotting out figures which seemed to show that the average might be fixed at £3,000,000, Sir J. Strachey has put it out of the power of critics to object to his estimate on the score of extravagance. One advantage of a high estimate is that it admits of future amelioration of burdens. But the estimates of the finance minister, as we have seen, cannot reasonably be called high. As experience accumulates with the treatment of future famines, it will be seen what proportion, if any, of the funds secured for famine purpose can fairly be considered superfluous; and the public must lash itself into a strange temper before it can regard with serious offence any arrangement by which surplus famine funds have been employed in the reduction of heavy interest charges.

In regard to the best method of realising the money needed for famine purposes, it may be said that the unanimous approval with which the entire Indian press has received the recent financial measures has obviated the necessity of any elaborate discussion on the subject. It may be useful, however, to trace out the narrow limits within which the choice of the Government has on the present occasion been restricted. If there was a single point on which public opinion was unanimous, before the finance minister disclosed his hand, it was that a renewal of the income-tax was impossible. It is unnecessary to dish up afresh the arguments by means of which the Indian public has persuaded itself that it would have been impolitic in the last degree to have revived that unpopular impost.

But it may be useful to bear in mind that condemnation of the income-tax carried with it the condemnation of a large variety of devices by which other taxes might have been realised. It would not do, for instance, while theoretically setting aside an income-tax, to resort to other taxes which required for their realisation arrangements that were equally open to objections. Now, all taxation may be loosely divided into two kinds, direct and indirect, or taxes levied from articles of consumption, and taxes taken from persons. If the reader will glance over the internal re-



sources of India, he will find that, with the exception of salt and opium, there is hardly an article of foreign or domestic consumption, produced in India, on which a duty could at the present moment be safely raised. The food produce of India being in excess of its demands, a duty on grain would tend to repress that growing export trade on which so much depends in the future. The critical position of the opium trade renders it unadvisable that any artificial encouragement should be given to the rivalry which already threatens to grow formidable. There remains the salt-duty. A great deal of cheap indignation, rooted for the most part in ignorance, has been flourished of late in connexion with the inherent iniquity of a salt-duty; and Indian journalists of experience must be aware that serious objections exist against any enhancement of salt-duty which tends to repress consumption. But it is obvious that impressions regarding the prohibitive character of a duty must be based on facts, and not on exercises of the imagination. For many years the present writer has invited attention to the fact that in Bengal, where the salt-duty was highest, there was no evidence to prove such a gradual increase in the consumption of salt as ought to result from a natural increase in population, and the growth of that population in prosperity. One inference from the fact might be that the salt-duty was prohibitive in Bengal. If this inference was reasonable, the obligation to reduce that duty was clear. But it ought to be forgotten by no one who pretends to treat this subject intelligently, that, until the sudden cessation in the increase of the salt-duty pointed to the necessity of reducing it in Bengal, the previous growth in the revenue pointed to an increase in consumption which marked off the limits of safe taxation. Now, if no one denies that this is the case, it is absurd to object to the repetition in other provinces of an experiment which has been found safe in Bengal. It is conceivable that the circumstances of different provinces may be so different as to require different standards of taxation; but it is obvious that the most trustworthy inspiration on this point must come from experience, rather than from the imaginations of excitable critics.

The recent proposals for the equalization of the salt-duty simply mean that in Bengal, where the duty has been suspected of weighing heavily on the people, some relief will be granted to them, while in other provinces, where that duty has not yet been proved to weigh heavily on the people, attempt will be made, within the safe limitations suggested by the experience of Bengal, to recover some of the money which will be remitted in Bengal. Such a proposal may be sentimental; but it is difficult to understand how it can be called unreasonable. A great deal of the flaccid talk about the pressure of the salt-duty on the part of Madras and

Bomoay overlooks the circumstance that no complaint of such pressure has ever been made out on satisfactory evidence. Not only so but in every province in which the consumption of salt has increased in spite of the duty, that increase has suggested freedom from pressure with which, with the experience of Bengal before us, it has been perfectly reasonable to experiment. A moment's serious reflection ought to convince every unbiassed mind that it cannot be iniquitous to level away the serious disparities which mark the incidence of the salt-duty in various provinces. If these disparities are to be removed, how are they to be removed except by equalising the duty? And what are the reasons for imagining that an equalization, which levelled down all salt-duty to the lowest limit anywhere retained at present, would be more just than the striking off of a safe mean below the point at which the duty has been found heavy in Bengal, and above that at which it has not, so far as we know, been found oppressive in Madras or Bombay? For one thing, any equalization which sacrificed revenue in Bengal, without recouping it in Madras and Bombay, would throw upon the Government the task of making good the loss by other taxation; and the onus of proving that there are other devices available which would prove less objectionable than that which has been proposed, lies on those who, arbitrarily setting aside the evidence hitherto obtained in Bengal, would insist on a general levelling downward to the lowest rate of duty prevailing anywhere in India. The howls which have lately been raised in one or two places against the least objectionable features of the new Licensing Bill, seem to show that some of the opponents of the new financial schemes are not so ready to accept other forms of taxation as their indignation against the proposal to equalise the salt-duty might have led guileless spectators to suppose; nor, if the truth be told, are there many available devices for reaching the pockets of tax-payers, which have much chance of being warmly welcomed. If the reader would honestly bear in mind that a certain amount of money has to be raised annually, and that some means must be devised for raising it, many objections which have been urged against the new license-tax would disappear. If the aggregate commerce and trade of India have increased during the past ten years, during which prices have also risen so greatly as seriously to inconvenience all persons receiving fixed salaries, it is obvious that the increasing wealth of the country must have gone almost exclusively to the commercial and trading classes. The nonsensical arguments occasionally based on the fact of the retirement of some Government officials on large fortunes overlook the circumstance that, where such fortunes have not been corruptly made, as they can rarely be, they must have been amassed in the course of speculations in industries which

ought to bear their share of the common taxation imposed on commerce and trade. The fact that a military man or civilian has accumulated a fortune by speculation in indigo or tea may suggest a reason for imposing a tax on indigo and tea cultivation : it can hardly furnish reasonable grounds for taxing other military men or civilians on fixed salaries who have not speculated in indigo or tea. And as it obviously would not answer to pry into the private affairs of officials with the object of discovering whether they are engaged in commercial speculations, the most reasonable course, evidently, is to impose a license-tax on all persons really engaged in commercial and trading speculations. The license-tax paid in the first instance by the manager of a tea garden or indigo plantation is eventually borne by all the shareholders in his concern, be they officials, priests or soldiers. Another consideration of some moment is that a tax on net profits does away with a great deal of practical injustice. Even if superficial critics condemn as fanciful the calculation that a large proportion of an official's income represents the interest on the capital sunk in his special education, few persons will deny that, in declaring their net profits, the commercial and trading classes usually exclude all items of regular charge, and declare, in fact, the amount of hard cash which is clear profit, and would in most cases be banked or laid out afresh in new operations. Now, if this be the case, only prejudiced persons can fail to detect an important distinction between the merchant's or tradesman's or banker's profits from his business, and an official's salary. The latter is an income from which various charges, some of them directly connected with the pursuit of a profession, are regularly met. The former is pure profit, to be spent at will. In the one case, a man's resources for work are lessened, and in some cases, in which income and expenditure are closely balanced, serious embarrassment might be occasioned by even a small tax : in the other, it is at best a question of reducing the amount of savings. Then again, in view of the enhanced cost of all the necessaries of life, and all the ordinary necessaries of work, the increase in price is an item which is included in the tradesman's or merchant's calculation of the cost of his transactions, and leaves untouched the net profit which he declares : while in the case of the official on fixed salary, increased cost of living slowly encroaches on the man's income, while his purse is fed by no new supplies. It would show more honesty or more intelligence on the part of those who inveigh loudly against a license-tax on net profits, if they stated plainly whether a net profit of even Rs. 100 a year after payment of all costs, is not a kind of nest-egg which is denied to a number of humble officers on salaries ranging from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 a year. For, if it be so, it represents a kind and an

amount of wealth which it would be absurd to associate with poverty, even if the returns in which such profits were shown were assumed to be perfectly correct. The probability of the intentional or unintentional inaccuracy of most returns opens up a question which we are not prepared to discuss. But supposing that every tax-payer's returns do not show things in the best possible light for himself, the bare fact of a net profit of Rs. 100 represents, with reference to the prevailing standard of living in this country, a degree of wealth which might well bring its possessor within the category of tax-payers. But this figure represents the lowest limit of profit which it is proposed to allow district officers to tax anywhere: the average minimum of taxable wealth being fixed somewhere about Rs. 200 a year. With those wise critics who regard these limits of Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 as much the same kind of thing as the income of clerks and servants on salaries of Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 a year, and who have based much fine indignation on this curious hypothesis, serious argument is impossible. Other critics might see good reasons for contentment in the prospect of a reasonable license-tax.

But even a reasonable license-tax might be open to serious objection if it revived the inquisitorial process of the old income-tax and left the poor at the mercy of corrupt underlings. It seems to be one of the special merits of the new scheme that it practically disposes of all such objections. The district officer, guided by advisers who are rather apt to underestimate than to overestimate the profits of local tradesmen, will assess the profits of the persons considered liable under the law; and each person so selected may bring his own evidence to support his own objections. It may, indeed, be feared that, under provisions so generous all but the unmistakably wealthy will escape all taxation; but there is no reason to suppose that the finance minister has not designedly worked for any result which is likely to flow out of his measures. We have thus a loosely-fixed limit of minimum taxable profits, the assessment of which is practically abandoned to the tax-payer; and, unless the Government were to abolish all taxation, it is difficult to see how easier terms could have been obtained for the classes which have benefited most by the increasing prosperity of the last ten years.

It only remains for us to consider, in the third place, the best methods of disposing of the money obtained by the new tax; and although the measures proposed for the temporary employment of the money actually raised seem unexceptionable, the proposals suggested for the final disposal of the famine fund money form the only doubtful portions of the new scheme. The expenditure of the country, as we have already seen, is of two kinds, which may be roughly divided into regular and irregular. Now



the new famine taxation will at once bring in large sums of money, and these will continue to flow in regularly. But the expenditure on famine is necessarily irregular, recurring at broken intervals and in undefined extents ; and the Government must either let all the famine fund money lie idle in the treasury, until it is required for famine operations, or find some temporary employment for it. Now all the while that famines leave the country in peace there are going on large public works, carried on for the most part with borrowed capital, for which heavy interest charges are incurred. Instead of borrowing every year for public works, and incurring interest charges, the Government has wisely resolved on spending the money obtained in taxation on public works, and on reserving its borrowing power for the uncertain occasions on which famines occur. The loans raised for public works average about £3,000,000, or thereabouts, a year. If no famine occurs for three years, the Government will only borrow £1,500,000 for public works, and use up also for public works the £1,500,000 obtained by famine taxation. If a famine breaks out at the end of three years, it is intended to borrow £4,500,000 for famine purposes, in place of the £1,500,000 which shall have been spent on public works in three years out of the famine fund. The net gain will be freedom from interest charges on £1,500,000 for three years, on £3,000,000 for two years, whatever that might come to. So far the course of the Government seems clear.

But the question remains: how will the £1,500,000 now raised for famine purposes be ultimately expended. This is a question, to discuss which fully would require more room than can now and here be devoted to it. We have seen already that the reduction of the famine charge from £3,000,000 to £1,500,000 answers any objection which may be offered to Sir J. Strachey's estimate on the score of extravagance. The same fact suggests an answer to objections which may be made to the character of some of the famine expenditure in Behar in 1873-74. To ensure a proper expenditure of funds raised for famine purposes, it seems necessary that the internal resources of the country should be more systematically studied than they now are, so that, on the outbreak of a famine anywhere, the Government will be familiar with the local necessities of the threatened populace. In spite of all precautions, however, it seems probable that a considerable proportion of the expenditure incurred in famine must be simply money thrown away in directly unproductive benevolence ; and it is perhaps a defect in the schemes so ably and so carefully explained to the public during the past two or three months that some distinct assurance has not been included in these explanations, to the effect, that the Government will carefully divide the million-



and-a-half to be raised for famine purposes into three, or more, distinct funds. Even as a matter of accounts, it might be useful to have this million-and-a-half divided into three funds; one for providing relief from which no return is expected; a second for paying off interest charges on loans raised for such public works as directly tend to prevent famine; a third for prosecuting remunerative public works such as would not be taken in hand but for the chances of famines. Some remarks on each of these funds may perhaps be submitted for the consideration of the reader on another occasion.

W. C. MADGE

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## ART. VII.—ANCIENT HINDU TRIBUNALS.

**I**N the Hindu Institutes, as in the Homeric poems, one of the chief duties divinely entrusted to a king, is the faithful and impartial administration of the laws of his country. Contrary to the theory of modern jurists, these laws were not held to be the outcome of sovereignty, but were treated as of celestial origin, while the ideal king himself was accounted semi-divine. "Since, if the world had no king," says Mann, "it would quake on all sides through fear, the ruler of this universe therefore created a king for the maintenance of this system, both religious and civil, forming him of eternal particles drawn from the substance of Indra, Pavana, Yama, Surya, of Agni and Varuna, of Chandra and Cuvera: and since a king was composed of particles drawn from those chief guardian deities, he consequently surpasses all mortals in glory. Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creature on earth gaze on him. He is fire and air; he, both sun and moon; he, the god of criminal justice; he, the genius of wealth; he, the regent of waters; he, the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child, must not be treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal: no, he is a powerful divinity who appears in a human shape." This doctrine of the origin of sovereignty, is coupled with the theory, that the laws which the king ought to administer, are entrusted to him by divine commission. The Homeric conception of the kingly office, scarcely differs from this early political creed of Manu. In the second Book of the Iliad, when Ulysses, at the behest of Minerva, warns and remonstrates with the Greeks, he refers to the king as one to whom alone Jupiter has entrusted a sceptre, and laws that he may govern them:—

"εἷς κοίραν οὐ ἔστω,  
*cis* βασιλεὺς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτειω  
*σκῆπτρον* τ' ἥδ' ἐθέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐμβασιλεύῃ"

Although the Homeric king appears also in the character of a judge, the Iliad portrays him most fitly as a military commander. On the other hand, the ideal king of Manu, though a martial chief, is more prominently a father to his people, and a wise and humane dispenser of justice.

It is remarkable, however, that the earliest descriptions we have of a judicial tribunal, point unmistakeably to the fact, that primitive society referred the determination of its disputes, not to a single judge or arbitrator, but to large assemblies of judges. One of the scenic adornments which the artist-god Hephaiston devised for the famous shield of Achilles, is the well known picture of a judicial trial which affords a glimpse into a state of

society, the very earliest probably which the Iliad depicts. The contention is with reference to the payment of a fine or money-compensation for a homicide. One party declares he has paid it, while the other denies the fact, and witnesses are arraigned on both sides. The people raise a clamour, and the heralds silence them, while the assembly of elders (*γεροντες*) who are the judges, sit in a circle to decide the cause—

—————reverend sat  
 On polished stones, the elders in a ring,  
 Each with a herald's sceptre in his hands,  
 Which holding they arose, and all in turn  
 Gave sentence. In the midst, two talents lay  
 Of gold, his prize who best should judge the strife.

This picture of a judicial trial where the dispute is referred to the arbitrament of a council of judges, is a fit representation of the actual constitution of judicial tribunals among the early Greeks and Romans. In the cumbrous and complicated machinery which seems to have been employed in the administration of justice during the infancy of the Athenian government, the judicial office was entrusted to assemblies of judges, and never to a single judge or arbitrator. The judges were chosen from among the people, and the jurisdictions exercised by them were distributed among various tribunals, which formed, again, a part of the national assemblies, to which belonged the chief functions of government. The Centumviral court, probably one of the oldest of Roman institutions, was composed of representatives chosen from among the various tribes; and at the time of Pliny the younger, formed a council of no less than one hundred and eighty members. Like the court of Areopagus, its numbers considerably increased, as tribe after tribe was admitted to a share in the conduct of public affairs. It was the same among the Hebrews, who represent the highest Semitic development. Whatever may be the date of the institution of the Sanhedrim, it is certain that a supreme court, consisting of seventy judges existed among them from the earliest times. Turning again to the Hindu Aryan race, we find the sage, Narada, laying down the rule, that "in every law suit, several persons conversant with many sciences, must be appointed to try the cause: a prudent man should not trust a single individual however virtuous he may be." In accordance with this rule, the early Hindu courts of justice were practically composed of large assemblies of judges. No less than five or six various tribunals existed among them, each having superior jurisdiction to the other, and terminating with the king's court, consisting of a judge and learned assessors of the sacerdotal caste. The Hindu law books give but a meagre account of the ancient tribunals in India, but such information as we do possess on

the subject, is extremely valuable for the purpose of judging of the early progress of Hindu Aryan society. The king's court, or the court of the *Pradvivaka*, consisted of the chief judge, holding a royal commission, assisted by a certain number of learned colleagues, and differed very little in its constitution from courts of justice among advanced communities in modern times. Side by side with this supreme court, however, we find inferior tribunals of the most rude and primitive character, which probably mark distinct stages in the advances made by the community among which they sprang up. Three of these are most remarkable, and are undoubtedly of the highest antiquity.—(1) The *Kula* or assemblies of kinsmen, (2) The *Sreni* or assemblies of fellow artizans, and lastly, the *Puga* or assemblies of fellow-townsmen. Before noticing more minutely these curious institutions of the past, I wish to draw attention to a special mode of trial prescribed by the Hindu law, in cases which are probably among the earliest in the history of any community, viz., those relating to boundaries of land.

Among the cultivating brotherhoods of ancient India, one of the chief necessities was the fixing and preserving of landmarks, natural or artificial, indicating the boundaries not only of villages and arable fields, but of pools, gardens and pasture lands. Manu, the great legislator, enjoins various methods by which boundaries may be preserved. The owner of a field ought to enclose it "with a hedge of thorny plants over which a camel could not look, and let him stop every gap through which a dog or a boar could thrust his head." This provision relates to pasture lands the extent of which is prescribed by law. "On all sides of a village or small town," says Manu, "let a space be left for pasture, in breadth either four hundred cubits, or three casts of a large stick; and thrice that space round a city or considerable town. When boundaries are first established, let strong trees be planted on them, Vatas, Pippalas, (*Ficus religiosa*) Palasas, (*Butea frondosa*) Salmalis (*Bambu heptaphyllum*) Salas or Talas, (*Shorea robusta* and a species of palmyra-tree or fan-palm;) or such trees as abound in milk; or clustering shrubs, or vœnus of different sorts, or *Sami*-trees, and creepers, or Saras and clumps of *Subjacas*: and mounds of earth should be raised on them, so that the landmark may not easily perish: lakes, and wells, pools and streams, ought also to be made on the common limits, and temples dedicated to the gods. The persons concerned, reflecting on the perpetual trespasses committed by men here below through ignorance of boundaries, should cause other landmarks to be concealed *under ground*: large pieces of stone, bones, tails of cows, bran, ashes, potsherds, dried cow-dung, bricks and tiles, charcoal, pebbles, and sand; and substances of all sorts, which the earth corrodes not even in a long time, should be placed in jars not appearing *above*

ground on the common boundary.' Such being the method of fixing boundaries, the law further enjoins, that if a dispute arise between two villages or landholders concerning a boundary, the king or his judge ought to ascertain the limits, in the mouth of Jyastha, when the landmarks are seen distinctly. Now follows a mode of trial, which I have no doubt may be found among the early institutions of the West; and which certainly did exist among the Anglo-Saxons, long before the jury system had fully developed itself. According to Manu, if an inspection or search for landmarks proved insufficient, witnesses were to be examined concerning these landmarks in the presence of all the townsmen or villagers, or of both the contending parties. The evidence of these witnesses was to be recorded in writing, and their names were also to be preserved in the record of the proceedings. Unlike the case of ordinary witnesses, a curious ceremony accompanied, or rather preceded, their examination and verdict. They were required to put earth on their heads, to wear chaplets of red flowers, and were to be clothed in red mantles. If there were no witnesses found who could speak to landmarks, four men were selected, who should be "dwellers on all the four sides of the two contending villages," and who were required to make a decision concerning the boundary. These judges were installed with the same quaint ceremony, highly significant as it is, when we come to consider the true character of their office. Failing these, and in the absence of old men who might possess by tradition a knowledge of the disputed boundaries, the following persons were examined, *viz.*, neighbours, hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishers, diggers of roots, catchers of snakes, gleaners and other foresters. Now, it is evident that the witnesses, crowned with chaplets of red flowers, and robed in red mantles, were not ordinary witnesses. They assumed the double character of witnesses and judges, for they alone decided the dispute. Long before the modern jurymen became merely a judge of facts, he was required to possess a personal knowledge of the facts in dispute, and must have been a competent witness. Cases of boundary disputes, occupy a large space in the records of early English law, and we have numerous instances there, of an appeal being made to the knowledge of the neighbourhood to decide these cases, the witnesses being also judges. "In the instances already given, of suits respecting lands in the reigns of the early Norman kings, we have seen," says Forsyth (*Trial by Jury* 135), "that the constant practice was to decide the controversy by appealing to the knowledge of the neighbourhood where the parties resided and the lands lay; and frequently a limited number of persons were sworn, who represented the vicinage, and who stated on oath to whom the property belonged. These were called the *probi et legales homines*, and their verdict was conclusive of the question



in dispute." "Although the form of the jury did not then exist, the rudiments of that mode of trial may be distinctly traced in the selection from the neighbourhood where the dispute arose, of a certain number of persons who, after being duly sworn, testified to the truth of the facts within their knowledge." It may not be out of place to adduce one instance of this form of procedure. In the year 1121, Henry I. ordered that a complaint of the monks of St. Stephen at Caen, against the kings tenants of Bridport for unlawfully taking possession of some lands of the manor of Bridton, which they claimed in right of their abbey, should be heard before judges and determined by the affirmation of the men of four townships of that neighbourhood. On the day appointed, Warine, the sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, assembled several "hundreds," and the cause was heard before them. Sixteen men, consisting of three from Bridport, three from Bridton, and ten from the neighbourhood, took an oath that they would affirm the truth in the inquisition; and their testimony was, that the land was of old time appurtenant to Bridton, and ought to belong to whoever was the owner of that manor. The names of these jurors have been preserved. The declarations of witnesses in such cases were, by the Hindu law, to be recorded in writing together with all their names, and their decision was given in the presence of their fellow townsmen.

I now turn to the various judicial tribunals spoken of by the Brahminical law-writers. We have separate courts in regular gradation, commencing with the king's court and terminating with the assemblies of kinsmen. According to these writers, "places of resort" for the determination of disputes, are as follows.\*

(a) The Court of the Sovereign who is assisted by learned Brahmins or assessors. It is ambulatory, being held where the king abides or sojourns.

(β) The tribunal of the chief judge (*Pradvivaka* or *Dharmadhyaksha*) appointed by the sovereign, sitting with three or more assessors: not exceeding seven. This is a stationary court, being held at an appointed place.

(γ) Inferior judges, appointed by the sovereign's authority for local jurisdiction. From their decision, an appeal lies to the Court of the Chief Judge, and thence to the Rajah or King in person. Then follows what Colebrooke denominates "gradations in arbitration."

(1). Assemblies of townsmen, or meetings of persons belonging to various tribes and following different professions, but inhabiting the same place.

(2). Companies of traders or artizans, conventions of persons belonging to different tribes, but subsisting by the practice of the same profession.

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\* I have here adopted Colebrooke's summary of these Courts.

(3). Meetings of kinsmen or assemblies of relations connected by consanguinity.

These various tribunals, although grouped together by the Hindu law-writers, as forming a well organized system for the administration of justice, probably had their origin at different stages in the progress of the Hindu Aryan race. They are certainly replete with historical interest, and a correct examination of them is still in arrears. It would be interesting to enquire whether these popular assemblies of kinsmen, fellow-artizans, and townsmen, were not really the only early tribunals known in India, and not merely forms of arbitration, existing side by side with the more systematic and advanced tribunals, with which they are classed by the brahminical law-writers. Towards the determination of this question scarcely any direct help can be expected from the legal literature of the Hindus. There is nothing that can be regarded as a historical account of these curious institutions. It is evident, however, that in describing them, the Hindu legislators and exegetists, treat them as being alien to the brahminical teachings of their age. According to them the administration of justice cannot be entrusted to any but the sacerdotal caste. There is considerable difference of opinion among commentators, whether the king himself, if of an inferior caste, is qualified or competent to inspect judicial proceedings. Strong traces of this brahminical prejudice may be found in the pages of Manu, where the functions of the judge are spoken of as belonging exclusively to the brahminical order. "Of him" says Vyasa "who neglects employing regenerate men, and inspects forensic affairs with persons of the servile tribe, the kingdom totters and his wealth and power pass away." Similar texts may be found scattered up and down the pages of almost all the Hindu law-writers. This being so, the institutions of trial by kinsmen, by the guild, and by an assembly of townsmen, composed, as these tribunals must have been, of men of inferior castes, were doubtless relics of the past and antagonistic to the spirit of the Hindu law. The difficulty of reconciling the existence of these tribunals with the prevailing brahminical precepts, was felt and appreciated by the later law-writers. There is a remarkable discussion in one of the law-tracts on this difficult problem, and it is interesting to observe how the knot is cut by resorting to a fiction. It is of sufficient importance to quote at length this curious specimen of the casuistry of Hindu lawyers.—

"Is not the trial of causes by townsmen and the rest impossible. How then can one jurisdiction be superior to another? For it may be asked, have they power to try causes in their own right, or by delegation from the king? The one supposition is not correct; for the appointment of a chief judge as assessor and representative of the monarch, and that of the spiritual advisers, the ministers of state, and judges as assessors only, is exclusively

propounded. Nor is the other supposition right; for those only who are empowered to protect the people are invested with authority of inspecting judicial affairs: others, then, cannot possess that authority in their own right.

"It is thought that townsmen and the rest have power to try law-suits between merchants and others by the king's special appointment only, because it appears from the texts of Vyasa, Vrihaspati and others, that they are appointed assessors in the mode before explained.

"That is wrong. For if such were the case, the power of trying all causes would belong to the king and the chief judge exclusively, because no others could try suits without reference to them: and since it is a maxim that denominations are taken from the principal object, the rule that suits determined by kinsmen, &c., may be appealed, would be impertinent, for none could be determined by them. Townsmen and the rest could not themselves try a suit with delegated power, because it is forbidden to delegate judicial authority to *Sudras*; now the townsmen and the rest mostly belong to the servile class, and even to the lowest tribes of it, sprung in the inverse order of the classes.

"To all this the answer is, admitting that townsmen and the rest could not themselves try suits, still, in law-suits between merchants and the like, the charge is brought by persons of that description, and the king and the judge rely on such persons in deciding the cause. Taking their acts as the chief objects, the denomination may be fitly assumed from what is done by them for the purpose of regulating the appeal, when a lawsuit is recommenced, under a notion that it was ill decided, their consecutive authority is propounded by the text: else the precept would be irrelevant:

"But, in fact, townsmen and others, though persons to whom delegation of judicial authority is forbidden, are regenerated as to the cognizance of suits between fellow-townsmen and the rest; for a person to whom judicial power may be delegated, is not restricted by the texts of Vyasa and others to the cognizance of certain particular charges. Their power of themselves trying causes, like the chief judge, may therefore be affirmed. Consequently there is nothing impertinent. Moreover, Vrihaspati supports this very doctrine." \*

It is highly probable, therefore, that the trials by kinsmen, by the guild, and by fellow-townsmen, were institutions of the highest antiquity, and the question may be asked whether, they do not indicate a gradual developement of Hindu Aryan society, from the original family group of husbandmen. The prerogative of

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\* *Mitra-misra*, in *Viramitrodaya*.

kinsmen to adjudicate upon the rights of parties, is evidently an expansion of the original *Patria Potestas* (or power of the father), which in the primitive patriarchal family, was used with despotic sway over its members. I think it may be said, that wherever this power is wholly relaxed, the right of trial by kinsmen does not exist, and on the contrary the exclusion of kinsmen from the judicial office is jealously insisted on. Among the Ossetes, a Caucasian tribe of Christians of the Greek Church, described by Baron Von Haxthausen, the most primitive laws and customs are retained, bearing a strong resemblance to the early Germanic institutions. Here, though the rude law of blood-revenge is still preserved, the power of the father is considerably relaxed. Courts of arbitration exist among these people, where each of the contending parties chooses three heads of families, not related either to the accused or the accuser, and these six elect a seventh as a foreman. The Court first requires a solemn declaration from both parties that they will submit to its decision, and demands three sureties on each side. A post is then firmly fixed in the ground as a symbolical sign that the disputants must abide by their agreement, a curse being invoked upon all who object to fulfil it. Turning to the early Scandinavian and Teutonic tribunals, we find that traces exist of the right of kinsmen to act as judges in the determination of disputes. The *Köns-Nævinger*, or kindred jurors of Denmark, is a very ancient institution; but its functions were limited to the settlement of family questions. Among the Anglo-Saxons the right of kinsmen to determine disputes is apparent in the curious system of compurgation, which was carried out on the admitted sanctity and value of an oath. If a man were accused of an offence and denied it, he was entitled to select a certain number of persons from among his kinsmen and neighbours, who pledged their belief on oath that the accused had not sworn falsely in denying the charge brought against him. This was the *unge-corene-ath* or the "unchosen oath," because the compurgators were not chosen or nominated by the opposite party. It soon became apparent, that the accused could easily obtain any number of kinsmen and neighbours who were prepared to support his plea. Hence the *cyre-ath* or "chosen oath" was resorted to, which consisted of the nomination by the accuser himself, of a certain number of the kinsmen or fellow-guildsmen of the accused, from which number he was compelled to select his compurgators. I think it may be said, that in India, the ancient mode of trial by kinsmen, had its origin in the fact, that the primitive village community was nothing more or less than a group of blood relations. Elphinstone notices the tradition at the present day, that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals, who settled the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who



have derived their rights by purchase or otherwise from members of the original stock. The supposition is confirmed by the fact, (writes Elphinstone,) that, to this day, there are only single families of landholders in small villages and not many in large ones; but each one has branched out into so many members, that it is not uncommon for the whole agricultural labour to be done by the landholders, without the aid either of tenants or of labourers. The institution of the trial by kinsmen, is to some extent a proof that this tradition has a foundation in fact, and that the original village community was simply a collection of blood relations. The term "families", as used in connection with the early Hindu tribunals, imports, according to some writers, "such as are related to the plaintiff or defendant within the degree of *sagotra*," and the "meetings of kindred" are taken to mean "meetings of relations connected by consanguinity." It is important to notice, however, that while some of the Hindu law writers describe the *kula* or meeting of families or kinsmen, as a tribunal composed of judges related by consanguinity to the litigating parties, others speak of these families as "*societies of husbandmen*," between whom and the class of artizans, a broad and distinct line is drawn. Such a difference in language is significant; and though there is nothing to explain it in the pages of the Hindu jurisconsult, it may fairly be taken to indicate an important change in the organization of the early village community in India. Actual blood relationship was evidently the tie which kept the brotherhood of cultivators together. The meeting of kinsmen was essentially a meeting of the society of husbandmen, and all disputes were settled by the family. From various causes this unity of the village organization was gradually broken up. One of the chief causes of this, was probably the introduction of strangers into the village group; so that what was originally a brotherhood of cultivators, bound together by actual ties of blood, became afterwards a collection of families bound together by the soil which they jointly cultivated. The existing village communities in the East, invariably contain a large class of cultivators, who are looked upon as strangers, and the name *Oopree* in Southern India, rigorously marks a distinction between the original cultivator, and those who, from privation, or other pressing necessity, have sought and been permitted a share in the village lands. When this change took place, it is evident the meeting of kinsmen could no longer be the society of husbandmen. The right of the family to try causes was, however, still retained, but the tribunal became an assembly of those who were immediately related by consanguinity to the litigating parties. The term '*family*' no longer implied the *society of husbandmen*, but was restricted to those who stood in the relation of actual kinship to the disputants.



The trial by fellow-artizans or guildsmen, and by fellow-townsmen marks a further development of Hindu Aryan society. The village community was no longer the exclusively cultivating group that it had been. Traders and artizans formed a large element in the society that had now grown to be a collection of villages round the original parent homesteads. In the North-Western Provinces of India, the term *bhyachara*, or brotherhood, is applied to a collection of villages clustering round the central village of which they are the offshoots. They are brought into existence as the family spreads, and as the founders of separate stocks arise. They indicate in fact the various branches out of the genealogical tree. Each sub-division may possess its own special commonalities, as well as its share in the general commonalities. In its internal constitution it may be a miniature portrait of the whole. It may have its own lands, its own revenue responsibilities, its own headman, co-partners and cultivators; its own accounts, its own group of homesteads and cottages, its own waste, gardens, reservoirs and timber. Still its members will not sever the link that binds them to the whole. They still cling to the parent stock of which they are the offshoots. They still maintain an interest in the chief central village where perhaps, in rougher times, the whole community resided under the protection of their rustic fort, but from which those portions of the clan whose fields were situated at a distance emigrated, in more peaceful times, to build them new homesteads nearer to the scenes of their agricultural industry. They still, perhaps, claim their share in certain perquisites, such as the proceeds of the shares held in the central village, and they still bear their share of the local and incidental expenses. The cultivating family is now surrounded by a large class of artizans and traders. If the decision of the kindred proved unsatisfactory, the litigating parties had recourse to the decision of fellow-artizans and traders, and if justice was not obtained before this tribunal, the cause was tried by fellow-townsmen. Now this latter form of trial was essentially a trial by neighbours, and resembled, to a great extent, the Teutonic popular tribunals, which exerted a great influence in the early history of the Anglo-Saxons. The *folcmote*, or meeting of the people, is described as an assembly of the inhabitants of the county, who from necessity formed a kind of natural tribunal composed of neighbours, who by mutual arbitration settled disputes among themselves, rather by discussion or acclamation, than with any forms of regular justice or the rules of a legal tribunal. Specimens of such institutions may be found in the ancient tribunals of Scandinavia and in the old German Courts. At the present day the Council of "White-heads" (or village elders) in a Russian village community, is perhaps the nearest approach, in the West, to the Eastern popular tribunal described by Manu as an assembly

of townsmen. A kindred institution, viz., the village *panchayet* of India, is composed either of relations, or of fellow-caste-men, or of neighbours. The gradual expansion of the circle, including at first the kinsmen only, then the fellow-guildsmen, and then the neighbours, has at last become so wide, that instances may now be found of a Hindu *panchayet* including among its members a Mahomedan, who had no other right to be there, than that he was a neighbour. Haxthausen's interesting picture of a Council of "White-heads" is to some extent illustrative of the village *panchayet* in India:—"The villagers were all assembled; and, as there was some business to transact, Heir Von Hahn, in order to show me how a Russian communal meeting is conducted, held one on the spot. All the men placed themselves in a circle around us on the road; the Golova (head of the Volost, or several united communes), the Starosta of the village, and the "White-heads" joined us, and a lively discussion commenced. It was, however, carried on in Russian, and I did not understand a word, but the subject was explained to me. It related to some general affairs of the commune, and minor disputes between different members of it, which, after a brief consultation among the "White-heads", were decided by the Golova, with the concurrence of the President of Domains. Everything took place with the greatest order, and only the Golova, the Starosta, and the "White-heads" spoke. Among the younger men who stood around them, profound silence and attention reigned; the others, however, spoke with vivacity, and seemed to express themselves clearly and connectedly—at least none appeared at a loss for words. No one screamed or blustered, or interrupted the other; the greatest politeness appeared on all sides. Their behaviour towards the President of Domains spoke favorably for both parties; the people were confiding, friendly, and accommodating, but by no means slavish or degradingly obsequious toward him. One man begged of him with tears and entreaties the liberation of his son from the army. The President was obliged upon legal grounds to refuse, but consoled the poor father kindly and affectionately. \*

The system of appeals was well understood by the Hindu jurisconsults from the earliest times. An appeal lay from the decision of kinsmen to a meeting of fellow artizans, and companies of artizans, co-inhabitants and courts of justice, writes Vrihaspati, are declared to be judicatories to which he against whom judgment is given, may successively resort. A cause which has not been thoroughly investigated by the kinsmen, must be tried by persons of the same profession with the parties; one which has not been well adjudged by fellow-artizans, should be revised by the

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\* Haxthausen's "*Russian Empire*." Vol. I, 96-97.

townsmen; and what exceeds the compass of their understanding, must be heard by appointed judges. The chief judge, writes Colebrooke, assists the prince when present, or presides in court when he is absent. The proper title of this high officer is *pradvivaka*, which signifies interrogator and discriminative pronouncer, and another designation is *Dharmadhyaksha*, superintendent of justice. It occurs in the rubric and colophon of divers treatises on law, as the author's official designation, especially in the *Helayudha*. The *pradvivaka* must be a learned Brahmin, and according to Katyayana, perfectly conversant with sacred literature, patient, sprung from a good family, impartial deliberate, firm, awed by the dread of another world; virtuous diligent and placid. When the king tries causes in person, this officer is his colleague in the administration of justice; but when he is unable to inspect judicial affairs himself by reason of other urgent business, or through want of health and ease, the chief judge is his representative. The king's court ought to be on the eastern side of his palace with an eastern aspect, furnished with a throne, decorated with wreaths, perfumed with sacred resins, supplied with corn, embellished with gems, adorned with statues and pictures, and with images of deities and accommodated likewise with fire and water. The king must enter this hall 'decently splendid,' having risen in the last watch of the night, his body being pure and his mind attentive. Like the Arcopagites who were forbidden to write a comedy, and whose gravity became a proverb among the Greeks, the Hindu king, as judge, was bound by law to preserve the dignity of his office. He was assisted by ministers of state, by assessors, and by his domestic priest, while the inferior officers of his Court were the accountant, the scribe, the keeper of claims and enforcer of judgments, the moderator, and the messenger. The assessors were not to exceed seven nor to be less than three in number. This rule, however, does not seem to have been strictly adhered to. In the interesting and only picture we have of an ancient Hindu trial, there appears to be only one assessor. The picture is to be found in the old Sanscrit play called the *Mric-chakatika*, or the "Clay-Cart," where the judge is assisted by the provost or head of the merchants and by a recorder or scribe who writes down all the charges and the evidence. The duty of the Court is confined to the investigation of facts. It is supposed to ascertain whether the party is guilty or not guilty, and then to report the proceedings to the raja, who alone pronounces sentence. The charge in the play is that of murder, and the judge is inclined to assert the authority and independence of his Court, but he is unwilling to offend the prince, who is supposed to exercise indirectly a paramount influence over the raja. It appears also that he is inclined to favour

Charudatta, the Brahmin hero of the play, partly perhaps from caste sympathies, and partly because the character of the prince is known to be despicable, whilst that of the brahmin hero stands high in public estimation.\*

The audience in a Hindu Court of Justice took an active part in the proceedings, and the practice, in another form, seems as old as the days of Homer. The sage Narada declares that, whether appointed or not appointed, one who is skilled in jurisprudence has a right to speak: for he who lives in strict observance of the law, delivers a speech which the gods approve. A learned commentator on Manu says: 'Either the Court should not be entered; either the duty of inspecting lawsuits should not be accepted; or if it be accepted, the truth should be spoken. When the judges are deciding unjustly, the wise do not approve of the silence of one, even who has approached the Court of his own accord, not being regularly appointed.' In other respects the Court of the *Pradvivaka* differed very little from modern tribunals, but it was still a popular assembly when the audience were permitted to participate in its deliberations. In the Homeric scene of a judicial trial, depicted on the shield of Achilles, the audience raise a clamour and are found cheering the one or the other of the litigating parties. 'The total exclusion of applause in judicial cases, writes Mr. Gladstone, belongs to a state of mind and manners different from that of the Heroic age. But the exclusion of all applause by mere strangers to the business, rests upon a truth common to every age, viz., that such applause constitutes a share in the business and contributes to the decision. \* \* \* The irregular use of such a power is a formidable invasion of legislative or judicial freedom: the allowed possession of the privilege amounts to participation in the office of the statesman or the judge, and demonstrates the substantive position of the λαός or people, in the assemblies of the Heroic age.' † Two golden talents lay before the judges in the ancient Greek trial, which were to be given to the judge who pronounced the fairest judgment; and Mr. Gladstone very clearly shows, that the fee was awarded in no other way, than by the general acclamation of the people. In the ancient Hindu Courts the audience did not participate in the proceedings by applause or acclamation, but by sharing in the deliberations of the judges.

H. R. FINK.

\* Interesting as the whole drama is, I have only given, in the words of Mr. Talboys Wheeler, such of the facts as relate to the constitution of the Court of Justice which it incidently paints. An interesting account and criticism of the play, may be found in

Mr. Wheeler's "*History of India, Hindu, Bhudist and Brahminical*," and also in Professor Monier Williams' "*Indian Wisdom*."

† Homer and the Homeric Age. III. 127.



## ART. VIII.—MARINE SURVEYS IN INDIA.

**A**T the very dawn of history we find evidence of the existence of an active maritime intercourse between India and the countries to the west of her. The productions of India are among the imports by caravan into Egypt mentioned in Genesis (Chap. xxxvii), and there is every probability that these imports were made by way of the Red Sea. Long before the period here referred to, the Egyptian Queen Hasheps, sister of the second Thothmes, had despatched a fleet down the Red Sea, which had returned from Taneter and Punt, laden with "gums, scents, incense trees, ebony, ivory, gold, emeralds, stibium, cynocephali and baboons, panther skins, horns, and work people;" while the Ptolemies established a regular communication between the Red Sea and India. Regarding these and other voyages of antiquity in Indian waters, however, it is enough for our present purpose to note that they have been regularly continued to our own times. The Phœnicians, the Arabians, and the Egyptians have been long displaced by other nations; but the stream of commerce by sea has been uninterrupted. These early trading voyages, conducted by careful, observent men, must have led to a local knowledge of the seas traversed; but unfortunately very few records of the efforts of these Hydrographical pioneers have been handed down to us.

To come to more modern times, we find that, about the year 1600, two expeditions, under the command of Lancaster and Middleton, left Torbay for the East Indies, and although they visited only the Eastern Islands for trading purposes, their notes, as recorded in their journals, were exceedingly valuable. In 1607 Captain Keeling landed in Surat, and, for the next 20 years, voyages were undertaken by the East India Company. The observations of these bold and talented seamen bore good fruit in the shape of "plots" (charts,) and sailing directions which were condensed into "Rules for our East India Navigations," by Mr. John Davis, of Limehouse, who had made five voyages himself.\*

Captain T. B. Jervis, of the East India Company's Engineers, writing in 1837 on the Surveys in India, says: "The earliest records of the India House bear abundant testimony to the fact of the constant and lively interest taken by the Directors in the improvement of the charts and navigation of the Indian seas." Repeated instructions were sent out year after year to the Local Governments, to cause individual talent to be put in requisition by every species of encouragement, and log-books, and astronomical and written obser-

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\* Harris' Voyages I. chap. xliii, p. 224.



vations to be procured and sent home. Yet, in spite of this encouragement, very little of what was accomplished has come down to us, or been published in any accessible, simple, or connected form, and until late in the 18th century little appears to be known of Marine Surveys in India. Indeed, it was not until the days of Rennell and Dalrymple that *real* encouragement began to be bestowed upon the subject, and its great importance appreciated.\* Captain John Ritchie, who surveyed the coasts of the Bay of Bengal, was Hydrographical Surveyor to the East India Company, from 1770 to 1785. † The first surveying expedition,—consisting of the *Fox*, a schooner of some 100 tons; the *Dolphin*, a ketch; and a native pattamar,—was fitted out in 1772, under the command of Lieutenant Robinson; and the coasts of Sind, Kattywar, Mekran, and parts of Persia and Arabia, were examined. Lieutenant Low, in his admirable *History of the Indian Navy*, says; “One of the earliest of the famous race of Indian Marine Surveyors was Lieutenant John McCluer.” This officer, although self-taught, turned out a mass of really good work, which was only superseded by the later examinations of the Indian Navy Officers. His surveys in the Persian Gulf, which he first began in 1785, were most creditable, and those on the West Coast of India, on which he was employed for some years, were considered by Captain Jervis, then holding the post of Surveyor-General of India, as “valuable maritime surveys,” worked out with extraordinary exactness. This officer (McCluer) also surveyed the Pelew Islands and the New Guinea Coast. He was eventually drowned, his small craft having foundered in the Bay of Bengal, whilst on a passage from Bencoolen to Calcutta. ‡

Lieutenant Archibald Blair was engaged between the years 1777 and 1795 in examining parts of the Andaman Islands, § and in making a survey of the Kattywar Coast. About the same time Captain Michael Topping was employed in the Bay of Bengal, and his services led to his appointment as Chief Surveyor at Madras in 1794.

In 1793 Lieutenant John Hayes was placed in command of a surveying expedition to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). He surveyed the island, as also portions of New Caledonia, New Guinea, Gillolo, Batchian, Timor and Java, but, “unhappily, the result of these complete and protracted surveys, extending over a period of between two and three years, was *nil*, for the ship taking home Lieutenant Hayes' MS. charts and memoirs was

\* Markham's Memoirs, p. 4.

p. 187 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*

§ See selections from the Records

† An interesting account of of the Government of India. (Home McCluer's services is given in Low's No. 24).

“History of the Indian Navy,” vol. 1

captured by a French man-of-war and taken to Paris. The loss of so much and such lengthened labour and privations was always a source of poignant regret to Lieutenant Hayes."

A pleasant instance of true and disinterested friendship is told in connection with this survey of Lieutenant Hayes. His absence from Bombay was so protracted that, in default of all reports from, or concerning him, the Government came to the conclusion that he and his ships had perished, and at length ceased to pay to his wife, the late Lady Hayes, the remittances authorised by her husband, thereby reducing her to great distress. But there was a true friend in Bombay, who, confident that the gallant officer would some day turn up, personally took to the sorrowing lady the monthly remittances as they became due. Mr. F——lived to see his conviction verified, for one day the gallant Hayes sailed into Bombay, and the Government and his friends regarded him almost as one who had risen from the dead. We need scarcely say that his first act was to repay the good Samaritan who had supported and befriended his wife during the long period of her supposed widowhood. \*

In the early part of the present century the Red Sea was partly surveyed, an interesting account of which operation will be found in Lord Valentia's travels. †

Hydrography was now deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the appointment of a Marine Surveyor-General, and, in 1809, the Court of Directors established a Marine Survey Department in Bengal, and Captain Wales was appointed the first Surveyor-General; ‡ but he occupied the post for a few months only, as he died the following year and was succeeded by Captain Court, who filled the office for some 10 or 12 years with considerable success. During this period Captain Daniel Ross was engaged in surveying the coast of China, and two vessels were employed in the Bay of Bengal. While Captain Court was Marine Surveyor-General at Calcutta, the name of James Horsburgh became indissolubly connected with the Marine Surveys of India. "Beginning life as a cabin-boy, this bold and diligent Scotch sailor soon rose to the command of a vessel in the Eastern seas, and his innate love of surveying had excellent opportunities for development. After many years he returned to England, and the publication of his charts at once placed him in the first rank of Hydrographers." § He was appointed

\* Low's "History of the Indian Navy," vol. 1, p. 201.

† 'Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, &c. by George,

Viscount Valentia, 3 vols. (London 1809)

‡ Low's "History of the Indian Navy," vol. 1. p. 396.

§ Markham's Memoirs, p. 8.

Hydrographer to the East India Company in 1810, in succession to Mr. Dalrymple, \* and until the time of his death in 1836, all charts passed through his hands for scrutiny.

Horsburgh's famous *East India Directory* was first published in 1808, and, between this date and the year 1873, four editions were issued. A revised edition has been undertaken by Captain A. Dundas Taylor, who has produced the first, and is now engaged on the second, part of this valuable Hydrographic guide.

Lieutenant Dominicetti, who was employed on a survey of the coasts of the Southern Concan, wrote a valuable report, dated the 9th June 1819, an extract from which, relating to the Ports of Viziadroog and Zyghur, was published by order of the Governor in Council. At this time, Lieut. Robert Moresby was engaged on a survey of the Madagascar archipelago, which was published by the Court of Directors in 1822.†

Captain Daniel Ross, "the Father of the Indian Surveys," succeeded Captain Court in 1823. Markham truly says, "he was the first who introduced a really scientific method;" and, certainly, the work he turned out was of a very superior description, and far in advance of that of any who had preceded him. Surveys were, at this time, being conducted in the Mergui archipelago and on the Arracan and Martaban Coasts, but, in 1828, Lord William Bentinck ordered the surveying establishment to be broken up. ‡ Desultory operations were, however, carried on until the year 1833, when Captain Ross resigned his appointment, and was succeeded by his able assistant, Captain Lloyd. § Between the years 1820

\* Mr. Alexander Dalrymple was the first Hydrographer to the East India Company. His appointment dates 8th April 1779, and in 1795 he was made Hydrographer to the Admiralty, by whom he was treated very badly and eventually dismissed in 1808.

† Low's *History of the Indian Navy*, vol. I. p. 402.

‡ Markham's *Memoirs*. p. 9.

§ Captain Lloyd died November 19th 1877, aged 79. An old surveyor and brother-officer in writing of his last days says:—"I had seen him as lately as November 5th, and then he had quite recovered his memory, articulation, clear sight, &c., and, as we spread charts before him, he pointed out with his poor, helpless, fingers—deformed and twisted by rheumatic gout—various circumstances connected with his former work, and seemed to retain as vivid a recollection of all he

had surveyed, down as far as Mergui, as if he had only just come on shore. It is curious, however, he had never kept a single copy of any of his charts.

"On the morning of the 20th November, I received a note to tell me he had died the previous day and on Saturday, the 25th, I was one of the seven persons who stood at the grave in Highgate cemetery; and there the good old veteran rests, with scarcely room for a headstone to indicate the spot, so closely packed are all the spaces. I think we might inscribe to his memory '*Sans peur et sans reproche*.' His works will be his only memorial—they are surely the best.

"It appeared as if a connecting link between the past and present had been severed. Captain Taylor, with the grand means at his disposal, will accomplish, no doubt, an amount of work, which for rigid accuracy will

and 1830 the Persian Gulf \* and Mekhran Coasts were surveyed; fourteen charts were issued, and sailing directions, † by Captain Brucks, who commanded the survey, were published.

From 1828 to 1832 Lieutenants Cogan and Peters surveyed the Bombay Coast between Bombay and the Bancoot river, as also the Harbour itself.

In 1832, when the Bombay Marine was converted into the Indian Navy, the first Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Malcolm, inaugurated an admirable system of surveying, and the first important act of his administration was the formation of the Red Sea Survey ‡

This was conducted by those able surveyors, Moresby, Elwon, Carless, and others. It was an elaborate, careful examination, and occupied but four years and seven months, from its commencement in 1830 to its completion in 1834. The survey of the Maldive Islands followed, and a magnificent piece of work it was. The original drawing was executed in such a perfect manner by Lieut. Felix Jones that it was ordered home for the Queen's inspection. § Upon the completion of the Maldivo Survey, Captain Moresby examined the Chagos archipelago, with other groups, and returned to Bombay in 1838.

Towards the latter end of 1833, Commander Haines was ordered to survey the island of Socotra. The triangulation work was commenced on the 10th January 1834, and was continued without intermission until the middle of March. Low says: "So accurate was the Survey that, on the whole measurement of the circumference, 197½ miles, he was only 186 yards out." Lieutenant Wellstead, the Assistant Surveyor, and Mr. Cruttenden, a midshipman, made an expedition into the interior of the island resulting in a most interesting memoir. ||

About this time much valuable work was turned out in Southern India. Captains Powell, Ethersey, and Franklin had made a careful

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throw Captain Lloyd's into the shade, just as Fitzroy's has superseded much of Captain Cook's pioneering labours, but we must not forget that Captain Lloyd had to make nearly all his bases, but now the G. T. S. has saved future surveyors an enormous amount of work, and afforded them infinitely more accurate data than any the old Marine Surveyors ever hoped for."

\* See Kempthorne's notes, *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. V. p. 263, and White-lock's descriptive sketch, *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. VIII. p. 170.

† See *Bombay Selections*, No. 24 pp. 527-634.

‡ Markham's *Memoirs*. p. 13.

§ An interesting account of what was known of the Maldive Islands before Moresby's Survey is given in the *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. VI. p. 74. See also Captain W. F. Owen's paper on the same subject, *ibid.*, p. 81. Moresby's remarks on the Maldives will be found in *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. V. (1835).

|| "Memoir of the Island of Socotra, by Lieut. T. R. Wellstead See *R. G. S. Journal* for 1835. vol. V.



survey of Palk's Strait, Paumben Pass,\* the West Coast of Ceylon, Tuticorin, &c. The two first-named officers were recalled in 1838, and Captain Franklin continued the work, alone, up to the year 1845, his surveys being executed in a small country craft of 60 tons. The South Coast of Arabia, under Captain Haines, and the African Coast, about Guardafui, under Lieut. Carless, were also completed in 1837; and interesting memoirs of both surveys have been published. †

While Moresby went to the Maldives, and Haines to Arabia, Lieuts. Whitelock and Ethersey were examining the Kattywar Coast, the Gulf of Cambay, and the North Concan Coast from St. John's to Bassein. ‡

In the year 1835 commenced the important work in the River Indus, and, in 1837-8, Lieut. Carless examined the whole coast, from the eastern mouth of the Indus to Soonmeanee. The Indus mouths were again examined in 1846 by Selby, Taylor, and others, when most valuable charts, shewing the results of their observations, were executed, but, for some unknown reason, they have never seen the light.

Between the years 1839 and 1844 surveying operations were almost entirely suspended. "Even when, after the latter date, a few surveys were sanctioned, they were confined to the narrowest limits, the officers were miserably found both as regards vessels and instruments, their allowances were cut down, and the acquisition of all knowledge, beyond bearings and soundings, was coldly discountenanced." § When, however, they were again permitted, the examinations of portions of the Arabian Coast and the Islands west of Socotra were carried out, and, in 1849, when Captain Lushington succeeded Sir Robert Oliver, as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, the Surveying service was once more brought to the front, and great efforts were made to restore it to its former efficient state, and to put fresh vigour into the work. ||

The West Coast of India received special attention, for Montriou, Selby, Taylor, Whish, Stiffe and others were engaged continuously from 1844 to 1850, performing some elaborate work, chief of which may be noticed the survey of the Gulf of Cutch, by Lieut. A. Dundas Taylor (now the Superintendent of Marine Surveys in India.)

\* Paumben Pass and its approaches have been re-surveyed this season (1877-78) by Mr. Morris Chapman, late I. N., and Lieut. W. H. Coombs, R. N., under the orders of the Superintendent of Marine Surveys to the Government of India.

† For Captain Haines' Memoir see *R. G. S. Journal*, IX. p. 125, and

XV. p. 104. Captain Haines' Report was accompanied by beautifully executed charts and plans.

Lieut. Carless' Memoir will be found in *R. G. S. Journal*, XVI. p. 169.

‡ Markham's Memoirs p. 18.

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid* p. 21.



This officer did his work in a little native *pattimar*, ill-adapted to the service. "The supply of instruments was very deficient both in quantity and quality. The chronometers were not of the best class, being mostly old. No sextants were fitted for accurate shore observations, and no pocket chronometers or watches were to be had."\* Under such circumstances the admirable charts he then produced, so densely covered with soundings, are a lasting monument to his ability, perseverance, and indomitable pluck. Markham says: "There is no man living who is so intimately acquainted, both with the anchorages on the Indian Coasts, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Godavery, or who so completely undertands their capabilities for improvement." Taylor was again occupied on the West Coast between the years 1853 and 1859; the results of the surveys are included in six sheets of the Coasts of the South Concan, Canara and Malabar. He also surveyed the harbours of Carwar, Beypore, Cochin, and that of Coringa on the East Coast in 1857.

We can only briefly touch upon the works undertaken by Captain Felix Jones, whose Mesopotamia and other surveys are so well known. Most of the memoirs will be found in the transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, but are much too voluminous to be dealt with here. Captain Selby and Lieut. Collingwood succeeded Captain Felix Jones in the Euphrates and Tigris work; but Selby retired in 1862, and Lieut. Bewsher completed it in 1865.

The last, though not the least important, work of the officers of the Indian Navy has been the careful revision of the old survey of the Persian Gulf† by Captain Constable and Lieut. Stiffe, 1857 to 1860, and, more lately, an extensive examination of Bahrein approaches by Mr. Morris Chapman, an officer now attached to the Marine Survey Department.

In Eastern India, when Captain Ross retired, he was succeeded as Marine Surveyor-General at Calcutta by Captain Lloyd, who had been in the Survey Department since 1823. He was a good and accurate surveyor. His chart of the sea-face of the Sunderbuns is a very creditable piece of work, whilst his examinations of Arracan, Chittagong, and Mergui archipelago are careful productions. Captain Lloyd held this office until the year 1840, when it was abolished.

"One of the great clogs to the usefulness of the Department arose from its being placed under the control of a *Marine*

\* Official Memo. to the Hydrographer of the Admiralty. 1862.

† The original drawing of this survey was considered by the late Admiral Washington, then Hydrographer to the Admiralty, worthy of

being exhibited, amongst others forwarded from the Hydrographic Department, in the International Exhibition of 1862 as "a good specimen of English chart drawing."

*Board*, composed of *Civilians*, who knew little more of the necessities of the survey, and of the means by which the duties could be accomplished, than the green-covered table round which their meetings were held.”\*

Captain Fell was employed by the local Government, from 1841 to 1848, on the Coromandel Coast, as well as along the Pegu and Martaban shores, and the North Coast of Sumatra. He was succeeded by Captain Ward, who was engaged until 1859 in Surveying portions of Burmah; Malacca Strait, from Pulo Penang to the Straits of Singapore; Preparis Channel; Rangoon River; Bassein River, Sittang River, and the inland waters of Pegu; and the Mutlah River. The drawings of the Sittang River were sent into Government but were lost in some unaccountable way, and that portion of the coast remains a blank to the present time.

Lieut. Heathcote, from 1856 to 1862, was also variously employed in the Bay of Bengal, and Lieut. Sweney completed the Coromandel Coast from Point Calimere to Pulicat in 1860.

With the exception of those locally organized, the whole of the Marine Surveys were abruptly stopped in 1862, when the Indian Navy ceased to exist. Sir Roderick Murchison, in his annual address to the Geographical Society in 1862 said: “The war services of the Indian Navy, as well as the beneficial and enduring results of its repression of piracy and the slave trade, are well-known. These services have been varied, honorable and useful, but in the eyes of geographers the wide-spread and lasting utility of the excellent Surveys made by officers of the Indian Navy holds an equally prominent place.” The charts, original drawings (such as had been preserved), and copper plates, &c., were transferred from the India office to the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty in 1861, when it was arranged that “all further surveys that might be required should be conducted by the Royal Navy, and at the expense of the Imperial Government, as in other parts of the world.” Up to the year 1871, however, this promise had not been fulfilled; nothing whatever had been done either to advance our knowledge of the Indian Coasts, nor had the necessary additions and alterations to existing charts been carried out. Extraordinary changes had taken place in the configuration of the coasts, in many localities, since the surveys executed some thirty to fifty years previously. Lights, buoys, beacons, &c., had been erected. Ports which were of no importance then, and the examination of which, consequently, had been but cursory, had now become open to commerce, and yet the charts remained the same, and were practically useless. For upwards of ten years this lamentable state of affairs went on, when the subject was most prominently brought to the notice of the

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\* *Low's History of the Indian Navy*, vol. I. p. 402.

Secretary of State for India, as also the Indian Government, by Mr. Clements Markham, Captain Taylor, and others; and, after strict enquiries, extending over two years, and due discussion and consideration, it was decided to re-establish on a proper basis a Marine Survey Department in Calcutta, and to expend a sum of two lakhs of Rupees annually in systematically surveying the Indian Coasts.

On the 27th July 1874, Captain A. Dundas Taylor was appointed Superintendent of the new Department, and subsequently a sufficient and competent staff of scientific officers was selected to carry out the intentions of the Government.

We have thus given an outline sketch of the rise and progress of Marine Surveys in India, and it remains now to review the present organization and the out-turn of work since Captain Taylor's appointment.\*

The Superintendent, with his staff,† arrived in Calcutta in the early part of 1875, and immediately set to work to organize the office and to prepare available ships for sea; but it was so late in the season before this could be accomplished that no regular sea survey could be undertaken. The brig *Guide* was therefore employed in surveying the dangerous "James and Mary" shoals in the River Hooghly. The *Clyde*, the only steam vessel attached to the Department, was fitted out at Bombay and brought round to Calcutta, but, almost immediately after starting from Bombay, the engines broke down and she had to be brought to Calcutta as best she could. Captain Taylor says in his report:—"The passage had to be made entirely under sail, as the engines were utterly useless. The officer commanding her (Staff Com-

\* See the "General Report on the operations of the Marine Survey of India, from the commencement in 1874 to the end of the official year 1875-76." Calcutta. 1876.

† There have been slight alterations since the first appointments, but the following officers now compose the staff of the Marine Survey Department:

*Shore Establishment:—*

Captain A. Dundas Taylor, I. N., F. R. G. S.—*Superintendent.*

Mr. R. C. Carrington, F. R. A. S., F. R. S. L.—*Chief Civil Assistant.*

1 Head Clerk. 4 Draftsmen, 3 Writers, 1 Chart Clerk, 1 Chart Moulder and the usual office servants.

*Executive Staff of Scientific Officers:—*

Lieut. F. W. Jarrad, R. N., F. R. A. S., F. R. G. S.—*Deputy Superintendent.*

Lieut. G. C. Hammond, R. N., F. R. G. S.—*Asst. Supdt. 1st Grade.*

Mr. Morris Chapman, I. N. *Do.*

Sub-Lieut. E. W. Petley, R. N. *Do.* 2nd Grade.

Lieut. T. C. Pascoe, R. N. *Do.* *Do.*

Lieut. W. H. Coombs, R. N. *Do.* *Do.*

Mr. P. J. Falle *Do.* *Do.*

*Medical Officer and Naturalist—*

Surgeon James Armstrong, B. A., F. L. S., &c.

mander Ellis, R. N.) reported so unfavorably on the *Clyde's* sailing qualities and on her suitability as a surveying vessel that I applied to the Government to appoint a Board of Officers to hold a survey on her. In the meantime she was placed in the hands of the Dockyard authorities." Both the *Guide* and the *Clyde* were totally unfitted for scientific surveying. The former vessel was at once condemned, but the *Clyde* was patched up, and, at the close of the year 1875, was sent to Burma, Lieutenant F. W. Jarrad, R. N., in command, to survey the approaches to the Rangoon river.

A small schooner, the *Constance*, commanded by Mr. Morris Chapman, I. N., was employed in surveying the new coffee port of Kolachel, on the Travancore Coast, and, subsequently, under Lieutenant Hammond on the Orissa Coast in the survey of False Point; but this vessel was totally inadequate to the requirements of the service, and was therefore returned to the Marine Department as useless. The steam cutters supplied to the surveyors appear to have been unseaworthy,—two of them were eventually lost,—but these mishaps were fortunately attended with no loss of life.

In spite of these many drawbacks, the out-turn of work for the season 1875-76 was satisfactory. The results show that five surveys were actually completed: 1. The James and Mary Shoals; 2. False Point; 3. Coconada; 4. Kolachel, and 5. Rangoon, whilst other places, such as Akyab and Kyouk Phyou, were partly examined.

Amongst these the survey of the approaches to the Rangoon River, under the direction of Lieutenant F. W. Jarrad, R. N., is worthy of particular note, as it is an exhaustive examination, being sectionally sounded on a scale of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches to a mile, and comprises  $37\frac{1}{2}$  miles of coast trigonometrically laid down.

The officers on shore appear to have been busily engaged, and Captain Taylor, in his first report, enumerates the nautical questions that were referred to him for his opinion. The Chart branch, under Mr. R. C. Carrington,\* turned out a large number of useful sheets. Especially to be noted are those of his own compilation of the general charts of the whole of the Indian Coasts from Kurrachee to Penang. From this branch were also issued the wreck and casualty return, lists of lighthouses in India, &c., whilst about 1,100 charts received corrections and additions during the year.

During the surveying season of 1876-77, † Captain Taylor appears to have been chiefly engaged on inspection tours, princi-

\* According to Captain Taylor's report, this officer had, before his appointment in India, served in the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty for a period of 16 years, and was selected by the Secretary of State for India on account of his

special knowledge of charts, and the requirements of shipping in connection therewith.

† See the "General Report on the operations of the Marine Survey of India for the year 1876-77." Calcutta, 1878.



pally on the Burma Coast, and elaborate notes are given of these, as also of visits to False Point, Goa, and Carwar.

The surveying results are again satisfactory, comprising a complete examination of Madras Roadstead, and a sectional survey of the approaches to the Salween (Moulmein) River by Lieutenant F. W. Jarrad, R.N., and four assistants. This officer also corrected the longitude of Double Island in the Gulf of Martaban, measured a meridian distance between Amherst and Cape Negrais, carried out a main triangulation of Akyab, and made further additions to the present chart of Kyouk Phyou. The surveys of Madras and Salween River are excellent specimens of modern scientific surveying. Captain Taylor in his last report says: "The work is of a very superior description, such as has never been seen in India before, and it reflects great credit on Lieut. Jarrad and all engaged under his orders." The soundings at Madras were taken in sections 250 feet apart, and can be used for engineering purposes. The tidal observations were recorded, every 15 minutes, night and day, during the whole time the survey was in progress.

The surveys of the entrance to the Chittagong river and an extension of the Madras work, were conducted by Lieut. G. C. Hammoud, R. N., with one assistant. This officer is reported to have suffered considerably from sickness produced by exposure, and he was subsequently compelled to go to England on sick leave.

Again, great difficulties were encountered in the steam cutters. They were constantly breaking down, and thus were the cause of considerably delaying operations; but the results of the season's work are most creditable.

The only surveying vessel employed, the *Clyde*, has now been returned to the Marine Authorities, and the officers of the survey are working in boat parties. The *Clyde* was condemned long ago as unfitted for scientific surveying, but, as was written of the ship *Assaye*, in the year 1805, so may we at the present time write of the *Clyde*: "She was doubtless considered good enough for the duties of the survey and for the safety of the scientific officers attached to her." \* There is now, however, a vessel being built at Bombay which is to be fitted with all modern improvements. In this vessel it is intended, in addition to, but in conjunction with, the regular surveys, to carry out the physical examination of the Indian Seas,—in fact to complete the work in this part of the globe, omitted in the cruise of H. M. S. *Challenger*. The Surgeon and Naturalist attached to the Survey (Dr. James Armstrong †) has hitherto had few opportunities of

\* Low's "History of the Indian Navy," Vol. 1, p. 392.

† In writing of this Officer Captain Taylor says in his report:—

"We have, indeed, been fortunate in obtaining an officer of Dr. Armstrong's ability and zeal, and I trust, bearing in mind the important addi-



carrying out the wishes of the Government in respect to physical work, as no deep-sea sounding could be undertaken in the *Clyde*, but some extremely interesting natural history notes by this officer are published in the Report under review.

Great activity appears to have prevailed at head-quarters in Calcutta, and Captain Taylor again enumerates a large number of nautical subjects reported upon. Some 10 or 12 new charts were issued, principally compiled from results obtained by the officers of the Department, and upwards of 3,000 charts were corrected; while notices to mariners, sailing directions, as also the annual wreck and casualty return, and a list of lights, &c., were issued to the public. It will be seen that a large mass of work passed through the hands of the Superintendent of the Chart branch.

With such a practical, scientific officer, as Lieutenant Jarrad, in command of the scientific staff at present employed, we may certainly expect, when the new vessel is ready, some excellent and valuable contributions to the hydrography and physical geography of India, and we feel confident that the Government and the public of this country will not regret the expenditure of the modest sum of two lakhs annually voted for Marine Surveys.

#### SEXTANT.

tions to science which might confidently be expected from a systematic examination of the *fauna* and *flora* of the Indian Coasts and Waters, that, when arranging the internal fittings of the new surveying vessel, the re-

quirements of the naturalist, especially for deep-sea dredging, &c., may not be forgotten.

“Dr. Armstrong has with very scant means and limited time, made a most interesting little collection.”

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## ART. IX.—THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

TO the south of the Andaman Island group and forming a series of links in the chain connecting it, to the north with Cape Negrais on the Arracan Coast, and to the south with Acheen in Sumatra, lie a large\* group of sylvan islands formerly known by the Malays as the "Sambillangs", or Nine Islands,† but now called the Nicobars, which, after having been several times occupied and reluctantly abandoned by the Danes, once by the English, and once by the Austrian Governments, have eventually recently repassed into British possession.

For the purposes of administration, these islands have been incorporated, since their re-occupation, with the Andamans, and in 1869 a small penal station was established upon them at Camorta‡ in connection with, and subordinate to, the penal colony at Port Blair.

Although they were frequently visited by trading vessels in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most absurdly extravagant reports were long current in Europe regarding their inhabitants.

In the year 1647, a Dutch vessel, having on board a Swedish traveller named Keoping, anchored off the islands and despatched a boat ashore manned by five men who failed to return. A second boat with a well-armed crew followed in quest of them the next day, only to find their bones strewn upon the shore and the boat knocked to pieces for its iron fittings. It was of course assumed that the crew had been devoured by the savages, some of whom were seen, and who were declared to have tails like cats, which they moved in a similar manner.

Keoping's account of this voyage was reprinted at Stockholm by Silvium in 1743; and the assertion thus circulated obtained extensive credence until the visit of the Austrian vessel *Joseph und Theresia* of Boltz's expedition to the East Indies, in the year 1778, refuted it. The journal of Surgeon Nicolas Fontana, who accompanied the Austrian expedition and remained in the Nicobar Islands from April to September 1778, was printed at Leipzig in 1782, having been translated from the Italian manuscript by Joseph Eyerle, in *Der Buchlandlung der Gelehrten*.§

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\* Horsburgh's East India Directory 1836.

† "Nancowry" was selected by the Government of India as the name of the new settlement. Notification No. 2019. Dated 25th April 1871.

‡ "Camorta" was only recently declared a Port under Act XII of 1875. Notification 115. Dated Simla, 18th April 1877.

§ (a.) De Roëpstorff. *Andaman and Nicobar vocabulary*. 1875.

(b.) Père Latrobe, writing in 1812, mentions that the Nicobar islands themselves were also named Frederic's Islands by the Danish East India Company. (*Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, M.P.*)

In this journal the illusion which had hitherto obtained, was destined to be sufficiently dispelled, for, referring to this episode, Fontana remarks: "Linnaeus seems to have been too credulous in believing this man's story, for in all my examinations I could discover no sort of projection whatever on the *os Coccygis* of either sex. What has given rise to this supposed tail may have been the strip of cloth hanging down from their posteriors, which, when viewed at a distance, might probably have been mistaken for a tail."

The Austrian visit of 1778, however, above referred to, was preceded by that of the Danes, who, in 1754-1756, had made an attempt at colonization of the islands, formal possession having been taken of the Great Nicobar on the 1st of January 1756 in the name of the King of Denmark, and the colony named "New Denmark."\*

So appalling was the loss of this expedition through sickness, however, that in October of the same year the Settlement was removed to Camorta, the present site of our own settlement, where it was re-named "Ny Sjaelland," after the Danish island of that name.† Difficulties soon arose with the islanders, and the Danes, after serious quarrels with the Nicobarese, had to take refuge in flight, and retired to Acheen in Sumatra.

The Danes had themselves, however, been preceded by yet earlier pioneers of Western civilization. At Camorta, or Nancowry (termed "Sampieri" in Mr. Haensel's MSS., and "Sombreiro" in the older French charts) the two noble martyrs, Pères Faure and Bonnet, who had resided for 2 years at the Car Nicobar, were ruthlessly massacred in 1713. Touching indeed is the sad story transmitted to us of their heroism and self-devotion, the record of their fearless fulfilment of a self-imposed duty, of their faithfulness even unto death. These brave hearts, seeking no individual or selfish advantage, actuated by the pure fervour of the deepest religious enthusiasm, evidently sought the mission with a full knowledge of the risks it involved. Père Faure, in a letter dated the 17th of January 1711, speaks thus of the duty upon which he was then about to engage:

"Je m'offris aux superieurs, je les pressai même et ils se rendirent à mes instances. J'eus donc le bonheur d'être choisi avec le Père Bonnet pour mettre la première main à une si bonne œuvre \* \* \* J'espère avec la grâce du Seigneur m'employer tout entier à la conversion de ce pauvre peuple,

\* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. Art. 7.

(c.) Johan Gotteried Haensel, who resided at Camorta from 1779 to 1787, refers to the Car Nicobar

Island as the site of the first settlement. (*Letter 8 to the address of Père Latrobè*. 1812.)

† De Roëpstorff. *Idem*.

“qui m'est echu en partage. Dieu qui à toujours usé envers  
 “moi de ses grandes miséricordes, m'inspire une pleine confiance en  
 “sa toute-puissante protection et c'est ce qui me fait envisager sans  
 “crainte les périls que nous allons courir au milieu d'une nation  
 “barbare.

“Que je serais heureux, mon Révérend Père, si, quand vous  
 “recevrez ma lettre, j'avais déjà été digne de souffrir quelque  
 “chose pour Jésus Christ, mais vous me connaissez trop bien  
 “pour n'être pas persuadé que une pareille grâce est réservée à  
 “d'autres qui la méritent mieux que moi.”

The following account of the landing of the mission is drawn from particulars furnished by M. de Dumaine, commander of the *Lys-Brillac*,\* an eye-witness.

“La séparation ne se put faire sans beaucoup de larmes.  
 “Tout l'équipage fut attendri de voir avec quelle joie les deux  
 “missionnaires allaient se livrer à la merci d'un peuple féroce dans  
 “les îles si peu pratiquées et tout à fait dépourvues des choses  
 “nécessaires à la vie. Le vaisseau mit en panne et tout le monde  
 “conduisit des yeux la chaloupe qui cotoya l'île fort long-temps  
 “sans pouvoir trouver d'endroit où débarquer, en sorte même que  
 “l'officier qui commandait la chaloupe songeait déjà à retourner à  
 “son vaisseau.

“Les Pères le conjurèrent avec instance de ne point perdre courage,  
 “ils côtoyèrent donc l'île encore quelque temps et enfin on trouva  
 “un lieu assez commode où l'on fit débarquer les missionnaires avec  
 “un petit coffre où était leur chapelle et un sac de riz dont M. du  
 “Dumaine leur avait présenté. Aussitôt qu'ils se virent dans l'île,  
 “ils se mirent à genoux, firent leur prière et baisèrent la terre  
 “avec respect, pour en prendre possession au nom de Jésus Christ.  
 “Ensuite après avoir caché leur chapelle et leur sac de riz, ils  
 “s'enforcèrent dans les bois pour y aller chercher les insulaires.

For two years (1711-13) these devoted teachers laboured at the Great Nicobar, the inhabitants of which island are said to have earnestly endeavored to dissuade them from any attempt to reach the more hostile savages of Camorta, and to have warned them of the attendant risks. These dauntless men, whom nothing could turn from the purpose of their mission, were, however, deaf to all entreaty, and are believed to have been massacred at Camorta some 75 days only after their arrival there.

From the departure of the Danes in 1756 to the year 1768, little or nothing is known of these islands, though it is evident that they had not been lost sight of by the Danes, who contemplated their re-occupation. The earlier missionary efforts were destined to be succeeded by others. In the year 1758, it was intimated to the Directors of the Moravian Mission of the United

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\* *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. Toulouse. 1810.

Brethren that it would give particular pleasure to the king of Denmark if some of the members of the Mission would settle at the Nicobars and endeavour to instruct the savages there in the principles of the Christian religion. A mission was accordingly despatched to Tranquebar, where it arrived in 1760, there to await transhipment to the Nicobars. For eight long years no opportunity offered, the Danish East India Company being at the time unable to renew its settlement, and it was not till the year 1768, that six of the missionaries reached Nancowry. From that year to 1787, or for nineteen long weary years, these worthy men patiently persisted in their efforts, which do not, however, appear to have been attended with any marked success, for Fontana mentions, on his visit in 1778, that they had not effected the conversion of even a single person, and this assertion seems to have been based upon the missionaries' own statements.\* Of the sufferings and privations which they endured throughout, a pathetic record is yet extant in the letters of the Rev. Johan Gottfried Haensel (who described himself as the only surviving "missionary"), addressed to Rev. C. I. Latrobe in 1812.

The settlement of these brethren was termed by the natives "Tripjet" or the dwelling of friends, and the mission appear to have mainly subsisted upon the proceeds of the sales of their collections of rare shells and other natural curiosities, and of cocoanut-oil, realized through the brethren at Tranquebar. Having to combat the difficulties of the language and of an extremely unhealthy climate, harassed by great privations and the want of the most ordinary necessaries of life, disheartened by failure, and witnesses to the death of so many of their comrades who succumbed to such influences, what wonder that after nineteen years, and the death of no less than twenty-four of the brethren connected with the mission at Nancowry, or at Tranquebar, the hopelessness of the undertaking was reluctantly recognized and its abandonment definitely resolved on.

Despite this failure, however, it was then far from the intention of the Danes to relinquish their nominal possession of the islands, of which they recognized the possible later value. It appears that the Danish Government had intrusted to the Mission, during its stay, the representation of the sovereignty of Denmark, one of the members of the Mission being (as Mr. Haensel states) regularly appointed "Danish Royal Resident," and holding a Patent signed by the King.

On the withdrawal of the Mission, it was replaced by a small guard from Tranquebar, which continued the occupation till 1807. In that year, Denmark being at war with England, however, pos-

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\* Letter of Rev. C. I. Latrobe, dated 12 May 1812, to W. Wilberforce, Esq., M.P.



session of the Nicobars was temporarily taken by the British, though the islands were restored to the Danes in 1814.

The nature of the occupation of the years 1798 to 1807 may be gathered from the account of Mr. Topping, an English officer in the service of the East India Company, who visited the Nicobars in October 1790 in the cutter *Mary*. He states in his *Journal of a Voyage in the Bay of Bengal*,\* that he “found no European  
“there to support, with due parade, the King of Denmark’s pre-  
“sumptive authority in the island. A country-born Dutch-descend-  
“ed sergeant was commandant of the place, and had with him two  
“mulatto soldiers, two sepoy, one artillery man, and two caffre  
“slaves—all excepting the negroes in His Danish Majesty’s pay.  
“The whole duty required of them seemed to be to hoist a swallow-  
“tailed Danish flag upon a bamboo pole, to take charge of 3 or 4  
“old ill-mounted unserviceable iron guns, and a few rounds of  
“powder and ball given them for the defence of the settlement!  
“and (the most difficult task of all) to preserve themselves from  
“the pressing attacks of hunger and disease. Their habitation, a  
“truly wretched one, was half eaten up by white ants. It had at  
“first only a thatched roof to cover it, which, being out of repair,  
“afforded them scarcely any shelter against the heavy and almost  
“continual rains that vex these desolate regions. The poor people  
“complained bitterly of their condition, and, in particular, of their  
“being left like banished criminals with a bare subsistence, un-  
“consoled by any of those little additional comforts and indulgences  
“so dreary and unhealthy a situation entitles them to, and indeed  
“gave us no great reason either by their language or appearance to  
“think very highly of the bounty or humanity of the Governor-  
“General at Tranquebar, who, to say the truth, seems to have no  
“other end in keeping possession of this post than to exercise their  
“exclusive right of dominion there, in imitation of the surly and  
“too common example of the cur in the fable.”

Of the English temporary occupation of upwards of 60 years since, the only trace now discoverable at Nancowry is a large block of sandstone, believed to mark the site of a grave. It bears the following inscription: “Lucknow. H. B. M. *Ship Leda*, † October 30th, 1812.” It may be, however, that it is the mere record of the visit of some vessel of this name.

Of the Austrian settlement of 1778, no traces were found by the Danish Corvette *Galathea* in 1846.

In April of the former year, Captain Bennett with the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresia* in connection with Boltz’s commercial expedition to the East had arrived at Nancowry, where he remained

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\* Published in Selections from the      † Annual Report Nicobar Settle-  
Records—Madras Government—185,      ment, 1873-74, para. 41.  
No. XIX, p.p. 31-35.

till the 4th of the September following, and took formal possession of the islands in the name of His Majesty the Emperor Joseph II.\* This occupation was not destined however to be even as permanent as those which had preceded it.

Nothing daunted by the repeated failure of all previous expeditions, the Rev. D. Rosen, a Danish Lutheran Minister, was induced yet again to make a further attempt to establish a Danish colony at Nancowry in the year 1831. But this endeavor was equally abortive and was abandoned in 1837.

In 1846, the fourth and last Danish occupation took place, only to be surrendered two years later, when a Danish man-of-war, the Royal Corvette *Valkyrien*, was sent to remove the Danish Flags and Staves which had been left on the island.

The English possession of the islands having been resumed only so lately as 1869, the Nicobars may be said to have remained for twenty-one years "derelict."

The reasons which finally influenced and led to their most recent annexation, are briefly detailed in a dispatch of the Indian Government to the Secretary of State for India, dated April 1868, and were as follows:—

"For the last 50 years the inhabitants have taken advantage  
"of their isolated and independent position to plunder and  
"murder the crews of vessels which have been wrecked on their  
"coasts, or have made their harbours in distress. Punishment  
"for these atrocities is difficult, preventive measures are ineffec-  
"tual. For such measures vessels of war are not readily avail-  
"able. Nor, even if they were available, could much success be  
"hoped from such occasional and fleeting visits as they would  
"be able to pay.

"The only plan, therefore, that suggests itself to us for  
"preventing the recurrence of the outrages which have  
"long attracted attention, is to occupy with a proper degree  
"of permanency one of the islands, and from that vantage-  
"ground to endeavor to reform and civilize the inhabitants. This  
"is a work which we should not desire to undertake except for  
"its pressing necessity and with the prospect of some measure of  
"success.

"Another consideration which we have not overlooked, is the  
"possibility of the occupation of the islands by a foreign power.  
"It is needless to dwell on the inconvenience which would be  
"felt from the existence of a foreign naval station in the  
"immediate neighbourhood of our settlement in the Indian Seas."

That innumerable massacres have taken place in this den of pirates there is the clearest evidence. In an official letter to the

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\* Extract from the "Voyage of the Comm. Part, vol. 1. page 291.)  
Austrian Frigate *Novara*" (Statistics

Military Secretary to the Government of India of September 1867 the following passage occurs : \*

“ There is no doubt that it has been for years past the custom  
“ of these Nicobarians to make frequent prey of vessels touching  
“ at their shores ; and the reason why these atrocities have not  
“ earlier come to our knowledge is that they have invariably acted  
“ on the old maxim that dead men tell no tales, and butchered  
“ all who fell into their power, and, after plundering the vessel,  
“ scuttled her in deep water.

“ The whole community being concerned in keeping the secret,  
“ and no traces left, it is no wonder that merely suspicion attached  
“ to the place, as of course many vessels were allowed to depart  
“ unharmed, and the profits they gained induced others to follow  
“ their steps.

“ The late visit of H. M. S. *Wasp* showed English ships must  
“ to a considerable extent have fallen into their clutches.\*\*\* I had  
“ a conversation with an old woman who was found on the Island  
“ by Captain Bedingfeld, and had given him much valuable infor-  
“ mation, and I think she mentioned nineteen vessels as having been  
“ cut off to her knowledge, and Captain Bedingfeld told me that  
“ one of the Nicobarians had actually the audacity to threaten  
“ the *Nacodah* of a vessel† then lying at anchor, that they would  
“ dispose of him after the departure of the man-of-war.”

The experiences of the Rev. J. M. Chopard, S. J. (in 1844), the Rev. Père Barbe, S. J. (in 1846), and various other earlier visitors, all confirm the continuous perpetration of numerous such atrocities which are but too well authenticated.

In 1852, Captain Dicey of the Honorable Company's Steamer *Tenasserim*, after a visit to these islands, stated as follows :

“ I have no hesitation in my own mind in saying that two or three  
“ vessels have been cut off at these islands within the last few  
“ months, making a fearful catalogue of vessels that have been  
“ destroyed and their crews murdered within the last ten or twelve  
“ years by these pirates, who murder all belonging to the vessels  
“ taken, to prevent detection.”

In 1866, no less than twenty-one persons of a crew consisting of twenty-five of the brig *Futteh Islam* were treacherously killed, and there is reason to believe that an even worse fate attended the English wife of the captain of a barque, the entire crew of which had been previously foully murdered, the vessel being sunk. The sanction of the Home Government having been accorded, annexation immediately followed, and the islands again passed under our rule.

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\* Selections from *Records Home Department, Government of India, No. 87.*

† *The Rattlesnake.*

The present number of their inhabitants has been roughly estimated at about 5,000.\* Of their origin but little is known with any certainty, though it is believed that the races have been much intermixed, and that the present savages are not the original heritors of the soil.

The inhabitants of the Great Nicobar speak with contempt of an aboriginal savage race, as still existing in the interior—a wild tribe of forest-men with long hair, inhabiting the trees and living upon honey, roots and game—whom no European eye has yet looked on. These men are said to run through the jungle like cats, to be armed with wooden spears, and to understand magic arts, which aid them to catch snakes, lizards and crocodiles, on whose flesh they live. They go perfectly naked, know no matrimonial connection, and are said to live dispersed in wandering bands. Of dark complexion with curled hair, they are always at war with the fairer tribes inhabiting the coasts, by whom they are called “shom-pengs”, signifying forest-men. It is at least singular that this distinct race should be found in the interior fastnesses of the largest island of the group, and that the physical features of the type should closely assimilate those of the Andaman aboriginal races. Further, the Great Nicobar is not by the coast-men designated with the usual expression for an island (*Puls*), but with a special appellation which may designate a continent.

That a great admixture of races has produced the present type of the inhabitants of the coasts there can be little doubt. Fontana narrates (1778), that, sensible of the scanty population of their islands, “they study to increase it by inviting and even seducing some Malabars or Bengalese to remain amongst them when brought thither by the country ships, and of whom there are in almost all villages some to be found, who may be easily discerned from the natives by their figure, features, color, and language.” As regards their physical characters, they may be said to stand between the Malays and Burmese, but from both races they have greatly degenerated, for neither of the religion nor of the civil institutions of those nations are they found to retain the slightest trace.

Of their origin they are themselves profoundly ignorant, and many of their traditions in regard to it are most singular. The following are from the account of the Rev. Père Barbe (1846): “There is a tradition amongst the Nicobarians that the first stranger who came to their island, seeing something moving on the sand, perceived small persons of the size of an ant. He took care of them until they attained the common size of men,

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\* Despatch No. 27 of Govt. of India to H. M.'s Secy. of State for India, 1868



so began the origin of the Nicobarians." He also gives one which bears some analogy to that of the deluge with which the creation is here mixed up. "A man sprang out of the ground, and, taking a bitch for his wife, had two children, who in the course of time peopled the island. A man murdered was buried, and from his head sprang the first cocoanut-tree; some time after all the inhabitants were destroyed by an inundation with the exception of one man and one bitch, who again peopled the island." The following legend Dr. Rink also learnt: "A legend seems to be current amongst them that a tremendous flood once carried off men and beasts; only one man on Laoi (Great Nicobar) saved himself, mounting a high tree, and, when he looked round after the water receded, he did not find in the solitude any other being except a bitch of which he became enamoured, and to this pair the present population owes its origin". Of any inherited religious belief similar to the Buddhism of the Mongolian population and before the Mahomedan among the Malays they appear entirely destitute. In fact their state of mental development is so extremely low that it cannot be said that they possess the slightest conception of a Supreme Being, having no word in their language expressive even of the idea,\* whilst their faith, unaided by reason, has yet failed to emerge from the grossest superstition, and sorcery, magic and witchcraft, exercise the strongest hold upon their simple imaginations.

Of psychology they can scarcely be said to have any inception, yet they entertain the belief that the spirits of the wicked will, after death, and their severance from their temporal earthly abode, remain on earth to annoy the living, as they retain all the malicious propensities with which during life they may have been imbued. The whole *cultus*, in fact, of a Nicobarean is found to consist either in conciliating the *hivi* (or *ee wee*, evil spirit), or in driving it away by force. The primitive idea of the supernatural and invisible is here restricted to a dread of spirits, to whose influence these islanders ascribe such unlucky facts as they are unable to explain from natural and familiar causes.† Sickness, the occurrence of accidents on sea voyages, &c., all are due to the malignant designs of demons. These spirits reside in the interior of the forests from which they only occasionally emerge upon their evil missions.‡ The priests or *manloenna*,§ who are also seers or fortune-tellers, are employed to exorcise the *hivi*, and combine in their persons the functions of magician, priest, and physician.

\* A word (*l'ê-ûsê*) is now said by Mr. E. H. Mau to be made use of in the Southern islands to signify a supreme being.

† Chopard, 1844.

‡ H. Rink, Ph. D. 1847.

§ *Manloenna*—(de Roepstorff).  
*Minloven*.—(Barbe.)



Many of their cures are said to be effected by conjuring tricks, evidencing considerable sleight of hand, the demons exorcised being supposed to pass to other objects or persons.

Häensel states that he personally witnessed several successful performances of this nature, the sorcerers being extremely proficient in legerdemain. In one case cited, a female patient lay very ill, and the assistance of one of these *manloënnas* (or Paters) was called in—"Both doctor and patient were stark naked. After a series of most horrible grimaces, the sorcerer produced a very large yam, which he held up, pretending that he had *limpt* it (for thus they call this species of legerdemain) out of the body of the woman, and that it had been, by witchcraft, the cause of her disorder. When I entered I particularly noticed that he had nothing in his hands or about him, nor did there appear any possibility of a substance of that size being concealed in the empty room. \* \* He afterwards administered a decoction of herbs and she recovered."

The expulsion of the devil from a sick person is often attended with a still more singular performance, the efficacy of which is most firmly believed in. Should all decoctions and incantations fail, it is recognized that a powerful fiend requires to be coped with. The young men of the village are called together, and a small toy raft or canoe with three masts is constructed. The priest, stark naked and painted all over with various colors for the purpose of frightening the demon, and armed with a short bludgeon, commences a frantic dance combined with apparent efforts to grapple with the invisible spirit. Yelling and howling in a furious manner, he at length announces the seizure of the foe by the hair or by a limb; a rush is made for the shore, and the demon is deposited by the priest in the toy craft (termed *Hanmai*), which is then towed out by two boats to sea, and, having been cut adrift, is abandoned to the mercy of the waves. For two days the demon may survive and re-land in safety, but on the third he dies. Should he be driven ashore in another village, his malignant powers will be resumed upon its occupants, who revenge themselves in a free fight with long lethal weapons (steeped in pigs' blood and covered with sand) with the inhabitants of the village which has thus ejected him. The attack is usually a night surprise, but in all houses a number of long sticks stand ready to hand for immediate use.

The Reverend Père Barbe mentions that whole cargoes of evil spirits are occasionally deported in this manner. Once in the year, at the feast of *Kew eewee*, and sometimes when great sickness prevails, a large canoe is built, which the priest has carried to each house, and there, by his incantation, he compels the embarkation of all evil spirits. The

doors of each house are then shut, the ladder being drawn up to prevent the re-ascent of the spirits into the house, and the boat is launched with its full cargo of demons, being towed out some distance to sea by other boats and cast adrift. A large cloth screen is erected to shut out their view of the village, and thus their return is impossible and for ever debarred.

The priest is called in also in all the minor details of daily life. In the building of a house, he must first exorcise the demons and thus consecrate its site. On the completion of a new canoe, it is necessary that he should light fires around it, to compel the evil spirit to quit the boat. He is the diviner and interpreter of dreams, the singer of the farewell songs of death, and of the funeral, and the medical attendant at a birth. There can be no doubt, however, that it is to their skill in the concoction of various medicines from roots, fruits, and herbs, &c., rather than in legerdemain that the priests owe much of their ascendancy over the minds of this simple race.

In every village there is a high pole, with long strings or ground rattans suspended from it, which it is said the demon is unable to approach. Upon signs of a serious storm threatening a village, the villagers assemble and march round their boundaries, fixing up small sticks, forked or split at the head, in the cleft of which they place a piece of cocoanut, a wisp of tobacco, and the leaf of a plant.\* On the appearance of an eclipse, which is regarded as an effort of a demon to devour the edges of the sun or moon, the priests assemble, and, with the most singular grimaces, hurl their spears in the direction of the luminary attacked, the villagers assisting to drive off the demon with loud beatings of their gongs.†

Of the clothing of these savages it is scarcely possible that much can be said, for the simple reason that there is little or none worn which could be described. The entire costume of the men consists of a small cincture of blue cloth, some two to three inches broad by four feet long, and tightly drawn between the thighs; whilst that of the women consists of a somewhat larger piece, of about a foot in width, similar to the *sarong* of the Malays, which they wrap loosely round the loins and fold in such a manner that it has a fall like an apron, towards the front. This cloth covering was described by Fontana (1778) as made with the threads of the bark of the cocoanut tree. With the men, the end of the long narrow cloth is often permitted to trail behind, and this was very probably the origin of the assertion of Keeping already referred to, in regard to his discovery in 1647 of a race of men with tails

\* *Asiatic Researches*. vol. 1. p. 337. Europe were set ringing to drive away that monster the plague.—*Tyndall's Belfast Address*.

† This custom has been approached in the West, where all the bells of

like cats, for which at a distance these appendages might certainly be mistaken. Silver soup-ladles are worn as neck ornaments at festivals, also wreaths of fresh foliage, and occasionally necklaces of silver coins

Although it has not been found that the race is addicted to the worship of idols, in almost every house figures or models of wood (termed *karé-dü*) may be observed, often of full life-size and representing ordinarily a person in European dress. Occasionally, however, fish, with the heads of alligators, ships, &c., take the place of other models or idols. Whether these have at some earlier period been objects of reverence or worship, it is extremely difficult to ascertain.

To the necks of many of these effigies of Europeans are suspended the usual cocoanuts and spoons, &c. The offerings thus resembling much those made to spirits on the occasions of their religious ceremonies of births or burials, &c., and it is far from impossible that in the earlier days of communication these figures may have been regarded as objects of veneration if not of actual worship by these simple Islanders, to whom the European races represented the highest conception yet known of any being superior to themselves. Although they do not appear therefore to be objects of actual worship in the present day, so far as has been ascertained, the respect yet paid to them, and the offerings which continue to be tendered to them would seem to indicate that, in some former period, these images have held a place in their estimation from which they are still reluctant wholly to discard them.

For Europeans the natives have much reverence, considering that, as *manloënnas* and sorcerers, they are far in advance of their own *malues* or priests. Our ability to foretell an eclipse is regarded as direct evidence of the possession of such mystical powers; our skill in medicines and in detecting the commission of crime as due to divination.

Père Barbe (1846) mentions that to Europeans is attributed the creation of the islands, the control of the elements, and power of conferring, or of depriving of, life.

Some amusing instances of this belief, which occurred during the residence of the French Missionaries at Teressa, may be cited. "The villagers went to them on several occasions, saying, 'Senhor Padre, give us some rain if you please, our yams are dying, we know you can do it if you like.' And, on one occasion, the priests were threatened to be murdered if there was no rain. On the following day, fortunately, a strong shower fell during the night, and the people thanked them most cordially.

"One of the clergy being on board of their canoe, on his way from Chowry to Teressa, the crew told him, 'Senhor Padre, some breeze if you please.' Some time after the wind blowing a little

“fresh, ‘*basta*,’ cried they, ‘it is enough, and do not give any more of it, or the boat will be capsized.’ One day, ‘*Gold Mohur*,’ who is the most respected man of the Laxis, a village situated in Teressa, went to the missionaries telling them, ‘you think, perhaps, that the inhabitants of this place are bad people, I will convince you to the contrary, to-morrow I will take all the inhabitants to you, and by examining their hands you will see there is not a single murderer amongst them.’”

When boarding foreign vessels, the headmen of the villages wear a black tall hat, or red cap, or a handkerchief tied round their necks. Occasionally they will wear a coat or pair of trousers, presented to or bartered with them by some former visitor, which being reserved for duty only on state occasions are generally far from new, many of the hats worn, to judge from their singular and obsolete shapes, probably dating from the time of the Moravian Missionaries.

Nothing appears to render these savages more happy than the gift of articles of European clothing. The “desire of their eyes” is an English beaver or black silk hat, which is often worn without a vestige of other clothing or adornment than the slight strip or band of cloth already alluded to.

For the adoption of English names they have also a most singular fancy, and frequently dub themselves “Captains,” probably from observation of the deference paid to the commanders of vessels visiting their shores. Byron, Nelson, Neptune, Captains Johnson and London, Smith, Rodney, and a host of similar well-known names, are met with, and the Rev. Père Barbe narrates a story of the manner in which one such was acquired in 1832. Two of the natives of the Car Nicobar who had visited Rangoon were presented to the Italian Bishop, and were so much gratified with some trifling object given to them, that the elder immediately resolved upon the adoption of the name of so generous a donor for his son, and thus informed that astonished dignitary of the intention so conceived: “My name being Captain John, I cannot take your name, but my son, not being Captain yet, he shall be henceforth called Captain Bishop.” The promise is believed to have been faithfully kept.

Strange to say the women completely shave their heads, and, while the men tie back their tresses of long black hair, the locks of the women are shorn.

The condition of the weaker sex is said, however, to differ greatly from that of other oriental peoples. Being of large stature and strong constitution as contrasted with the men, they are alleged to decline to allow it to be considered that they are inferior to the sterner sex over whom, Dr. Kink observes, they occasionally exercise palpable authority, adding that a closer view of their



matrimonial life would shew that the respect of the men towards the fair sex did not, strictly speaking, originate in the free-will of the men, and "is not therefore to be considered a virtue."

Polygamy appears to be wholly unknown ; while, on the other hand, the dissolution of the marriage tie is as simple as its contraction. The Rev. Père Barbe mentions that it is not unc customary for a young couple to reside together for a year before the marriage ceremony takes place, and that the women equally with the men enjoy the "privilege" of divorcing a spouse at their discretion.

At the marriage ceremony a feast is given to friends and relations, at which the largest pigs are killed, the guests daubing their faces with the blood.

Divorces are frequent, sterility on the the part of the wife, incompatibility of temper, and a variety of other causes, being recognized as sufficient justification. On the part of the wife it suffices that she should signify her intention of leaving her husband for the society of some more favored friend. Her divorce cannot under the circumstances be refused. A case is mentioned by the Rev. Père Barbe of a woman divorced by nine successive husbands for sterility, which is invariably regarded as a curse.

Fontana mentions that the reciprocal temporary exchange of wives is also far from uncommon. A tobacco leaf being publicly exchanged as a recognition of the cognizance of all concerned in the agreement.

The women are not prolific, three children being considered a large family. When twins are born, the second child is said to be immediately put to death.\* So soon as it is ascertained that a woman is *enceinte*, both she and her husband discontinue all work and employ their time wholly in visiting friends. They are feasted, and the matter is treated as an occasion for general rejoicings. Such visits are deemed to bring good luck.

The race itself is of a yellowish copper color. Père Taillandier, S. J., who touched at these islands in 1711 (an extract from whose letter to Père Willard, S. J., dated the 20th of February of that year, is published a century later in the collection of *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* issued at Toulouse in 1810), mentions that "parmi les noirs ils pourraient passer pour blancs," and adds, "Ils sont presque nus, leur couleur est d'un basané jaunâtre."

Fontana (1778) speaks of them as having small eyes, obliquely cut, that part of the eye which, in ours is white, being in theirs yellowish, with small flat noses, large mouths, and thick lips.

They have large ears, in the lobes of which are holes perforated of a sufficient size to admit the introduction of a man's thumb.

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\* Rink.



They have black strong hair cut round the head. The men have little or no beard, and the back or hinder part of the head is flattened and compressed, the eyebrows being shaved. The compression of the back of the head is effected in infancy with the hands, the occiput being so flattened as a mark of beauty.

The front teeth, which already project in a singular manner, (owing it is alleged to the flattening of the occiput) are filed to remove the enamel, and by manipulation with some acrid juice the teeth are rendered extremely black and swollen, in such manner as to acquire the appearance of one continuous projecting mass so advanced as to preclude the lips closing.

In height they are rather short than tall, averaging about 5 feet 6 to 9 inches.

Though much addicted to singing and dancing at their frequent festivals, their conception of melody or harmony is peculiar.

The dance which is held within the houses is dull and inanimate, as might be anticipated with a race so little disposed to exertion of any description. A plaintive monotonous hum of voices forms its only accompaniment. Of instrumental music they ordinarily know nothing. Men and women form a circle, their hands resting on each others' shoulders, and they slowly advance and withdraw their bodies as they sing, swaying them to and fro to the time of the melody if such it may be termed.

A stringed musical instrument made of hollow bamboos is mentioned by de Rœptstorff as now in use. This is, however, probably of recent introduction, except at the Car Nicobar where it is mentioned by Hamilton at a very early date.\*

Of a language which has baffled all philological attempts at its acquirement but little can be said. Such crude efforts as have yet been made have necessarily been empirical, and but one point can be said to be established with any certainty, *viz.*, that it now contains a considerable intermixture of Portuguese and other foreign words, and that it cannot yet with any certainty be referred to any of the great families.

Rink thus describes the impression made upon him by this language: "I have heard many different languages spoken, but none of them had so disagreeable a sound as the Nicobarian.

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\* "Of musical instruments they have but one kind and that of the simplest. It is a hollow bamboo about 2½ feet long, 3 in. in diameter along the outside of which there is stretched from end to end a single string made of the threads of a split cane, and the place under the string is hollowed a little to prevent it

from touching. This instrument is played upon in the same manner as a guitar. It is capable of producing but few notes, the performer however makes it speak harmoniously and generally accompanies it with the voice."—*Car-Nicobar* by G. Hamilton. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 1. p. 337. Art. XXI. published 1801.

“The great number of guttural and nasal sounds, the uneducated, drawling pronunciation, becoming still more difficult on account of the disfigured mouth, makes a very disagreeable impression. According to the opinion of those who know the Burmese, as well as the common Malayan dialect, no marked relation is said to exist between these languages and the Nicobarese.”

Haensel describes the language as extremely difficult to acquire, and mentions that many of the natives spoke a “bastard Portuguese” with the Missionaries. He adds that not only is the language itself poor in words and expressions, but the natives are of so indolent a turn that they prefer the expression of their meaning by a sign to the trouble of talking. Fontana, on the other hand, describes the basis of the language as chiefly Malay, with some words borrowed from Europeans and other strangers, and adds that they have no expression for numbers beyond 40, except by multiplication. Père Chopard speaks of it as polysyllabic, and abounding in vowels. He adds: “It appeared to me that the sound formed in the throat came out through the nose, and that the tongue, the usual instrument for producing distinct sounds, had very limited functions in their language.”

So early as 1844 the islanders had certainly acquired a little of each of the languages used by navigators visiting the islands, for they spoke a little Portuguese, English, Hindustani, and Burmese, besides Malay, fluently, and a few words of French.

The houses inhabited by the race are of a most singular appearance, being of a circular form, covered with elliptical domes thatched with a grass (called *lalang* by the Malays) and the leaves of cocoanuts. They are raised upon piles to the height of six or eight feet above the ground, the ascent being by a ladder. In those bays or inlets which are sheltered from the surf, they are erected close to the margin of the water. In appearance they much resemble a beehive and are capable of containing a considerable number of occupants, being often from thirty to fifty feet in diameter.

Eight or ten persons usually occupy one hut, though the number is entirely dependent on the number of the entire family who reside together in it. The furniture is extremely limited, being confined to a few skulls of pigs, some coconut shells, or earthen pots, and some long sticks for self-defence, already referred to. Ten or twelve huts usually form a village.

These houses are without windows or partition of any kind. All the occupants of either sex lie naked upon the floor, with only a round piece of wood as a pillow for their heads and a palm leaf beneath them as a mattress; the ascent is by a ladder, or the trunk of a tree cut into steps. The trap door through the floor is

the only means of exit for the smoke, the cooking being performed in a temporary fireplace in a corner of the room.

This smoke is believed by the islanders to have the property of neutralizing the dangerous forest vapours in their dimly-lit dwellings. Not a single nail is used in the entire building, the construction and repairs of which form the chief occupation of their male tenants.

In the construction and use of boats, the Nicobarese excel many other races. Their canoes, varying in length from six to forty feet, are hollowed out from the trunk of a single tree and have each an outrigger. The larger boats, having from three to four masts with mat sails, are capable of holding from twenty to thirty men.

The outrigger is similar in construction to those in use on the Madras Coast. It is a long log of wood, fastened parallel to the boat by two projecting spars from four to six feet in length. The sails are often of palm leaves sewn together, but the boats are ordinarily propelled with great rapidity by small paddles of about three feet in length. The smaller canoes are occasionally paddled by the women in the absence of the men. The Nicobarese are also most expert fishermen, and there is considerable interchange of traffic between the islands by means of these canoes. The chief food of the natives is pandanus and cycas bread, poultry, pork, yams, fish, crabs, and a variety of shell-fish, the pulp of the cocoanut, turtle, and fruit. Père Chopard mentions that it is not uncommon to see round a single hut 40, 50, or even 60, pigs,\* of whose flesh the islanders devour an incredible quantity at their feasts. The flesh only is eaten, the grease being reserved for culinary purposes. Water the islanders rarely drink, † ordinarily slaking their thirst with the liquid contents of young green cocoanuts plucked fresh, as required for use.

They have few wells or reservoirs of any kind for water (though it is stored and made use of for cooking purposes in blackened cocoanut shells) but have learnt the mode of fermentation of the saccharine juice of the cocoa-palm of which they are extremely fond, having a constant craving for powerful stimulants—whole villages being frequently found intoxicated upon the occasion of any special festivities or ceremonies. Another stimulant in use is the betel nut, which they perpetually chew, mixed with lime, and which entirely blackens the teeth.

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\* The number of pigs has now very considerably diminished from various causes,—more particularly from their destruction by Burmese visitors during the trading season.

† With the islanders to the south, this is perhaps hardly still the case, as they are now said to affix leaf or

piece of bark to the stem of a tree to divert rain-water into vessels placed for its reception. The few wells that exist have ordinarily been dug by trading vessels from whose crews the natives are re-acquiring the use of water for drinking purposes.

Their funeral obsequies yet remain to be mentioned.

During life provision is ordinarily made for death. Pigs and fowls are fattened by the owner which it is intended shall be eaten at his funeral. When any one is attacked by serious sickness, the priest is called in to exorcise the evil spirit, who is believed to have entered the sick person. For the amusement of the demon, young cocoanuts, a spoon or soup-ladle, and small carved figures, are suspended round the patient's neck and small baskets filled with betel leaves are suspended to the trees. Some trees are cut and branches with young cocoanuts are affixed to the posts of the house. When there is no longer hope, the farewell song of death is sung by the priest.

The coffin is made of a boat severed in half, and some hours only after death the interment takes place. The *cewee* or spirit is supposed to haunt the neighbourhood and to be loth to leave the village, and the boldest will not venture out on the day of the death into the jungle, fearing an encounter with him.

The interment takes place near the village. A procession is formed of the villagers of the neighbouring villages with those of the deceased's and the body is committed to the earth, the whole property of the deceased being thrown into \* (or arranged as a monument upon †) the grave. A post is raised over the skull of the deceased to which strips of cloth, with meal and areca nuts are suspended, and cocoanuts are strewn upon the ground. A great feast is then held and there is much singing and dancing and complete general intoxication.

For some time after, total abstinence from all fermented liquor, tobacco, pig's flesh, and other luxuries, is enjoined and enforced upon the entire villages, whether to appease the ire of the departed spirit, yet hovering near, or to mourn the loss of the deceased, is not quite clear. After some two to three months, however, the grave is revisited by the village again in procession, and the corpse being disinterred the skull is seized by the nearest female relative, whose duty it is to entirely cleanse it of any remaining particles of flesh, and to then re-commit it to earth.

Rink mentions that after three years the corpse is again taken out and brought to the hut, the skeleton is ornamented, some spirits, a lighted cigar, and some betel leaf being placed in the mouth.

In assuming charge of these islands in 1869, the objects of the British Government appear to have been twofold; first, the suppression of piracy, and second, the reformation and civilization of the inhabitants. The report of the "*Novara*" expedition of 1858,† and the previous attempt-

\* Père Chopard.

† De Röpstorff.

‡ Ex. "*Voyage of the Austrian Frigate Novara.*" Statistics, Commercial; page 291.



ed occupations of other Governments, had all shewn that other nations could appreciate and realize the value of this island group, situated in one of the most frequented pathways of the commerce of the world.

Unfortunately for the Indian Government, the special infamies and the piratical habits of the islanders to the south were permitted to influence the selection of Nancowry on the island of Camorta for the English Settlement of 1869. This is deeply to be regretted for numerous reasons. The earlier Danish and Austrian efforts at colonization, and our own experience of the past 6 years, have equally demonstrated the terrible unhealthiness of the situation; and from a financial and commercial point of view, there can be no doubt but that the selection will prove most prejudicial to our own interests.

In the sanitary and medical report of the Nicobars for the year 1873,\* the causes of the numerous admissions to the local hospitals from malarious fever and its sequelæ, anæmia, and splenitis, are given. "A swamp of considerable magnitude occupies the north-east boundary of the Settlement. It is 1,100 feet at the base, 1,900 feet at the centre, and runs inland for a distance of 2,700 feet. At low water the surface is exposed to the sun's influence for a distance of 1,200 feet. The average depth of water at low tide beyond this is 15 inches. The soil is black mud, and the stench from it is most offensive and creates a sickening feeling. Another swamp of about equal magnitude lies in the western direction of the Settlement. This and the one described are covered with a dense forest of mangrove. These swamps are the most prolific sources of malaria, and their baneful influence on the Settlement from the positions they occupy is felt in both monsoons. \* \* The air, owing to the moist and porous condition of the black cotton soil, is humid. . . The climate is malarious, and all the medical officers who have reported upon it are unanimous in declaring it to be extremely so. From the description I have given of its physical aspect, it will be seen to possess all the conditions necessary to the development of malaria, every feature in it forming important elements in the generation of miasmatic influence, and as active at the present period as when the Settlement was first opened in 1869.

"The average strength of convicts during the year has been 239; the number of admissions to hospital 973, which gives a percentage of sick to strength of 407.11. The daily average sick has been 20.71 or 8.66 per cent. of strength. \* \* Owing

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\* *Annual Administration Report, Fort Blair and Nicobars.* 18737.-4.



“to frequent transfers to Port Blair of convicts debilitated by  
“repeated attacks of fever and climatic influence, the death-rate at  
“the Nicobars is probably smaller than it would otherwise be.”

So unhealthy in fact has the Settlement proved that it is even now found necessary to relieve the garrison every three months, the men being, even in this short time, found to be terribly debilitated by the recurrence of frequent attacks of fever, whilst the officer in charge of the station is permitted to remain but six months.

The report of the voyage of the *Novara* (vol. I. sec. 8) furnishes most interesting materials in regard to the hygienic state of these islands and more particularly of Nancowry, and shews most clearly, that in each case it was the unsatisfactory position of the Settlements of earlier occupation, from a sanitary point of view, which led to failures and induced colonists almost joyfully to renounce their claims on these islands, no matter how dearly they had paid for the attempt to colonise them.

“We took occasion to visit the spots where the Moravian  
“Brethren, Father Rosen, and the latest colonists, had established  
“themselves. Their Settlements one and all lie in the most unfav-  
“orable localities on the shores of Nancowry harbour—in itself  
“an unfavorable spot—and of the Monkata hills, in close vicinity  
“to extensive marshes and jungle, which shut out every current  
“of fresh air.”

There can be no doubt that the time has now come for an entire re-consideration of our position, intentions, and duties, in regard to these “Edens of the Eastern wave.” Two courses appear open to us. The first, the entire abandonment of our present ill-chosen and ill-adopted site as a settlement, which has proved and still proves annually so fatal in its effects on the constitutions of officers and men, and which from a financial and commercial point of view is least adapted to our probable future requirements; the second, the reclamation of the swamps and an energetic effort to ascertain, and thoroughly, once for all, to remove and eradicate all sources of present and past unhealthiness.

These points, however, require to be determined by considerations connected with our policy in regard to the future of our settlement upon these islands, which are wholly beyond the scope of the present remarks.

If it be intended to confine and direct our whole efforts to the mere surveillance of a small nest of pirates upon a single island, whose present opportunities of piracy are of extremely infrequent occurrence, it is believed that some scheme involving less than the present enormous outlay of both life and money could be devised, to meet with equal efficacy such an end, and that such sacrifices as

are now demanded and incurred in both are scarcely warranted by the circumstances of such a case.

If, on the other hand, it be the case that we are actuated by other motives, and entertain either in the present, or in the immediate or remote future, the intention of increasing the trade of these fertile isles, of colonising them, or of attempting to teach and reform their savage inhabitants, with Camorta only as a vantage ground, it is believed that our efforts could scarcely command success, and that for numerous reasons the residence upon the island should be abandoned and a more suitable site at once selected at the Car Nicobar or some other spot combining all probable requirements.

With workmen and officers prostrated by sickness, or enervated by the debilitating effects of a malarious and pestilential climate, the reports year by the year but add their testimony to the vast and rapidly accumulating stock of evidence already stored in the archives of the Government, tending to shew that the necessity of a decision must sooner or later be forced upon us and can not be indefinitely postponed.

Further, there can be but little doubt that each year will necessarily but add to the expense and loss which, in the end, must unquestionably be incurred, whatever course may ultimately be resolved on in regard to these islands and the conditions of our future tenure of them.

WM. B. BIRCH.

*Rough Note on the Fauna and Flora of the South Andaman and adjacent Islands.*

I. FLORA.

THE aggregate number of species of indigenous plants only is here noted, according to natural orders (including trees, shrubs, climbers, perennials, annuals, and biennials). The introduced plants (woody and herbaceous), of which there are 76 species, have not been included; and the natural orders not found in the islands have also been omitted.

*DICOTYLEDONES.*

Dilleniaceæ	...	3	Sapindaceæ	...	6	Loganiaceæ	...	2
Anonaceæ	...	12	Anacardiaceæ	...	6	Bignoniaceæ	...	4
Menispermaceæ	...	3	Connaraceæ	...	4	Convolvulaceæ	...	6
Capparadææ	...	4	Leguminosææ	...	29	Borraginææ	...	3
Violariææ	...	2	Rosaceæ	...	1	Solanaceæ	...	1
Bixinææ	...	1	Combretaceæ	...	5	Gesneraceæ	...	1
Polygalaceæ	..	1	Melastomaceæ	...	6	Acanthaceæ	...	10

Sesuvlaceæ	...	1	Myrtaceæ	...	8	Verbenaceæ	...	10
Hypericineæ	...	2	Rhizophoraceæ	...	4	Nyctaginaceæ	...	2
Guttiferæ	...	8	Lythraceæ	...	2	Lauraceæ	...	6
Ternstroemiaceæ	...	1	Cucurbitaceæ	...	3	Myristicaceæ	...	4
Dipterocarpeæ	...	7	Datisceaceæ	...	1	Hernandiaceæ	...	1
Malvaceæ	...	5	Passifloraceæ	...	1	Begoniaceæ	...	1
Sterculiaceæ	...	10	Aratiaceæ	...	3	Aristolochiaceæ	...	1
Tiliaceæ	...	4	Alangiaceæ	...	1	Euphorbiaceæ	...	42
Malpighiaceæ	...	2	Loranthaceæ	...	4	Urticeæ	...	1
Rotaceæ	...	7	Rubiaceæ	...	34	Celtideæ	...	3
Simarubaceæ	...	2	Compositæ	...	3	Moraceæ	...	16
Oelmaceæ	...	1	Goodenoviaceæ	...	1	Piperaceæ	...	2
Burseraceæ	...	3	Myrsinaceæ	...	6	Podocarpeæ	...	1
Meliaceæ	...	6	Sapotaceæ	...	3	Gnetaceæ	...	1
Oleaceæ	...	5	Ebenaceæ	...	7	Cycadeæ	...	1
Celastrineæ	...	1	Oleaceæ	...	1	Indeterminatæ	...	34
Rhamnaceæ	...	5	Apocynaceæ	...	11			
Ampalideæ	...	11	Asclepiadaceæ	...	10			

MONOCOTYLEDONES.

Palmeæ	...	15	Burmanniaceæ	...	1	Amaryllideæ	...	2
Pandaneæ	...	3	Orchidaceæ	...	24	Liliaceæ	...	8
Aroideæ	...	5	Zingiberaceæ	...	7	Commelynaceæ	...	4
Hydrocharideæ	...	1	Marantaceæ	...	3	Cyperaceæ	...	13
Dioscorenceæ	...	2	Musaceæ	...	1	Gramineæ	...	14

Total, 520 indigenous species distributed among 300 genera, or an average of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  species for every genus.

GENERAL GROWTH OF THE PLANTS AND THEIR HABITS.

Description.	Dicotyledons		Monocotyledons	
	Species.	Proportion to whole flora.	Number.	Proportion to whole flora.
1. Trees (Large and Small)	...	194	15	1 : 48
2. Shrubs	...	116	...	...
3. Climbers	...	64	18	1 : 29
4. Perennial Plants	...	92	69	1 : 75
5. Annuals and Biennials	...	21	1	1 : 520

Proportion of woody plants to herbaceous 3·9 : 1 ; including naturalized plants it is however = 2·3 : 1.

Arranged according to the habitats of the different species, the following are the results (roughly ascertained).

Marine plants	...	1	Sandy beaches	...	53
Mangrove and Salt marshes	...	29	Woodless spots and cultivated lands (indigenous)	...	19

Forests.—418.

PROPORTION OF CRYPTOGRAMS TO THE PHANEROGAMS.

Allowing 200 species for the fungi observed, the probable number of Cryptogamæ is about 345, which would stand in relation to Phanerogamæ in the ratio of 1 : 1 : 5.

Classes.	No. of Species	Approximate Proportion.	Classes.	No. of Species.	Approximate Proportion.
Fungi	... 200 ?	2 (?)	Musci	... 17 (?)	
Lichenes	... 40		Lycopodiaceæ	3	
Marine, Algæ	... 34		Salviniaceæ		
Filices	... 30				
Hepaticæ	... 20				
Total, 345					

Equisetaceæ, Characeæ, Hydropterides, and Ricciaceæ unrepresented.

The above information is mainly condensed and abridged from the admirable treatise of Mr S. Kurz, "On the vegetation of the Andaman Islands" published at the Government Printing Office, Calcutta, in 1870.

As regards the forests of these islands, the only further information available appears to consist of the excellent paper above cited (in which a list of 183 forest trees is given with their girths); of a further inspection report by Mr. Home, Deputy Conservator of Forests, dated 11th March 1874; and lastly, of a memorandum thereon, "On the forest resources of the Andamans", by Mr. D. Brandis, Inspector-General of Forests (1874).

In the report of Mr. Home, the amount of Padonk (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) and of Pyenmah (*Lagerstræmia hypoleuca*) Timber alone, which is estimated to be at present actually available on the South Andaman island, is as follows:—

Name of Tree.	No. of mature Trees.	Average length of bole.	Average girth.	Average cubic feet per tree.	Timber available.
Padonk	... 4,258,000	60	10	310	29,360,000 Tons
Pyenmah	... 1,152,000	35	10	218	5,022,720 „

And when speaking of the species of Koppalee, or Palava (*Mimusops Indica*) the bullet-wood, Kurz affirms that from 384,000 to 576,000 trees, with a girth of 6 feet and upwards would be found on this one island, and anticipates that even this estimate will be largely exceeded.

That large quantities of very valuable timber might be profitably exported therefore, there seems every reason to believe.

COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM :

Showing those plants which have been from time to time introduced experimentally at Port Blair.

1. Food Plants.

(a)	<i>Farinaceous plants</i>	Graminaceous products Cereals	Maize Rice, Carolina and Hill paddy	Leguminous products. Of the Pulse family apparently none but Dâl.
(b)	<i>Starches and starch-producing plants.</i> Arrowroot. Tapioca.			
(c)	<i>Plants yielding Spices and Condiments.</i> Cloves Nutmeg Chillies Vanilla	Of each a few plants successfully.	None of the Aromatic fruits of umbelliferous plants appear to have been tried.	

(d.) *Plants yielding sugar.*

Sugarcane only. In limited quantities but with special success.

(e.) *Plants useful in the preparation of nutritious and stimulating beverages.*

Tea ( a few shrubs ).

Coffee. Largely ( on Mount Harriet ).

(f.) *Plants producing wholesome and nutritious fruits.*

Fleshy fruits.

Orange

Lemon

Citron

Lime

Pomegranate

Tamarind

Banana

Pineapple

Mangoe

Plantain

Nuts.

Almonds (also indigenous.)

Cocoanut palms. (Several hundred thousand of these palms, of incalculable value, cover the whole of the Coco Islands, to the north of the Andaman Group; yet no attempt has hitherto been permitted at their utilization or exportation).

(g.) *Miscellaneous food plants.*

Onions.

## II. Industrial and Medicinal Plants.

(a.) *Textile plants.*

Cotton shrubs (at the Nicobars however) and a few trees, the latter ornamentally only.

Cocoanut fibre.

(b.) *Oleaginous plants.* Neither fixed oils nor essential.

(c.) *Tinctorial plants.* Indigo is about to be tried.

(d.) *Plants furnishing building and furniture woods.*

Mahogany

Firs (*casuarinas*)

Teak.

(See Kurz's Report for several other species, however.)

(e.) *Plants producing gums and resins.* None.

(f.) *Medicinal barks.* None.

(g.) *Tanning materials.* Betelnut.

(h.) *Narcotic Plants.* Tobacco.

(i.) *Miscellaneous medicinal.* Aloes. Ipecacuanha.

(j.) *Miscellaneous commercial.* Bamboo and Rattans—which are also indigenous in large quantities.

The classification followed throughout is that of Yeats' "Natural History of Commerce."

Port Blair being geographically situate in Lat. 11° 41' 18", North Long 92° 43' 00" East, the South Andaman Island (alone under cultivation) falls botanically within the equatorial zone (after Meyen). It offers special facilities owing to its temperate climate, extreme ranges, 68° to 96°, Fahr, and well distributed rain-fall (averaging about 100 inches annually) for the cultivation of several classes both of the food and industrial plants, for the propagation of which the soil is found to be specially well fitted. Almost any elevation desired is in fact attainable, Mount Harriet, already partially cleared for coffee and spices, &c., giving 1,140, feet, whilst the Saddle Hill on the North Andaman reaches 2,400 feet.

The lists above given are necessarily very incomplete, but do not unfairly represent the products to which any attention can be said to have been paid of late years. (For non-indigenous



plants of introduction prior to 1866, see Kurz's Report above cited). The wonderful strides made by Burmah in her exports of raw cotton, drugs, grain, oils, seeds, and timber, with those of Penang and Singapore in spices and other products, afford sufficient encouragement for the belief, that the Andamans may be yet destined to be recognized and regarded as capable of assuming that colonial position as regards commercial value which their natural advantages would certainly seem to foreshadow, but towards the attainment of which, after so many years of occupation, it must be conceded, a progress scarcely appreciable has yet been attained.

## II. FAUNA.

THE information yet collated is, it is feared, extremely meagre and incomplete. Such as could be traced, however, is here given.

### Division I. Vertebrata.

- (a) *Mammalia*.  
 1. *Cynopterus Marginatus*.  
 2. *Paradoxurus Andamanicus*.  
 3. *Mus Andamanensis*.  
 4. *Sus* " (Probably imported).

Of the *Cetacea*,—

Porpoises and Dugong.

Regarding the *Bumana* a serious mistake has arisen. No monkeys have yet been found on the Islands but one of a spurious, introduced, species was deported some years since (1867) to the Royal Zoological Gardens as a representative of this order (*Macacus Andamanensis*), whose portrait was duly presented to the Public in the "Illustrated London News."

(b) *Aves*. Varieties too numerous to enumerate. Those interested are referred to "Stray Feathers" and other recent publications on this subject.

(c) *Reptilia*. The turtle (*Chelonia virgata* and *implicata*) and lizards in several varieties. Of the *Ophidia*, little is yet ascertained. Venomous snakes are almost unknown and are believed to be of extremely rare and exceptional occurrence. In the 20 years, during which settlement clearings of primeval forest jungles have steadily progressed, no deaths from snake bite have ever been officially recorded (though in one instance of the year 1872 some doubt perhaps as to the cause of a death yet remains). The *Trimeresurus Andersonii* has been identified, and a cobra was recently transferred to the Calcutta Museum by Dr. V. Richards.

(d) *Amphibia*. Two varieties of Frog (*Rana*), of which however one is well known to have been imported.

(e) *Pisces*. Of the marine zoology little is known, and although the seas are specially rich in good produce, the fisheries have been very languidly pursued.

Mackerel (*Skomba kanagurta*) and oil sardines (*Clupea Neohowii*) are found in very large quantities; also sharks (*Carcharidæ*), the Ray (*Raia*), Saw fish and large Serænas (*vide* Report of F. Day, F. L. S., Inspector-General of Fisheries in India, 26th July 1872). Also the Whiting (*Merlangus*), Mulletts (*Mullidæ*) not common, Dog Fish (*Scyllidæ*), the Sword fish (*Xiphias gladius*), the Lump fish (*Cyclopterus lumpus*) the flat sun-fish, *Halistes*, *Ostracion*, *Diodon*, and a species of rock-cod (red in color). In fact, nearly all the Marine fishes ordinarily found on the sea coasts of India and Burmah. Fresh water varieties now exist, but whether of local genesis or of introduced species is yet unascertained. The earlier absence of fresh water tanks or streams capable of sustaining life renders the latter solution the more probable.

Division II. Invertebrata.

(a). Sub-kingdom Mollusca—

(For the list of mollusca, I am wholly indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. F. Warneford, Chaplain of Port Blair).

No.	Family.	Species.	Remarks.
CLASS I.		<i>Cephalopoda.</i>	
1	Argonautidæ ...	Argonauta ...	Rare.
2	Octopodidæ ...	Octopus ...	
3	Spirulidæ ...	Spirula ...	
4	Nautilidæ ...	Nautilus ...	
CLASS II.		<i>Gasteropoda.</i>	
1	Strombidæ ...	Strombus ...	
		Pteroceras ...	
		Rostellaria ...	
		Scraphs ...	
	Muricidæ ...	Murex ...	
		Pisania ...	
		Ranella ...	
		Triton ...	
		Fasciolaria ...	
		Turbinella ...	
		Cancellaria ...	
		Pyrula ...	
3	Buccinidæ ...	Terebra ...	
		Eburna ...	
		Nassa ...	
		Phos ...	
		Purpura ...	
		Ricinula ...	
		Planaxis ...	
		Magilus ...	
		Cassis ...	
		Cithara ...	
		Dolium ...	
		Harpa ...	
		olumbella ...	
		Oliva ...	
		Ancillaria ...	
4	Conidæ ...	Conus ...	
		Pleurotoma ...	
5	Volutidæ ...	Voluta ...	
		Cymba ...	
		Mitra ...	
		Marginella ...	
6	Cypræidæ ...	Cypræa ...	
		Errato ...	
		Ovulum ...	

No.	Family.	Species.	Remarks.
	CLASS. II.—(Contd.)	Gasteropoda.—(Contd.)	
7	Naticidæ ...	Natica ... Sigaretus ...	.. ...
8	Pyramidellidæ ...	Pyramidella ...	...
9	Cerithiæ ...	Cerithium ... Potamides ...	... ..
10	Melaniadæ ...	Melania ... Melanopsis ...	... ...
11	Turritellidæ ...	Turritella ... Vermetus ... Siliquaria ... Scalaria ...	... ... ... ...
12	Littorinidæ ...	Littorina ... Solarium ... Phorus ... Rissoa ...	... ... ... ...
13	Paludinidæ ...	Paludina ...	...
14	Neritidæ ...	Nerita ... Neritina ... Navicella ...	... ... ...
15	Turbinidæ ...	Turbo ... Phasianella ... Imperator ... Trochus ... Rotella ... Monodonta ... Delphinula ... Stomatella ... Broderipia ...	... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
16	Haliotidæ ...	Haliotis ... Stomatia ... Janthina ...	... ... ...
17	Fissurelidæ ...	Fissurella ... Emarginula ... Parmophorus ...	... ... ...

No.	Family.	Species.	Remarks.
	CLASS II.—(Contd.)	Gastropoda.—(Contd.)	
18	Calyptræidæ ...	Calyptræa ... Pileopsis ... Hipponyx ...	
19	Patellidæ ...	Patella ... Siphonaria ...	
20	Dentalidæ ...	Dentalium ...	
21	Chitonidæ ...	Chiton ...	
			Order II.
		Pulmonifera.	
1	Helicidæ ...	Helix ... Vitrina ...	
2	Limnæido ...	Planorbis ...	
3	Auriculidæ ...	Auricula ...	
4	Cyclostomidæ ...	Cyclostoma ... Cyclophorus ... Helicina ...	Order III.
		Opisthobranchiata.	
1	Bullidæ ...	Bulla ...	
2	Pleurobranchidæ ...	Aplustrum ... Umbrella ...	
	CLASS III.	Pteropoda.	
1	Hyalcidæ ...	Hyalæa ...	
	CLASS IV.	Brachiopoda.	
1	Lingulidæ ...	Lingula ...	
	CLASS V.	Conchifera.	
1	Ostreidæ ...	Ostræa (edulis) Placuna ... Pecten ... Lima ... Spondylus ... Pecten ...	
2	Aviculidæ ...	Avicula ... Perna ... Pinna ...	
3	Mytilidæ ...	Mytilus (edulis) Modiola ...	
4	Arcadæ ...	Arca ...	

No.	Family.	Species.	Remarks.
	CLASS V.—(Contd.)	Conchifera.—(Contd.)	
5	Chamidæ ...	Chama ...	
6	Tridacnidæ ...	Tridacna ...	
7	Cardiadæ ...	Cardium ... Hemicardium ...	
8	Lucindæ ...	Corbis ...	
9	Cycladidæ ...	Cyrena ...	
10	Cyprinidæ ...	Cyprina ... Circe ... Cardita ... Myoconcha ...	
11	Veneridæ ...	Venus ... Meræ ... Tapes ... Vencrupis ...	
12	Mactridæ ...	Mactra ...	
13	Tellinidæ ...	Tellina ... Capsula ... Psammobia ... Mesodesma ... Donax ...	
14	Solenidæ ...	Solen ... Cultellus ...	
15	Anatinidæ ...	Anatina ...	
16	Pholadidæ ...	Phola ... Jovanetia ... Teredo ...	

(b). Sub-kingdom Annulosa—

CLASSIFICATION.

1. *Annelida*. Leeches  
(*Hirundo medicinalis*)  
very common.
2. *Crustacea*.  
Crabs  
Lobster  
Cray fish, Shrimps  
and Prawns (abundant).
3. *Insecta*.  
Honey Bees  
Moths  
Beetles and  
other plenti-  
ful varieties.
4. *Arachnida*.  
Spiders  
Scorpions  
Centipedes.



(c.) *Sub-kingdom Cœlenterata*—

CLASSIFICATION.

<i>Hydrozoa.</i>	<i>Actinozoa.</i>
Hydra or Water Polyp,	Sea anemones ( <i>actinidæ</i> )
Jelly fishes or Sea	Sea pens ( <i>penatulidæ</i> )
Nettles.	Sea fan
	Coral polyps (?)

(d.) *Sub-kingdom Protozoa*—

On many coral reefs are *infusoria*, or *animalculæ* developed in vegetable infusions.

The coral reefs are mainly formed of *Caryophyllia Madrepora*, *Porites*, and *Meandria*.

As has been very frequently pointed out, these islands present in fact an entirely novel field of most interesting scientific experiment, as well as of study and research from almost every point of view ; and should the above very imperfect and crude notes have aided, in however minute a degree, in inviting attention to their possible capabilities in the future, or to points of interest and value in their past and present, the object with which they were recorded will have been fully attained.

W. B. BIRCH.

## ART. X.—RAILWAYS IN INDIA FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW.

*Report of Railway Transport Committee assembled at Delhi. January and February 1876*

*Report of Railway Transport Committee, Metre Gauge, assembled at Agra. January 1877.*

*Adaptation of Railways for Military Transport, Progress Report. 1877.*

*Preparation of Military Time-tables for the Concentration of Troops. 1878.*

THE chief principles both of strategy and tactics are, 1st., to be superior to the enemy at the decisive point, and, 2ndly, to act upon the enemy's communications without exposing your own. From these must be at once deduced the great and all-important value of good communications in war. History repeatedly shows cases where armies of inferior numbers, but with superior communications, and consequent mobility, have defeated armies whose inferiority in the latter respect has rendered them unwieldy. War in India is with us mainly a question of rapid movement and supply. If we can quickly move up our troops to decisive points, and easily supply them with food, ammunition, and other requisites, when there, we need never fear the result. The Wellington Despatches show the careful consideration and forethought of the great Duke's arrangements with the Brinjaris, the local carriers of that time, by whose aid in keeping up a regular supply for his troops he was able to forestall the swift and eccentric movements of Dhoondia Waugh and the Marathas, and eventually to meet and defeat them. At the present time, we have in our railway system an aid to successful war which can be of the most inestimable value to us. But, to realise the full value of its assistance, all detail and every accident that may occur should be considered, thought over during peace-time, and, as far possible, arranged for; so that, though an outbreak of war must inevitably bring with it some hurry and confusion, this may be reduced to a minimum by each man knowing exactly what his duty is, being able to ascertain what may be required of him, and in what way he can best aid the State ends.

This pre-arrangement is very likely to be estimated below its true value in this country on account of the success of our commissariat in former days, "when the whole system of our transport and supply was suited to a roadless country, and the ordinary requirements under this head, during peace, differed in no material degree from the requirements of a time of war. All the subsidiary military establishments were framed on a scale and

plan to admit of the troops moving readily across country, in any direction ; and, when regiments were transferred from one station to another in ordinary course of relief, they took the field just as completely as if they were about to enter into a campaign. Thus to pass from a state of peace to war involved no change of system ; the ordinary business of peace time constituted, in fact, a regular training for campaigning ; and, on the breaking out of war, nothing had to be improvised, and the troops took the field without difficulty or confusion. This explains the extraordinary promptitude with which the wars of the Indian Army have been so frequently entered on. The remarkable efficiency of the Indian Commissariat is no doubt to be ascribed to the same cause." \*

But the introduction of railways has changed all this, and instead of the deliberate movement of various bodies of troops by different roads, paths, and even across the open country, to the point of concentration, where each division, brigade, and corps would arrive, ready-furnished with its means of transport, we have now, with far greater rapidity, but by one main route, to bring up our troops to the point of concentration, where, or at some point short of it, those unsupplied would require to be furnished with the transport necessary for unrestricted movements over the face of the country, as of old. People who have considered the matter from a military point of view, may very easily be led to think that there need be no such great fuss made about the movements of troops by rail, and that there should be no difficulty in putting 20 or even 40,000 into trains at different large stations and sending them off to any given point on a line of railway. This would be perfectly true if troops were merely passengers, and unfortunately the success of our home railway companies in sending volunteers to the Brighton Reviews, where such feats were performed as the carriage of 132,000 volunteers and passengers, have been cited as evidence of the ease with which armies could be carried by rail, whereas they are merely proofs of the vast amount of rolling-stock held by Railway Companies in England, and their excellent organisation of passenger traffic. The volunteers formed no field army, they were without cavalry or guns, except such as were brought by road. They could not even have bivouacked for the night without starving from cold and hunger, without knapsacks or great coats, any supply of food, reserve ammunition, hospital equipment, or transport of any kind. They were merely a large body of orderly passengers who carried rifles in the carriages with them.

Sir Garnet Wolseley† says : " In all movements of troops, whether by land or sea, one great rule is to keep the various

\* *Indian Polity.* Major Chesney. p. 359.

† *Soldier's Pocket Book* : 3rd Edition, p. 313.

military units as complete at all times during the operation as possible. Thus, it is not only essential that, with cavalry, the horses and the men to ride them should go by the same train, but that, whatever may be the number of sabres, bayonets, or guns conveyed by any one train, or ship, they may be fit for war, complete in every necessary field equipment, having their transport with them so as to march off without any delay upon leaving the train or disembarking from the ship.

This is a point that civilian traffic-managers are prone to forget or ignore, so much so, that, in all the railway problems worked out by order of the Quartermaster-general from time to time by the Railroad Committee, consisting of railroad engineers and officials, I find that in moving troops they are sent forward without any transport. They calculate upon despatching trains at intervals of 8 minutes. Under such an arrangement, the terminus where they would have to disembark would be in a curious state of confusion after the first hour, when the troops began to arrive, being crowded with men unable to carry their ammunition, camp-equipment or baggage."

In a memorandum embodying the views of H. R. H. the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, dated May 24th 1877, it is laid down "that any attempt at hurry is, so far as Railway transport is concerned, a mistake; \* \* \* that the Railway authorities must have their functions in this question clearly pointed out; that each unit must travel complete in itself; \* \* \* and that any attempt at interference on the part of the Military with the Railway authorities would be a fatal error."

Many examples of fatal loss of time, resulting from tactical units not being despatched complete, are to be found in the transport of French troops during the war of 1870-71. On one memorable occasion a portion of the 2nd Division 15th Corps, Army of the Loire, was ordered to move from Salbris towards Blois: M. de Freycinet (the Engineer War Delegate under Gambetta) superintending the operation; the Railway officials were entrusted with the duty of embarking the troops and material, which was executed with a disregard of system. The consequence was, that the munitions of some batteries were mixed up with others; the troops were separated from their baggage; and the artillery, which could have marched the distance in three days, were five days completing their re-organization.

Indian practice, though it would never differ in principle, may differ somewhat in detail from English experience. For example, in England the amount of rolling-stock is so enormous and can be so readily added to on emergency, that it may be said to be practically unlimited, and the question of deficiency in amount scarcely enters into the calculations; whereas the case

is very different in this country, and the rolling-stock itself is scattered over vastly greater distances. We shall see, hereafter, that this collection of appropriate rolling-stock at the different points from which troops start, would be one of the chief causes of difficulty and delay in sending off troops for a campaign in this country.

With regard to transport also, the distances are so great, that some modification of the rule, that every military unit should have its transport with it, must be necessary in India. It would, for instance, be an outrageous expenditure of money and rolling-stock to bring up bullocks and bullock-carts for transport of baggage and camp equipment from Madras to Lahore, supposing, for example, the concentration was at the latter place; if at Lahore, carts and animals could be collected in sufficient numbers, not only for the requirements of the troops from that neighbourhood, and the extra demands for the general service of the army, on its formation, but also for the troops coming up from great distances. On the other hand, if transport could not be obtained on the spot, and the Madras troops brought none, there would be an immediate block of the station, as Sir Garnet Wolseley points out, and these troops would not only be useless, without the power to move, but they would be in the way of those who might be complete with transport. This problem appears by no means an easy one to solve; and if its solution is postponed till the day of danger, the result would be a state of confusion that would deprive us of half the military value of our Railways in India.

No doubt a subject of such vast importance to our military rule and power in India must have formed frequent food for deep consideration with many military men in this country; but the first occasion on which earnest attention, with practical results, seems to have been attracted to the subject, was when Sir Charles Reid, then commanding the Lahore Division, with the assistance of Mr. Roscoe Bocquet, the Locomotive Superintendent of the Sind Punjab and Delhi Railway, carried out a series of manœuvres during the cold season of 1874 at Lahore; on which occasion troops and guns were embarked and disembarked on the open line on a system known as "end loading."

The principle of "end loading" is to have the *ends* of all the wagons fitted with hinges, so as to let down over the buffers, and thus to form a continuous road through the train, which acts as a platform. Horses, guns, ammunition-wagons, &c., can then be loaded from a ramp, or inclined plane, placed at one end, or both ends, of the train, and passed rapidly and easily along from one vehicle to another. This system of loading military trains has been long practised in Prussia, where the Railway Companies are



required by law to construct all their wagons with hinged ends. The advantages of this system, as compared with the usual practice of loading from a platform on the side of the train, known in contra-distinction as "side loading," are obvious, as far as guns, horses, and wagons are concerned; as, if, from any cause, temporary platforms cannot be run up, it admits of their embarkation from sidings or anywhere on the main line, leaving the station platform free for the despatch of stores, &c.

The saving of time in loading and unloading trains, and the practicability of doing so at any point by "end loading" being clearly shown, now that the subject had the valuable and energetic advocacy of Sir Charles Reid, a series of railway experiments were carried out during the cold season of 1874-75 at Bareilly, Mian Mir, Allahabad, and Agra, under orders from the Quartermaster-General, in order to acquire, from actual practice, reliable information on the following points:

(1) The time necessary for embarking and disembarking Infantry, Cavalry, or Guns, either with or without ordinary platforms.

(2) The best method of improvising temporary platforms.

(3) The best method of loading and unloading guns, military stores, &c., either with or without the use of ordinary platforms.

As later experiments have shown more completely the probable time requisite for embarking and disembarking troops, it is unnecessary to refer to that point here. Several experiments were made with temporary platforms, which are summarized as follows in the *precis* by the Quartermaster-General, attached to the Report of the Delhi Committee: "On a review of the various expedients that were adopted to improvise temporary platforms, it seems pretty clear that horses and guns can be disembarked anywhere without much difficulty if a sufficient quantity of sleepers, some rails, a few spades, and plenty of labour are available."

These experiments, however, showed that the vehicles in use on the different lines of railway in India varied in details of construction and measurement; that, though open wagons might be used with slight alterations to convey horses, the absence of any cover was a great objection, as the animals were exposed to the weather and also to the sparks from the engine. The covered goods-waggons seemed well adapted for carriage of horses, but here it was found that many of the wagons were too small, not being  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, and requiring additional ventilation for the convenience of horses and men. Upon this, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, took advantage of the assembly of a large force of troops at Delhi during the cold season of 1875-76, to refer the whole subject to a committee, under the presidency of Sir Charles Reid, in order to carry out experiments on a more extended scale. A

memorandum by the Quartermaster-General directed the attention of the Committee to testing the end-loading system, to the transport of supplies, siege-ordnance, sick and wounded, &c., and also to the dimensions and material of rolling-stock that would be best suited as a standard in future to meet military as well as commercial purposes.

This Committee was composed of military officers selected from every branch and department of the army, and also of officers from all the railways in India. Many experiments were made in end-loading, which may be summed up thus: The difference in time is with—

Heavy Artillery, a gain of 1 hour to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours by end-loading.

Horse Artillery,               "  $\frac{1}{2}$    "   to 1               "               "

Field Artillery,               " 1   "   to  $1\frac{1}{2}$                "               "

Cavalry, no experiments under similar conditions detailed.

Infantry, a loss of a quarter of an hour by end-loading.

Although Sir Charles Reid upheld the advantages of end-loading from a military point of view, yet the committee generally, embracing men of experience in Railway working, did not attach such importance to the saving in time, and many, in fact, went so far as to say that with ample siding accommodation (temporary or otherwise) the loading could be completed with sufficient celerity from the side to meet all wants. The regimental officers on the committee also seem, generally, to have been of opinion that the time actually employed in loading depended in great measure on whether the troops were trained or not in this duty, and that very great advantage would arise from occasional drill in loading and unloading trains; but that the time would always be liable to vary from circumstances, such as a previous fatigued condition of the men, rainy weather, or darkness.

The chief arguments for retention of side-loading are:

1st. Side-loading suits commercial purposes, and end-loading is of no practical value in ordinary business.

2nd. That with proper loading-boards there need be no delay in side-loading, while for some years to come it must be used for the greater part of the stock, and that, in any case, temporary platforms can be readily run up.

3rd. That end-openings would reduce the life of most of the stock 25 per cent.

4th. That delay will be found to occur in the collection of vehicles and not in the act of loading.

The chief argument in favour of end-loading is the saving of time in the act of embarking and disembarking horses, guns, and wagons, and that it admits of disembarkation even on an embankment, while side-loading can only be effected quickly at a platform or suitable spot. Where troops are actually brought into the

battle-field by rail, as appears to be the notion running through the whole of the first Lahore experiments, the gain of minutes would be of undeniable value. Such cases did occur at the action of Montebello and the battle of Magenta in 1859, and at the battle of Bull Run, in the American war, in 1861. But the reinforcements brought up in such cases would be mostly infantry, who could disembark anywhere and anyhow. I have not come across any mention of artillery or cavalry, to whom alone end-loading is a gain, being disembarked on a field of battle. It need hardly be pointed out that this would be a most dangerous operation if undertaken within any possible range of the enemy's guns. And it does seem, therefore, questionable, whether it is worth while altering and, as some authorities say, weakening the stock of a commercial country, such as India is now becoming, for a gain of a few minutes on an occasion which may or may not occur. Moreover, as the *precis* by the Quartermaster-General on the Railway experiments in 1874-75 points out, temporary platforms can be run up with great rapidity; very long steep embankments are rare, and even in such case the train could be stopped either before or beyond the embankment, when the troops themselves, with ordinary entrenching tools, and a few planks, could rapidly improvise a platform to disembark horses and guns.

One of the arguments for side-loading pointed to the great delay that would probably be incurred in the collection of vehicles. This would occur from the vehicles, in course of traffic, being either in use of, or scattered along, the various stations on the line. In case of troops being required to move on emergency, the Traffic Manager requires first to be informed what number and special kind of vehicles are wanted—this is very important. He has then to telegraph along the line for the collection in readiness at each station of the vehicles required which happen to be there; he has then to arrange for one or more engines to work down the line and pick up all these vehicles, and also to take care that the new trains thus suddenly introduced into the system shall not run into other trains on the line in ordinary course of working. On consideration of these points, in which it is probable from want of practical experience I may have yet overlooked some important element of delay, we can understand how, without previous warning and when the railway stock was fully engaged in carrying the traffic of the country, or in other words under ordinary circumstances, it should have required 36 hours to collect at Poona, which is an important railway station, the horse-boxes, &c., necessary for the transport of some artillery to Baroda on the occasion of the trial of the late Gaikwar. And again, how, on the visit of the Prince of Wales, a detachment of the 3rd Hussars (46 horses) were detained 3 hours and 40 minutes in

starting for want of horse-boxes, although two large railway companies were doing all they could to prevent delay.

During the *Kooka* riots it took four days to move the troops, detailed in the margin, from Delhi to Umballa, a distance of 161½ miles; the cause assigned being the failure of the Beas bridge which locked up a quantity of stock.

1 Mountain Battery.  
100 Sowars, 12th B. Cavalry.  
1 Regiment B. Infantry.  
1 Regiment Goorkhas.

On the other hand the train service for the Delhi Assemblage, 1876-77, left nothing to be desired; without interfering with the ordinary and grain traffic during December, 55 special trains were run into Delhi, and, between the 3rd and 20th January, 66 special trains left that station. The chief cause of this success must be looked for in the time that was given for perfecting preliminary arrangements, without detracting in any way from the ability and energy of the officers on whom the burden of the preparations fell; Local Governments, &c., having been invited on 26th September, by telegram, to submit, immediately, information regarding the number of special trains they required.\*

Now, a battery of field artillery, of which the case of F 19 R. A., proceeding from Delhi on January 19, 1876, is taken as an example, requires in this country 66 vehicles, which, as the traction power of engines is limited, must go in two trains. The vehicles required are 2 first-class, 4 second-class, 4 third-class carriages, 11 cattle trucks, 7 covered wagons, 20 double horse-boxes, 14 low-sided trucks (for guns and wagons), with 4 brake-vans.

A battery of heavy artillery would require 111 vehicles of very varied sorts.

A battery of Horse Artillery, about 78 vehicles.

A regiment of British Cavalry, 469 strong, about 168 vehicles.

A regiment of British Infantry, 904 strong, about 97 vehicles.

A regiment of Native Cavalry, 452 strong, about 135 vehicles.

A regiment of Native Infantry, 704 strong, about 44 vehicles.

And in every one of these cases there is some difference in the sort of carriages required and the number of these.

This shows that in the movement of large bodies of troops by rail the actual collection on the spot of the carriages requisite would be the great cause of difficulty and delay, to which the gain or loss of few minutes in loading and unloading would be quite a secondary affair, indeed, it is found that a little drill and practice very soon makes men handy at the work of loading and unloading, just as it does with pitching and striking a camp, and that, if accustomed to the work, it would not take the men long to load as soon as the train was formed.



The difficulty in collection of the vehicles shows also the vital necessity of having all kinds of rolling-stock on the same gauge throughout India made on a uniform pattern, which, while suited to commercial purposes would also serve military requirements. For it may be laid down as an axiom that no stock should be kept apart and idle because reserved for military purposes, unless it was Government stock, in excess of commercial requirements.

There are at present on some lines nearly 30 types of coaching and goods stock, with three or four varieties of these types in some instances.† Now that interchange of traffic is so general, the demand for uniformity is much more pressing. The advantage and the economy to be gained in repairs, by having all the working parts uniform, and interchangeable, so that a stock could be kept at each repairing station, has been pointed out by Mr. W. R. Browne, C. E., and there is every reason to believe it will be thoroughly carried out in future.

For the carriage of horses, the covered goods wagon has been found the most suitable. It became a question with the cavalry officers on the sub-committee, whether it was better to place the horses transversely, that is, at right angles to the line, or to place them parallel to the rails at each end of the wagon, so as to face one another. The argument in favor of the horses being placed transversely is, that the horses are so closely packed that they cannot injure themselves or one another. The disadvantages are, that after a long journey the horses become very stiff from close packing, and the men in attendance are much cramped. The other plan gives the advantage of a central passage where saddles can be placed; the men in attendance have more room, and it affords greater facilities for feeding the horses. Hence it has now been settled that in future covered goods-wagons of the broad-gauge shall be made on a standard pattern, to take 8 horses, with proper ventilation arranged for with that object.

The operations of the Delhi Committee were for the most part confined to railways of the ordinary gauge of 5'6", and in January 1877 a second committee assembled at Agra, under Brigadier-General H. Browne, to apply the same tests to the metre gauge.

The result of the experiments made was to lead to the conclusion that, although, of course requiring many more vehicles, it was quite possible to convey any arm and branch of the service on the metre gauge, and that it would even be quite possible to convey a siege-train, as the Committee reported that "there is no difficulty in conveying the heaviest ordnance in use in Indian siege-trains on the metre gauge lines, or in loading and unloading it from ordinary station platforms."

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† *Progress Report. 1877.*



The great element of confusion and delay brought into military movements by rail through a break of gauge is evident on the reflection, that troops brought up by a metre gauge branch line to the main broad gauge line would have to be halted while a fresh collection of vehicles for their use was being made, which would certainly be a matter of considerable difficulty when other troops were being pushed up along the line as fast as they arrived at the junction. If the gauges were the same, the vehicles travelled in could be shunted on to the main line, previous arrangement being made for their transit. Their date of departure and arrival would be laid down ; and they could be brought into the system arranged for the whole movement without disturbance ; whereas, if fresh vehicles have to be collected for them, their previous vehicles are lying, so to speak, idle, and it cannot, under such circumstances, be prognosticated with any certainty when the new trains can be sent off. And thus, probably, at the very time when trains are following as closely as could be, consistent with safety, strong pressure would be brought to bear to throw in fresh trains at uncertain periods. The gordian knot would probably be cut by the sufficiently harassed railway officials unwittingly and unwillingly detaining the troops who arrived by the metre gauge branch line until the whole of the trains had passed on the main line, for no possible idea could be previously formed of the time that would occur in the collection of vehicles under such circumstances ; and, as the concentration of an army would demand the strictest arrangement of time and punctuality to admit of troops being forwarded regularly, to prevent a breakdown (any accident causing serious injury to the line being fatal to the combination), it would practically be impossible, or at the least a danger few men would take the responsibility of, to interpolate a series of trains at unknown times into the system pre-arranged. At present the metre gauge comparatively draws so few troops that, by pre-arrangement, confusion would be avoided, though delay must occur ; and it is quite possible that, on this account, troops from Nasirabad would be a longer time in reaching Lahore, supposing that to be the point of concentration, than troops from Bombay.

During the interval between the sittings of the Delhi Committee and the Agra Committee, Major A. LeMessurier, R. E., who acted as Secretary to both, had inspected and reported on the various appliances in use for the transport of sick and wounded on Continental lines, as exhibited at Brussels, and thus valuable external experience was brought to bear on a most important part of the subject. In the record of proceedings of the Agra Committee, Surgeon-Major Kellet points out that the sick and wounded of an army in the field, who were likely to recover quickly, say in ten or fourteen days, are not sent to the rear at all, but receive treatment in

the Field-hospitals in the front, until fit for duty; therefore, all men who would require conveyance to the rear may be regarded as severe cases, more or less. It is pretty certain many cases would be of an infectious nature, and that many cases of severe wounds would be apt to assume a gangrenous action. It would therefore be most inadvisable to convey sick and wounded men (except recently wounded) in carriages ordinarily employed in conveying troops and passengers. No carriage fitted with leather-padding, &c., should be used for carrying sick, owing to the difficulty of purifying them afterwards. There would, however, be no difficulty in altering third-class carriages, so that they could be used as ambulances in time of war without interfering with their use for ordinary passenger traffic in time of peace. But every Continental nation has its ambulance-train, although to none of them can their men be half so precious as the British soldier in India is to us. Haidar Ali, no mean judge in military matters, said, if he had such soldiers, he would bring them up to the battlefield in *palkis*, meaning that their value was such they were deserving of every care. The Progress Report for 1877 shows that ambulance wagons for very severe cases have been designed, after much consideration of the varied types presented; and it is to be hoped that India will soon be provided with a sufficient number to meet contingencies. This stock would form no exception to the rule which debars vehicles from being kept solely for military purposes, as for ordinary use they are fitted with brakes and form luggage vans, or are converted into third-class carriages. In case of requirement for ambulance purposes at any time—for example, an accident on the line, the fittings which are kept in store, could be rapidly put up—they would, therefore, be often of great value, and the number required would be small, if a few third-class carriages on each line were altered so as to be available as ambulance trains on emergency. The chief alterations necessary for the latter purpose are, that the seats should be movable so as to be quickly cleared away, and that the doorways should be wide enough to admit of the entrance of a *dooly*, to be slung on standards which would be kept in store at the chief railway stations, and could be quickly set up. The pain and danger incurred by altering the position of wounded men would be thus avoided as much as possible. This is now being carried out in the stock on the different railways. It is advisable to form a regular hospital-train to move independently and as slowly as business on the line will allow. When through communication along the train is arranged for, as is now ordered, every patient will be under the eye of the medical officer, and in such trains the same medical staff will suffice that would be required in each case in which the men were sent off by dribblets.

It is proposed that all third-class coaching stock made available for ambulance purposes should be clearly marked by having a Geneva Cross painted upon it. In the same way a definite mark should be adopted for goods-wagons of the new design, which are capable of conveying horses conveniently for long distances. Very little alteration has been required here—merely the arrangement of side ventilation; fitting of breast bars, which, when not in use, can be suspended from hooks; fixing a lamp hook, and an iron step to enable men to get in and out of the wagon when on the open line. The type of wagon accepted for the future is very much the same as that designed by Mr. Carroll, of the B. B. and C. I. Railway for the first committee, and is somewhat shorter than the one in use on the French and German lines. For military ends it is a very great advantage that, in this country, the Railways, are more or less under the control of Government, enabling the country to have, as will be the case in a few years, a uniform character of rolling-stock, which, without detriment to commercial requisites, will be available for rapid and simple conveyance of an army and its appurtenances. The numerous, and, in many cases, inconvenient vehicles for both commercial and military purposes existent on many lines will be allowed to die out, to be replaced by others of a more suitable design. A vast amount of information as to the different coaching-stock of every nation has been collected, and considered, so that there is every ground to hope that the best and most suitable types will be found to have been selected.

During the course of the experiments by the Delhi Committee in 1876, the following problem was suggested: How, and in how short a time, could a force similar to the one assembled at Delhi during that cold season, be assembled *with 7 days' supplies at Lahore?*

The force consisted of 13 regiments of cavalry, 13 batteries of artillery, 25 regiments of infantry and 2 companies of sappers, and may be put numerically as follows:—

	No.
Officers and men	28,932
Horses	8,403
Ponies and mules	3,851
Bullocks	861
Followers	30,234
Baggage, tents, supplies, Tons	3,016
Guns, Artillery, and Engineer carriages	278

Now, it is very clear that this is not a question to be answered offhand. First of all the cantonments from which the troops could be taken have to be fixed; then the traffic managers on each line, on whom the stress and responsibility would chiefly lie, have to give in a report of the capabilities of their several lines, and also proposed time-tables. Finally, all the different arrange-

ments on separate lines have to be considered, so as to fit in and admit of a general simple arrangement that would work smoothly even under pressure. It may not, therefore, be a matter of surprise that an exhaustive and complete answer to the question does not appear to have been even yet obtained, although an immense deal has been done to facilitate the settlement of similar important questions in the future.

In order to withdraw troops for concentration to form a field army of this strength, without weakening arsenals and strategical points of importance too much, it is necessary to draw upon Madras, even as far south as Trichinopoly.

Before even entering on the question, the following points require to be decided :

1st. What Military units should be carried intact.

2ndly. The normal speed, exclusive of halts on account of the troops, and the gross load of trains.

3rdly. The maximum number of trains which should be run over single and double lines.

4thly. The number and duration of halts, when the troops have to be transported over long distances. With regard to the first instance, the necessity of making train-loads of troops tactically complete in themselves, has been already pointed out. The body of troops required to be thus kept complete with all their requirements necessary for taking the field at once has been very aptly termed a troop-train unit. Those decided on by the great powers of Europe and proposed for India are given below :—

Arm of the Service.	Germany.		France.		England.		Proposed for India.	
	Train unit.	No. of vehicles.	Train unit.	No. of axes.	Train unit.	No. of vehicles.	Train unit.	No. of vehicles.
Cavalry.	Squadron.	66	Squadron.	29 to 32	Squadron.	34	Squadron.	43
Horse Art.	Battery.	75	Battery.	41	Half bat-tery.	27	Half bat-tery.	39
Field Art.	ditto.	80	ditto.	47	ditto.	24	ditto.	34
Infantry.	Battalion.	88	Battalion.	35	A wing.	28	A wing.	30

The above table is for European troops ; for native troops the train-units are the same with the exception of the infantry, in which case the train-unit is put at a battalion and the number of vehicles required is 36.

These train-units are formed on the scale of equipment "for active service beyond the frontier," it being presumed that in any emergency, calling for great exertion on the part of the Railway authorities, the troops would move as lightly equipped as possible ; and the strength of the train-unit is dependent on the number of loaded vehicles that a locomotive can haul. In most cases this amounts, in India, to about forty vehicles ; in cases of slightly larger trains, the more powerful engines could be detailed for the purpose.

But for ascending and descending the Western Ghauts it is necessary to diminish the load of an engine, and there the traction power of the G. I. P. engine is reduced to 23 or 25 vehicles. When troops have to cross the Ghauts they must go in light trains, but this should be avoided as much as possible, because light trains, as a rule, necessitate minute subdivision of the troops and consequently greater risk of confusion at the point of disembarkation. At present, complete data, as to the power of the engines and the possibility of their carrying safely, great loads, is still being collected, the question to be settled with the different Railway Companies being : Given the nett weight of certain troop-loads which must be carried intact, what engine-power is required and what speed can be maintained ? In the movement of troops to Bombay for the expedition to the Mediterranean, it was found necessary to divide squadrons into two parts for facility of carriage. In this case the number of troops *en route* was small, and the confusion would be scarcely apparent. With long trains and great loads it is evident that the speed cannot be great. Fortunately, this is not a matter of as much importance as the other considerations, and it is stated, in the "Preparation of Military Time-tables," that although a speed of 20 miles an hour has been laid down, it is very probable that the through speed on the Madras and G. I. P. Railways will have to be reduced to 15 miles an hour, though 20 miles an hour may be retained on the Bombay and Baroda line, and railways in the Bengal Presidency, where gradients are easy and engines powerful. However, if we can move troops a long day's march, as, 15 miles is, during one hour, and keep up that rate day and night, we have so enormously the whip-hand of any opponent in this country, that any question of hours or even of a day or two is quite secondary to that of a safe and simple arrangement for transit. If troop-trains went no faster than 5 miles an hour, and had to stop working at night, we should still do ten or twelve times as much distance, in a day, as any other troops in this country could get over, and still



exceed the rate even of bazaar rumours. Hence, in the three points which are mutually dependent, the necessity of keeping tactical units complete, the weight that has to be drawn in each train, and the speed to be maintained, the importance lies, for military purposes, in the order above; for, if the weight required to be drawn exceed the power of one engine, it is quite possible to put on two engines. Although this is very far from an economical arrangement, yet the actual number of trains requisite to convey the force in the above-stated problem is stated (for troops) at only 111, while the actual number of engines on the different broad-gauge lines amounted in December 1876 to 1,326. So far, therefore, there is no fear of deficiency of engine-power or insufficiency of speed for military purposes.

With regard to the maximum number of trains which should be run over single and double lines, the probable arrangement, in case of great emergency would be that, on receipt of the preliminary instructions, all down traffic, excepting the mails and empties for troops, would be suspended, and every effort made to clear the terminal stations as well as to work off the up-goods trains.

In England, after much consultation with the Railway Inspectors, the Board of Trade, and the Traffic Managers of the various lines, it was decided that a steady despatch of trains, at fixed intervals of half-an-hour each, is the maximum that can be attained on a double line.

In France, 24 trains a day for double lines is the regulation, but the average on the Paris-Lyons line in 1859, extending over 86 days, was 30·7 trains, and the 13th Corps (Vinoy's) was carried over the Ligne du Nord in four days, in 135 trains, the daily average being 34.

During the mobilization of the German Army in 1870, the daily number of trains run was 18 over double and 12 over single lines. In Austria, the number is estimated at 16. In this country, during the famine pressure, 15 trains were kept running both ways, between Shahabad and Poona, and the experience gained during the famine has been of great value, in showing where the deficiency lies for meeting a great strain, such as the conveyance of a large body of troops would cause.

The number of trains that can be run over a section of line depends on the distance apart of crossing-stations; the supply of water and fuel; the number of locomotives, and the speed they can maintain; the strength of the staff; and station conveniences generally. As regards troops, the difficulty of loading trains, during the hours of darkness must also be taken into account. In India, the greater lines of communication are necessarily at present single lines: in this case, as the intervals of despatch will be at least double the time of running between the

two stations farthest apart, added to about one-third of the whole period to allow of traffic purposes, the limit in the number of daily trains is soon reached. The Indian Railway system at present, on account of the unusually long distances between crossing-stations, and want of sufficient sidings, would seem to be unfitted for a rapid succession of trains, and it is probable that a succession of 12 trains both ways on single lines, and 24 on double lines is as much as could be done in this country, and that, if maintained for any length of time, it would be a severe strain upon the railway staff. The railway just opened between Dhond and Manmar will be of the greatest value for military purposes. In the matter of time there will be a saving of 18 hours between Raichore and Jabalpur, while the wear and tear of *descending* and *ascending* the Ghauts will be avoided. The stock below the Ghauts can be utilized separately for troops moving from the west, and loaded trains can run over the chord—the empties being returned by the loop, line.

According to a correspondent of the *Pioneer*, who appears to have had good opportunities of ascertaining the facts, during the movement of the expedition of native troops from this country, the G. I. P. Railway had to convey some 6,000 men and 1,500 horses from Jabalpur and Poona, without interfering with the usual traffic. The time taken was nine days, and the troops were forwarded in four special trains daily from each of these places, eight troop-trains daily disgorging at Bombay. In this there would be no very great strain felt, but there can be little doubt that the difficulties of arrangement and carrying were greatly diminished by the consideration of the subject which had previously taken place.

The arrangement for periodical halts and refreshments for troops is very important. Troops are necessarily very much cramped in the trains. Where a journey lasts only a few hours this may be of little moment; but the distances in this country are so great that the only movements of troops by rail that can be compared with those to be here provided for, are the transport of the Russian Guard Corps in 1877, when Plevna became so important, of which no details are known at present, and the conveyance of Hooker's Corps of 23,000 men, with its horses and material, 1,250 miles in seven days during the American war. Our distances considerably exceed even this. For example, troops taken from Poona, Secunderabad, and Bangalore to Rawal Pindi would have to travel 1,780, 2,158, and 2,588 miles respectively. For short distances railways are of comparatively little use, especially if the number of troops be large, as the time required to prepare the trains and embark the troops may be as long as the time the troops would take to march the distance.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, in the *Soldiers' Pocket-Book* says, on Continental lines it has been found that time is not gained in moving large bodies of troops, including their proportion of guns and material, by rail, when the proportion of sabres and bayonets is greater than 435 to the English mile. In other words, that, to move a body of the three arms amounting to 4,350 men, a distance of 10 miles by rail would give no gain in time over marching. But, when the troops are once embarked, an extra distance of 20, 30, or 100 miles is merely so many hours travelling. As, therefore, the value of railways for military purposes may be said to increase with the distance, the great military value of railways in India is patent. In all cases of long journeys it is necessary that the troops should have a day's halt after every two or three days' railway journey, else they would arrive so thoroughly 'knocked-up' as to be completely inefficient. Rest-camps are therefore required, and also arrangements at different stations for supplying the troops with coffee, dinner and supper, while *en route*. It is proposed that these halts might be arranged as follows: One hour in the early morning for coffee, one-and-a-half to two hours (for native troops) soon after noon, and a third halt of one hour some time towards night. In the same way, when horses are conveyed, it is necessary to have fixed halting-stations, for watering and feeding. As a rule, engine-changing stations would be selected, where sheds would be available for the men's dinners, and a plentiful supply of water obtainable for the men to wash, and for horses to drink. The answer given to the original problem of "In what time some 30,000 troops could be concentrated at Lahore", is that, *if the preliminary arrangements were good*, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole movement might be completed within a fortnight, and details are given of the way in which this might be done. If we stop for one moment to consider what this means, we shall see what a revolution in military matters in this country has been brought about by the railway. Without interfering with the garrisons of our arsenals and points of strategical strength, we should be enabled to collect within a fortnight a field army of 30,000 men, no vast number, but still amply sufficient for all probable requirements in this country, at any point within it, or even beyond it. For, if we add to these 30,000, the troops in garrison on our North-west frontier, beyond Lahore, we should have collected at that extremity of India a very considerable army of fresh and well-fed troops, unharassed by the fatigue of long marches, keen to meet any foe, and, if properly supplied, to take the field, ready and fit for any expedition. Lahore, however, may have been selected as the point of concentration for a first problem because it was then the position of extreme distance.

A concentration on Bombay, for instance, though equally valuable, would not have brought in the question of such great distances. Now, in a direct straight line from Bangalore to Lahore the distance is 1,300 miles, but on account of rivers, deserts, &c., the troops could not march directly in a bee-line, and the distance to be actually marched over could not possibly be less than 1,500 miles; suppose the troops from Bangalore kept up a steady rate of 10 miles a day, which is very fair marching indeed over long distances, it would take them 5 months to reach Lahore! While by rail they could be brought to this point in a fortnight. Let us even put the time of full concentration by rail at a month, and what does it mean? It means that, instead of so many months being a time of danger and anxiety to all peaceable and well-disposed folk, and a time for accession of forces to the enemy, to the imminent peril of the stability of our rule, and consequent enormous expense; the railway enables us to bring up a force that would be overwhelming at the outset, and to strike the sharp sudden blow that would be decisive. But to carry this out properly and to gain the full value of railways for war in this country, two things are necessary: first, that, as this is only obtainable when the preliminary arrangements are good, every possible contingency should be considered and arranged for in peace-time, and, secondly, troops must have their transport provided in such way that they may be enabled to take the field at once.

As all the details of movements of troops, and in fact all similar arrangements connected with their concentration, to the moment of battle, are placed under the Quartermaster-General of an army, who is responsible for their being properly carried out, the consideration of what is likely to be required in such contingency, necessarily should be under the supervision of that officer. In all the great armies of Europe, and in England also, there is a special "intelligence" department, formed with the object of considering the possible contingencies that may arise, and of collecting and directing the intelligence obtainable on these points under the orders of the Quartermaster-General. So that when the occasion arises the department is prepared for it, and knows how to carry it out smoothly and economically. A comparatively small expenditure in peace-time for such aid to national insurance is always open to cavil, though great waste ensuing on the outbreak of war must be necessarily passed over from political and many other motives, especially if the strain be great. The waste of money and men's lives at the commencement of the Crimean war from want of forethought in peace-time is an instance familiar to every one. Sir Garnet Wolseley points out in the *Nineteenth Century* that we are stronger now than then, and not so liable to fall into errors then made. But why? Chiefly, because the contingencies of war



have been considered in peace-time. In India no intelligence branch has been formed, though there has been irregular working in that direction, and some officers in the Quartermaster-General's Department have done what they could in that way in addition to their regular duties. But no doubt arrangements will soon be made, it is to be hoped *in time*, so that all considerations of contingencies may not be left to the last moment, as was our custom a few years back, both here and at home, but that we may have well-digested plans ready for any probable necessity. The question of concentration of our troops by rail at any point of India is one, and not the least important, of the many considerations that call for early attention.

The officials connected with Indian Railways have done their part thoroughly, and the arrangements for making railway carriages useful for military as well as traffic purposes, appear to be complete, while the information at hand as to the powers of the different railways is such as to render the question of the conveyance of troops to any part of India in great measure now a mere arrangement of detail. We know pretty nearly what the railway authorities are able to do, and what we may fairly ask for. But, in the scheme for concentration of troops at Lahore, there is no thought whatever of transport for the troops on their arrival, which, as was pointed out on the authority of the Duke of Cambridge, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, at the commencement of this review, is most essential. If the troops have to wait a month or so before they can obtain transport animals to move, a great part of the value of railway transport has been lost, and the enemy regain confidence. A force of the amount suggested in the problem, consisting of 13 batteries of artillery, 4 regiments British cavalry, 9 regiments Native cavalry, 10 regiments British infantry, 15 regiments Native infantry and 6 companies of sappers and miners, require merely for their own purpose of moving from the Railway terminus to any place ten miles off, 5,334 camels. This is on the most exiguous scale allowed for in India, that for 'service beyond the frontier,' besides which, transport animals would be required for supplies of food, for ammunition, for hospital service, and for carriage of sick and wounded, which altogether would probably double the number. Therefore about 10,000 camels, or a sufficient number of mules, bullocks, and carts to carry an equal weight, would require to be assembled at the point of concentration (wherever that might be), in order that the troops might form an active army. How this can be arranged, at any and all of the different points where we may have to fight in India, is the difficulty thrown upon us by the innovation of railways. But the question of how many transport animals each district that might form a theatre of war could yield, can be settled



in peace-time, if the civil authorities are made acquainted beforehand with the probable requirements of the military in case of emergency, so that they may be able to assist; in the same way that railway authorities should know what would be required under such circumstances. A great deal of our difficulties, friction of authorities, and consequent expense in time of war, have arisen from civilians and military men also, who have been most anxious to assist, being unacquainted with what was necessary for war purposes. On the other hand, our military officers should also know thoroughly, and it should be clearly laid down, what assistance they may fairly expect, so as not exceed the limit. So much has been done in this direction, that we may look forward to being, before long, in a state of preparation for any emergency.

The very great assistance that the railways in India would be to us points also to the vital importance of the lines being jealously guarded during war or internal disturbance. There are parts of our railway lines where the destruction of a single bridge would cause a delay that could hardly be measured. If it occasioned such a break in the regular passage of rolling-stock, that fresh supplies of stock would have to be collected on the further side of the obstacle, this might hamper us throughout a whole campaign. As a guard against this, however, we have an element of strength in the railway employés, whose number throughout India amounts to some 3,500 Europeans, 3,300 East Indians and 125,000 Natives, all of whose interests are bound up in the railway. Most of the Europeans and East Indians have been trained or practised to the use of firearms, but all are in constant training of discipline and the habit of prompt obedience to orders, which is the chief requirement for rapidly giving fighting-power to a body of men. An organization exists for ordinary business, which might be utilized. But the men would require arms, the knowledge of their use, and of the mode in which they could best assist. With such aids we might find, as in the defence at Arrah, a point held successfully, long beyond all expectation, till succour arrived. Scattered as railway men are along the line, it would be as impossible as it would be strategically wrong to attempt to defend every point, but it is quite practicable, if previously considered, that important junctions and bridges might be held against a sudden attack until our troops came up.

The principles of war never change, and the mode of overcoming a leader of desultory troops in this country, who would cause the great danger to our railway line, must be still the same as when the Duke of Wellington wrote, that he should be "pressed with one or two corps capable of moving with tolerable celerity and of such strength as to render the result of an action by no means doubtful. But of this there is little hope. The effect is to oblige him to

move constantly and with great celerity. He has no time to plunder the country, and his adherents, finding it all hard work and no *loot*, desert daily, and he is finally in a state liable to be captured by a small body of country horse." In this way were suppressed Dhoondia Waugh, Chítú, the great Pindari leader ; and the case of Tántia Topí will be familiar to everyone. The only difference now would be that the railway ought to form for us a succession of secondary bases, enabling our troops to head the enemy with much greater ease than was ever possible formerly.

The above considerations show that, in case of war or internal disturbances in this country, we must hold on to the railway and use every effort to keep that clear ; for, if we have that line broken, instead of having an army that can move anywhere and always bring a preponderating force to bear upon the decisive points, we shall have our army broken up into fragments and unable to act promptly and in concert. But with the sea, our grand base, and the railway lines forming secured communications with magazines, or secondary bases at intervals—for which well-considered arrangements are now being taken in hand—our position in India will be one of eminent security, even if troublous times are before us, for our communications, and the consequent mobility and striking power of our army, must be far superior to those of any forces that can possibly be brought against us from India or Asia.

R. H. FAWCETT.

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## A NOTE ON CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS TO THE DARDS AND TO GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIA.

### A.—THE DARDS.

Herodotus (III. 102-105) is the first author who refers to the country of the Dards, placing it on the frontier of Kashmir and in the vicinity of Affghanistan. "Other Indians are those who reside on the frontiers of the town 'Kaspatyros' and the Paktyan country; they dwell to the north of the other Indians and live like the Baktrians; they are also the most warlike of the Indians and are sent for the gold," &c. Then follows the legend of the gold-digging ants (which has been shown to have been the name of a tribe of Tibetans by Schiern) and on which, as an important side-issue, consult Strabo, Arrian, Dio Chrysostomus, Flavius Philostratus the elder, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ælian, Harpokration, Themistius Euphrades, Heliodorus of Emesa, Joannes Tzetzes, the Pseudo-Kallisthenes and the scholiast to the Antigone of Sophocles\*—and among Romans, the poems of Propertius, the geography of Pomponius Mela, the natural history of the elder Pliny and the collections of Julius Solinus.† The Mahabharata also mentions the tribute of the ant-gold "paipilika" brought by the nations of the north to one of the Pandu sons, king Yudhisthira.

In another place Herodotus [IV, 13-27] again mentions the town of Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country. This is where he refers to the anxiety of Darius to ascertain the flow of the Indus into the sea. He accordingly sent Skylax with vessels. "They started from the town of *Κασπάτυρος* and the *Πακτυικὴ χώρα* towards the east to the sea." I take this to be the point where the Indus river makes a sudden bend, and for the first time actually does lie between Kashmir and Pakhtu-land (for this, although long unknown, must be the country alluded to)‡, in other words below the Makpon-i-Shang-Roug, and at Bunji, where the Indus becomes navigable. The Paktyes are also mentioned as one of the races that followed Xerxes in his invasion of Hellas (Herod. VII. 67-85). Like our own geographers till 1866, Herodotus

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\* Strabo, II. I, XV. I,—Arrian de Exped. Alex. V. 4 Indica c. 5—Dio-Chrysos. Orat. XXXV.—Philostrat. de vitâ Apollon. Tyan. VI. I.—Clem. Alex. Paed, II. 12—Ælian de Nat. An. XV., 14.—Harpokrat s. v. χρυσόχοειν Themist. Orat. XXVII.—Heliodor. X, 26.—Tzetz. Chil. XII, 330-340.—Pseudo Callisth. II. 29.—Schol. ad, Sophocl. Antig. v. 1,025.  
 † Propert. Eleg. III. 13.—Pomp. Mel. III. 7.—Plin. H. N. XI. 36 XXXIII 21,—Solin, c. 30.  
 ‡ Indeed, there is no other country between Kaspatyros and the Paktyan country excepting Dardistan.

thought that the Indus from that point flowed duly from north to south, and India being, according to his system of geography, the most easterly country, the flow of the Indus was accordingly described as being easterly. I, in 1866, and Hayward in 1870 described its flow from that point to be due west for a considerable distance (about one hundred miles.) (The PAKTYES are, of course, the Affghans, called Patans, or more properly PAKHTUS, the very same Greek word). "Kaspatyros" is evidently a mis-spelling for "Kaspapyros," the form in which the name occurs in one of the most accurate codes of Herodotus which belonged to Archbishop Sancroft (the Codex Sancroftianus) and which is now preserved at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Stephanus Byzantianus (A. V.) also ascribes this spelling to Hekatæus of Miletus.\*

Now Kaspapyros or Kaspapuros is evidently *Kashmir* or "*Kasyapapura*" the town of *Kasyapa*, the founder of Kashmir, and to the present day one may talk indifferently of the town of Kashmir, or of the country of *Kashmir*, when mentioning that name, so that there is no necessity to seek for the town of Srinagar when discussing the term Kaspatyros, or, if corrected, Kaspapuros, of Herodotus.

Herodotus, although he thus mentions the people (of the Dards) as one neighbouring (πλησιοχώροι) on Kashmir and residing between Kashmir and Affghanistan, and also refers to the invasions which (from time immemorial it may be supposed, and certainly within our own times) this people have made against Tibet for the purpose of devastating the gold-fields of the so-called ants, does not use the name of "Dard" in the above quotations, but Strabo and the elder Pliny, who repeat the legend, mention the very name of that people as *Derdæ* or *Dardæ*, Vide Strabo XV, ἐν Δέρδαις ἔθνη μεγάλη τῶν προσεώων καὶ ὀρεΐνων Ἰνδῶν, Pliny, in his natural history, XI, 36 refers to "*in regione Septentrionalium Indorum, qui Dardæ vocantur.*" Both Pliny and Strabo refer to Megasthenes as their authority in Chapter VI, 22. Pliny again speaks of "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ.*" The Dards have still settlements in Tibet where they are called Brokpa (*vide* Dardistan, Part III. page 46, &c.) The Dards are the "Darada" of the Sanscrit writers. The "Darada" and the "Himavanta" were the regions to which Buddha sent his missionaries, and the Dards are finally the "Dards, an independent people which plundered Dras in the last year, has its home in the mountains three or four days' journey distant, and talks the *Pakhtu* or DARADI language. Those, whom they take prisoners in these raids, they sell as

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\* General A. Cunningham very kindly sent me the quotation last year. It runs, as follows : Κασπάπυρος πόλις Γανδαρική, Σκυθῶν ἀκτῇ.

slaves" (as they do still) (Voyage par Mir Izzetulla in 1812 in Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique*, II, 3-5.) (The above arrangement of quotations is due to Schiern.)\*

**B. INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON ASIA IN GENERAL AND INDIA IN PARTICULAR.**

The most important contribution to this question, however, is Plutarch's *Speech* on Alexander's fortune and virtue (*περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης καὶ ἀρετῆς*) the keynote to which may be found in the passage which contains the assertion that he *Κατέσπειρε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑλληνικῶις τέλεσι*, but the *whole* speech refers to that marvellous influence.

That this influence was at any rate believed in, may be also gathered from a passage in Aelian, in which he speaks of the Indians and Persian kings singing Homer in their own tongues. I owe the communication of this passage to Sir Edward Fry, Q. C., which runs as follows:

Ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τῇ παρὰ σφίσι ἐπιχωρίᾳ φωνῇ τὰ Ὅμηρου μεταγράψαντες ᾄδουσιν οὐ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰ τι χρὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι

Aeliani *Variae Historiae*, Lib. XII, Cap. 48. I find from a note in my edition that Dion Chrysostom tells the same story of the Indians in his 53rd Oration, E. F.

I trust to be able to show, if permitted to do so, in a future note (1) that the Arian dialects of Dardistan are, at least, contemporaneous with Sanscrit, (2) that the Khajuná is a remnant of a prehistoric language (3) that certain sculptors followed on Alexander's invasion and taught the natives of India to execute what I first termed "Græco Buddhistic" sculptures, a term which specifies a distinct period in history and in the history of Art.

G. W. LEITNER.

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\* Who refers to my results of other papers in his pamphlet on the a tour in Dardistan, Kashmir and origin of that legend. Little Tibet, Ladak in 1867-70, and



## POETRY.

### *A Latin rendering of a part of Lord Lytton's Ode.*

#### THE ARTIST.

#### AD \* PICTOREM.

1.

O Artist, range not over wide :  
Lest what thou seek be haply hid  
In bramble blossoms at thy side,  
Or shut within the daisy's lid.

Pictor, materiem procul  
Arti parce tuæ quærere, ne rubi  
Flos forsân teneat novus  
Aut claudat timidæ palpebra bellidis.

2.

God's glory lies not out of reach.  
The moss we crush beneath our feet,  
The pebbles on the wet sea-beach,  
Have solemn meanings strange and  
sweet.

Non te Numen in ardua  
Sectantem refugit. Quem pede con-  
Muscus, quot lavat Hadria  
Præsentem lapides dulcesonant Deum.

3.

The peasant at his cottage door  
May teach thee more than Plato  
knew :  
See that thou scorn him not : adore  
God in him, and thy nature too.

Discas auspice rustico  
Quæ non olim acies illa Platonica  
Cernebat. Fuge temnere  
Cui natura Dei contigit, et tua.

4.

Know well thy friends. The wood-  
bine's breath,  
The woolly tendril on the vine,  
Are more to thee than Cato's death,  
Or Cicero's words to Catiline.

Refert nosse tuos. Odor  
Ardet te clymeni, lanaque pampini :  
Lctum mitte Catonis, et  
Horrentem patriæ vulnera Tullium ;

5.

The wild rose is thy next in blood :  
Share Nature with her, and thy  
heart.  
The kingcups are thy sisterhood :  
Consult them duly on thine art.

Te vult, blanda soror, rosa :  
Pulcri quicquid erit hæc sociâ lege.  
Te fratrem violæ petunt :  
Has et consilium posce, lucraberis.

6.

Nor cross the sea for gems. Nor seek :  
Be sought. Fear not to dwell alone.  
Possess thyself. Be proudly meek.  
See thou be worthy to be known.

Gemmarum studio mare  
Nec transire decet : nec petere : at  
peti :  
Te demissa superbia  
Solum sustineat. Siste potens tui :

\* Pictoribus utque poetis

\* \* \* audendi fuit æqua potestas.

## 7.

The Genius on thy daily ways  
 Shall meet, and take thee by the  
 hand:  
 But serve him not as who obeys:  
 He is thy slave if thou command.

Sic dignam Genius lubens  
 Erranti in triviis corripiet manum;  
 Nec, si jusserit, obsequi  
 Cura; sed Genio fortiter impera.

## 8.

Be quiet. Take things as they come:  
 Each hour will draw out some sur-  
 prise.  
 With blessing let the days go home:  
 Thou shalt have thanks from evening  
 skies.

Æquâ mente vices lucro  
 Appone: hora novum protrahet ex-  
 itum.  
 Sanctos dege dies: tibi  
 Sic grates tribuunt alma crepuscula.

## 9.

Lean not on one mind constantly:  
 Lest, where one stood before, two  
 fall.  
 Something God hath to say to thee  
 Worth hearing from the lips of all.

Audi quæ reserat Deus  
 Hand uno ingenio fretus, at om-  
 nium;  
 Est ut nisus in alterum  
 Qui solus steterat concidat obruto.

## 10.

All things are thine estate: yet must  
 Thou first display the title-deeds  
 And sue the world. Be strong: and  
 trust  
 High instructs more than all the  
 creeds.

Orbem scis patrimonium:  
 I, litem in populos infer, et occupa.  
 Virtutem colis insitam?  
 Fidat deterior religionibus.

## 11.

Assert thyself: and by-and-by  
 The world will come and lean on  
 thee.  
 But seek not praise of men: thereby  
 Shall false shows cheat thee. Boldly  
 be.

Audax te tibi vindica:  
 Mox fies column civibus; at fuge  
 Laudantem populum sequi  
 Pomparum vacuâ captus imagine.

## 12.

Each man was worthy at the first:  
 God spake to us ere we were born:  
 But we forget. The land is curst:  
 We plant the briar, reap the thorn.

Olim crevimus integri:  
 Nos nondum genitos commonuit Deus  
 At devotus ager gemit!  
 At dumnos serimus! At metimus.  
 rubos!

## 13.

Remember, every soul He made  
Is different : has some deed to do,  
Some work to work. Be undismay'd,  
Though thine be humble : do it too.

Haud omnes animi pares :  
Haud debemus idem : pensa dedit  
Deus  
Unicuique suum : tibi  
Si parvum dederit, perfice, perfice.

## 14.

Not all the wisdom of the schools  
Is wise for thee. Hast thou to speak ?  
No man hath spoken for thee. Rules  
Are well : but never fear to break

Priscorum sapientia  
Non pro te sapiit. Quidlibet eloqui  
Debes ? Non alius tibi  
Sermonem præiit. Utere regulis ;

## 15.

The scaffolding of other souls :  
It was not meant for thee to mount ;  
Though it may serve thee.

Iustum est scandere machinas  
Aptatas aliis mentibus ; at neque,  
Si vis frangere, sit pudor ;  
Haud tali auxilio te decet evahi.

T. F. B., *Caianus*.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*The Influence upon Religious Beliefs of a Rise in Morality.*

By A. C. Lyall. THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, April 1878.

LIKE all that appears with Mr. Lyall's signature, this Essay is ingenious, graceful, and refined. And it has a peculiar interest for all classes in India, where—as the writer shows—a high standard of morals has been suddenly introduced, to which the current religious beliefs of the people are either hostile or, at least, inadequate and out of scale.

The extreme subtlety of the speculations put forth by Mr. Lyall is, indeed, such as almost to defeat his object. It is difficult, on a first perusal at least, to carry away a distinct idea of the issue raised or the findings recorded. It is only after a more careful study that the reader perceives that the meaning is something like this. The people of India, it is contended, have been hitherto under the spell of a primitive set of ceremonial creeds, unconnected with moral conduct. A high standard of moral conduct has been all at once raised by law and by secular education; but it leans too much upon the Constable's staff. The fundamental origin of religion in all primitive societies is fear of strong but capricious unseen powers, who are prone to "levy black mail on human prosperity" (The meaning of this phrase will be clear to those who recollect the story of Cræsus, or of the King of Polycrates). Hence arises the notion of propitiating the gods with observances, such as ritual, incense, and material sacrifices. "Morality is not yet essential to religion . . . The gods in no way admit themselves to be bound by human views of morality; and the functions of religion very much resemble, in their highest range, the functions of a modern government: its business is confined to procuring material blessings, warding off evil, and codifying rules of social utility which have been verified by experience. As the scene of operation of an early religion is the visible world only, there is no scheme of future rewards or punishments. . . . There are heavens and hells in Indian theologies; but it is remarkable that a doctrine, which in highly civilised religions is usually regarded as the most important. . . is in primitive religions of almost insignificant effect. . . The reason is that the Indians, as a mass, still consider religion as the supreme authority which administers their worldly affairs, and not as an instrument for the promotion of moral behaviour."

Here, however, arises a question, What is intended by "moral behaviour"? Is it different from the requirements of "social utility"; and if so, what is the difference? One is the more constrained to ask this question because of a similar difficulty that occurs in the very first page of the Essay. We are there informed that "in primitive times morality (or at least expediency and utility) must seek the patronage of some accepted religious belief." Are we to understand, from the words in the parenthesis, that Mr. Lyall has in view some other kind of morality besides "rules of social utility?" Perhaps if he has, that kind may not require the religious sanction, and those who practise it may be of those Gentiles who "are a law unto themselves." Only one is bound to observe that there is no trace of what it is in the Essay. It is not likely that the brilliant writer could have been thinking of what the Anglican Church Catechism calls "My duty towards God." For it is by no means the case that Indian religions have not patronised or promoted that branch of moral behaviour. Witness the minute rules laid down by their lawgivers, from the days of Manu to those of Mohamed.

Be this as it may, Mr. Lyall is right, no doubt, in asserting that, in the progress of Society, a transition occurs in which the low moral tone of many a popular system is fould out, and something like rebellion follows. He calls to mind the cases of Buddha and of Job: the one convinced that life is a bad business, and that "to be blown out like a lamp" is better than to remain exposed to the worst of all possible worlds: the other utterly refusing to recognise love or justice in his unmerited "chastisements." He might perhaps have also instanced the prophet Micah, as one where the mind went the right way, and a conclusion was drawn not at variance with the ultimate righteousness of the divine dispensation. He concludes that a time may come for India when theology shall be reduced to the humiliating necessity of applying to morality for warrants and passports, and thinks that there are already indications of "a tendency towards this inversion of original parts."

And here, perhaps, we come upon some glimpse of what Mr. Lyall understands by "morality." He seems to demand the prescriptions of a written revelation kept flexible by traditionary authority and application, rather than the Benthamism of the Penal Code enforced by the secular arm. In fact, he seems to expect that this Code will some day be found to have acted as a too-rapid solvent. He seems to say, in effect, that, whereas all law-givers in India have hitherto appealed to some divine commission, and have been content to deal out a burdensome ritual based on theology and little concerned with real rectitude, the



British Government alone has had the courage to recommend well-doing for its intrinsic merits, and to support their recommendation by human sanctions only. And this he regards as a course not free from peril.

But the distinction is not perhaps material. Carefully examined, the claims of duty will be found still resting mainly upon the old foundations. Duty is, at bottom, pretty much what Austin defined it :—*That which you can be made to do under commensurate penalties* ; and the standard, whether one of utility or of some more metaphysical character, must always be one that commends itself to experience.

Mention has been made of the Hebrew prophet Micah, as an instance of a man passing from pessimism and propitiatory sacrifice to a sense of divine righteousness and its consequent obligations. In truth, he illustrates the instincts of Israel in Israel's most inspired mood. "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings and calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" So far questions the primitive ritualist. Most of us remember the reply : "He hath showed thee, O man ! what is good : and what doth the Lord require of thee but *to do justice* and to love mercy?"

"He hath showed thee." Yes : look round. All things are out of joint for thee. Nevertheless in the very sense of thy transgression thou hast a sign. There is a rule in the universe. Find it and walk accordingly. Do justice.

We shall be disappointed if we look for much ethical guidance from Mr. Swinburne, though a favourite evidently with our author. But a poet, only a little less modern, has not got much ahead of Micah :—

"Stern lawgiver ! Yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace ;  
Nor know we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face :  
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds  
And fragrance in thy footing treads ;  
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong  
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong."

[Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*.]

It is this cosmical view of ethics, as of a portion of the Universe's order which seems to supply an answer to Mr. Lyall's anxieties. The old Brahmanical conquests in India were said to be the conquests of a twice-born race with a commission from

the gods : the various empires set up by Moslem invaders were based similarly upon the rights given to the faithful by the Koran. We have no evidence as to the state of the country at the time of the former, or Hindu, conquests ; most probably the people were savages and the land covered with forest-growth. In that case the introduction of a civilised rule and the reclamation of the soil for the use of man was a decided step towards harmony and order. In the various Moslem conquests this was less visible ; but they were, at all events, and by the very nature of the case, victories of organisation and strength. Is there any profanity in saying that these are signs of a divine commission ? As for the condition of the country at the time when British administration crept up, from Calcutta to Cawnpore, and thence to Agra and Delhi, it would be impossible to imagine society gone more hopelessly to wreck. Those who desire detailed evidence may be referred to Mr. Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, to Wheeler's *Early Records* (p. 373 for an account of the exactions of the Zemindars), and Dow's Introduction (*History of Hindostan* Vol. I.) The state of the country was one of the most frightful that can be imagined, that, namely, where a community, long accustomed to civilised government, is deprived of all guidance or protection. Society was dissolved. Like a menagerie broken loose, men preyed openly on each other. Scourged by civil warfare, decimated by disease and famine, plundered and massacred by invading hosts, the wretched people of Hindustan, in the last century, must have had every temptation to disbelieve in God and man. In 1738, occurred the incursion of the terrible Nadir Shah, accompanied by carnage, rapine and famine. Twenty years later, the degenerate descendant of Timur brought about another invasion, only less dreadful, by inviting the Afghans to invade his realm under Ahmad Abdali. After the return of Ahmad, the country was once more plundered by Shahabuddin, the prime minister of the Mughal Emperor. Then the latter was murdered by the same minister. Then the Afghans returned, and a second massacre occurred in the capital, which was only arrested by the invaders being driven out by the smell of the decomposing bodies of their victims : much of the city was burned down ; and famine, completing the work of the sword, most of the survivors perished among the ruins of their houses. This was a type of what was going on all over the country, and formed considerable justification for the occupation of Bengal which was then proceeding under Clive. That conquest was at least free from horrors. And the people of India may see that the British have conquered their monarchs, and their anarchs, and have continued to maintain good government ever since, by virtue of superior truthfulness, discipline, and knowledge. If so,

they see, perhaps, as truly divine a foundation for British power as is to be discerned by human frailty, although the British may make less pretence on the subject than earlier invaders. And thus there ought to be no danger of the people refusing to accept the laws imposed upon them by such rulers. Nor need we doubt the power of the public mind to "raise and shape its religious beliefs without disowning a breaking off from them." Religion (of a kind) must still be the ultimate base and standard of their moral obligations. It is not impossible to conceive a state of society in which ceremonialism may be courteously shelved, and yet sufficient faith in eternal law remain for a distinct ground of human conduct.

The familiar story of Alfonso, King of Castile and Leon, represents that philosophic ruler as criticising the Ptolemæan system of the universe in the great assembly convoked by him at Toledo. "The earth the centre? H'm? If I had been consulted I should not have had it so." It was three full centuries before the study of the *De Revolutionibus* showed that Alfonso had been right. It has been the same in other things besides astronomy. From the day when the Jewish poet said—"What is man that Thou regardest him?"—there have never been wanting premature Copernicans who have felt that nothing was to be got out of the old systems. Instead of supposing man and his trumpery planet to be the focus of creation, we are learning to prove, what those prior spirits could only conjecture, namely, that we are little more than passing incidents, something like mites in a cheese. But we learn at the same time that creation, as a whole, rolls upon laws inexorable, perhaps inexplicable, yet capable of being apprehended and intelligently followed, so far as they apply to us. Use these laws and they will work for your behoof. Abuse, or neglect them, and they will still work, only it will be to your detriment. Like men who should find themselves caught in the ranks of a great procession, we know not how we came here or whither we are tending. But we can learn the conditions of our connection with the movement. If we stand still or deviate to right or left, we shall be crushed, but the procession will go on its appointed path. If we keep step and preserve our allotted situation, we shall arrive at the resting-place by night-fall. In either case the law will work, against us if we are foolish, for us if we are not. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.

The poets, in their sensitive, impulsive way, have been the first to see these things and to proclaim them in memorable language. From Khorasan to Cumberland, from the days of the Psalmist of Palestine to those of Omar Khayyam, and from them to Wordsworth and Goethe they have taught that (in the words of

the last-named) "he who works morally loses none of his labour." Most of all, perhaps, was it perceived by Juvenal, who, denouncing men's complaints of fortune, showed that "expediency"—rightly understood—was not different from religion;—

"Semita, certè,  
Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ;  
*Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.*"

This then, eventually, is no Stoic platitude, but the common inspiration of great souls in various times, places, and social conditions. If it be true—as why not?—there is no real danger such as the eloquent essayist appears to dread. Ceremonial may assume an emotional or an æsthetic aspect; may be left, perhaps, to the very young, the very old, and to secluded females. But a real religion will remain, a loyal clinging to Duty, as a necessity of well-being. A man convinced of this will not complain that Chance and Nature are not always on his side:—

Nature, with equal mind  
Sees all her sons at play,  
Sees man control the wind,  
The wind sweep man away.

But, when he finds that he cannot control the wind, he must avail himself of the wind's control; if he cannot regulate Nature he can let Nature regulate him: the forces of Nature are vast: what we know of them is chiefly their phenomenal side, and it too often turns out unfavourable to us. But Science shows that they work in an organised order, and History teaches that those men and races who have studied that order best have been most prosperous. While Science and History are not understood *ex-Cathedrà* lessons to a like effect are read by men of genius, Supposed revelations thus become a necessity of backward Societies, but they must inevitably lose their authority as mankind matures. So the law was a *pædagogus* to lead men to Christ; and that, ethically speaking, is almost as far as they have hitherto attained. He, too, said "Be ye perfect, as *your Father which is in heaven is perfect.*"

The ethics of the Gospel differ from all other systems of morality. Unlike the speculative systems of philosophy, they claim an authoritative basis. Unlike the ordinary theological systems, they pretend neither that God is exactly like mankind, nor that he is totally different. "Be ye perfect" is the note, "as your Father is perfect." He is Heavenly, perfect in His divine way; do you strive in like manner, being earthly, to be perfect in your small human way. There is nothing here contrary to the religion of Nature properly understood. Neither scheme pretends to say "Come, let us make God in our own image." Many followers of Christ in later days have lost the track of His footsteps

here. Great as is the difference between the mild Pan of the old American Toltecs and the blood-stained war-god of their Aztec conquerors, no less is that to be observed among various types of Deity that have been current among Christian sects. Witness the stern Despot of Calvin, the venerable Titular of Rome, retired from business these many centuries; the ingenious Constitutionalist of High Anglicanism. Of all which, impartial science, using her best means and power, has to report that she knows nothing. *Hypotheses non fingo* is still her truest word. And why should we look for more? After all, we must, if we would prosper, end by accepting the position, so far as we can determine it, and go no further. Like homeless birds, blown suddenly against a telegraph-wire; and finding upon it a temporary perch, men occupy their brief tenure of the world, they know not how their resting-place originated, or whither it tends. Listen as they may, they hear no undoubted report of the secrets with which it may be fraught. But they find that it supports them for a time; and so far it is good. May they not conclude that it is good altogether, if they could but know?

If this be a true picture, we need not fear that any increase of knowledge will injure the standard of duty or weaken its obligation. Weakness and a wavering standard are the products of those fluctuating conceptions of the Creator that are due to the fluctuations of anthropomorphic ideas. As a modern writer has said, parodying Pope's well-known line,

*An honest God's the noblest work of Man.*

Establish but that standard, and your other works will be noble also.

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*Early Records of British India: A History of the English Settlements in India, as told in the Government Records, the Works of old Travellers, and other Contemporary Documents, from the earliest period down to the rise of British Power in India.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, late Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; Author of a "History of India from the Earliest Ages"; "The Geography of Herodotus"; etc. Calcutta: published by W. Newman and Co., 3 Dalhousie Square, 1878.

WE are doubtful whether the more to admire the vast industry displayed by Mr. Wheeler in the collection of the materials from which this work has been compiled, or the judgment he has shewn in selecting those best suited for his purpose. Every page we find here represents, probably, a hundred times as much comparatively useless matter carefully examined and rejected.



The labours to which we are indebted for this valuable contribution to the history of English rule in India, date back nearly twenty years. Though the major portion of the volume is concerned with the English in Bengal, it was in Madras that the most valuable materials were found. Calcutta has been most unfortunate as regards the preservation of the older records; the storm of 1737 or the political catastrophe of 1756 having swept everything of the kind away. Even the records of later date threw little light upon the social life of the day. The old records of the commercial period, which were wanting in Calcutta, had, however, been preserved at Madras. They were placed at the disposal of the compiler by Sir Charles Trevelyn in 1860, the result being the publication of a series of extracts in three volumes under the title of "*Madras in the Olden Time.*" They have also been freely used by him in the compilation of the present volume. The absence of Calcutta records prior to 1756 has further been supplied as far as possible by extracts from various contemporary authorities. Those from Hamilton's *Travels* furnish graphic pictures of Calcutta life in the early part of the 18th century. The compiler's *Madras Researches* have supplied, among other things, valuable documents regarding the English Embassy to Delhi in 1875, which Mr. William Hamilton accompanied as surgeon. Hamilton had the good fortune to cure the Emperor Furruckh Siyar of a serious illness, a circumstance which probably had a good deal to do with the success of the embassy. Among other important documents connected with Calcutta is Holwell's *Narrative of the Tragedy in the Black Hole*. The travels of Mandelslo have furnished Mr. Wheeler with a curious account of the English factory at Surat, the first place in India in which our countrymen succeeded in effecting a lodgement. From the same source we have an account of a visit made by Mandelslo to the Governor of Almadabad. Dr. Fryer's account of the Surat factory thirty-six years later is also given, as well as an account of Bombay by the same authority. This we extract. The period referred to is 1674 :

"Let us walk the rounds. At distance enough lies the town, in which confusedly live the English, Portuguese, Topazes, Hindoos, Moors, Cooly Christians, most fishermen.

"It is a full mile in length, the houses are low, and thatched with oleas of the cocoe-trees, all but a few the Portugals left, and some few the Company have built, the Custom-house and Ware-houses are tiled or plastered, and instead of glass, use panes of oyster-shells for their windows (which as they are cut in squares, and polished, look gracefully enough). There is also a reasonable handsome Bazar.

"At the end of the town looking into the field, where cows and buffaloes graze, the Portugals have a pretty house and Church, with orchards of Indian fruit adjoining. The English have only a Burying-place, called Mendam's-Point, from the first man's name there interred, where are some few tombs that make a pretty show at entering the Haven, but neither Church or Hospital, both which are mightily to be desired.

“There are no fresh water rivers, or falling streams of living water: The water drank is usually rain-water preserved in tanks, which decaying, they are forced to dig wells into which it is strained, hardly leaving its brackish taste; so that the better sort have it brought from Massegoung, where is only one fresh spring.

“On the backside of the towns of Bombay and Maijm are woods, of cocoes (under which inhabit the Banderines, those that prune and cultivate them), these Hortoes being the greatest purchase and estates on the Island, for some miles together, till the sea break in between them: Over against which, up the Bay a mile, lies Massegoung, a great fishing town, peculiarly notable for a fish called bumbelo, the sustenance of the poorer sort, who live on them and batty, a coarse sort of rice, and the wine of the cocoes, called toddy. The ground between this and the great breach is well ploughed, and bears good batty. Here the Portugals have another Church and Religious House belonging to the Franciscans.

“Beyond it is Parell, where they have another Church, and demesne belonging to the Jesuits; to which appertains Sciam, manured by Columbeens, husbandmen, where live the Frasses, or porters also; each of which tribes have a Mandadore, or superintendent, who give an account of them to the English, and being born under the same degree of slavery, are generally more tyrannical than a stranger would be towards them; so that their needs no other task-master than one of their own Tribe, to keep them in awe by a rigid subjection.

“Under these uplands the washes of the sea produce a lunary tribute of salt left in pans or pits made on purpose at spring-tides for the overflowing; and when they are full are incrustated by the heat of the suns. In the middle, between Parell, Maijm, Sciam, and Bombay, is an hollow wherein is received a breach running at three several places, which drowns 40,000 acres of good land, yielding nothing else but samphire; athwart which, from Parell to Maijm, are the ruins of a stone causeway made by penances.

“At Maijm the Portugals have another complete Church and House; the English a pretty Custom-house-and guard-house: The Moors also a Tomb in great veneration for a Peor, or Prophet, instrumental to the quenching of the flames approaching their Prophet's Tomb at Mecha (though he was here at the same time) by the fervency of his prayers.

“At Selvasong, the farthest part of this Inlet, the Franciscans enjoy another Church and Convent; this side is all covered with trees of cocoes, jawks, and mangoes; in the middle lies Vernlee, where the English have a watch.

On the other side of the great inlet to the sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky, woody mountain; yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsee Tomb lately reared; on its declivity towards the sea, the remains of a stupendous Pagoda, near a tank of fresh water, which the Malabars visited it mostly for.

“Thus have we completed our rounds, being in the circumference twenty miles, the length eight, taking in Old Woman's Island, which is a little low barren Island, of no other profit but to keep the Company's antelopes and other beasts of delight.

“The people that live here are a mixture of most of the neighbouring countries, most of them fugitives and vagabonds, no account being here taken of them: Others perhaps invited hither (and of them a great number) by the liberty granted them in their several religions, which here are solemnized with variety of fopperies (a toleration consistent enough with

the rules of gain), though both Moors and Portugals despise us for it ; here licensed out of policy, as the old Numidians, to build up the greatest empire in the world. Of these, one among another, may be reckoned 60,000 souls ; more by 50,000 than the Portugals ever could. For which number this Island is not able to find provisions, it being most of it a rock above water, and of that which is overflowed, little hopes to recover it. However, it is well suppliod from abroad both with corn and meat at reasonable rates ; and there is more flesh killed for the English alone here in one month, than in Surat for a year for all the Moors in that populous city.

“The Government here now is English ; the soldiers have martial law : The freeman, common ; the chief arbitrator whereof is the President, with his Council at Surat ; under him is a justiciary, and Court of Pleas, with a committee for regulation of affairs, and presenting all complaints.

“The President has a large commission, and is *Vice-Regis* : he has a Council here also, and a guard when he walks or rides abroad, accompanied with a party of horse, which are constantly kept in stables, either for pleasure or service. He has his chaplains, physician, surgeons, and domesticks ; his linguist, and mint-master : At meals he has his trumpets usher in his courses, and soft music at the table ; If he move out of his chamber, the silver staves wait on him ; if down stairs the guard receive him ; if he go abroad the Bandarines and Moors under two standards march before him, He goes sometimes in the coach, drawn by large milk-white oxen, sometimes on horseback, other times in palenkeens, carried by Cohors, Mussulman porters : Always having a Sunbrero of state carried over him : And those of the English inferior to him, have a suitable train.

“But for all this gallantry, I reckon they walk but in charnel-houses, the climate being extremely unhealthy ; at first thought to be caused by Bubsho, rotten fish ; but though that be prohibited, yet it continues as mortal : I rather impute it to the situation, which causes an infecundity in the earth, and a putridness in the air, what being produced seldom coming to maturity, whereby what is eaten is undigested ; whence follows fluxes, dropsy, scurvy, barbiars (which is an enervating the whole body, being neither able to use hands or feet), gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers, which are endemial diseases: Among the worst of these, Fool Rack (brandy made of blubber, or carvil, by the Portugals, because it swims always in a blubber, as if nothing else were in it ; but touch it, and it stings like nettles ; the latter, because sailing on the waves it bears up like a Portugal Carvil : It is being taken a jelly, and distilled causes those that take it to be fools).

“To support their colony, the Company have sent out English women ; but they beget a sickly generation ; and as the Dutch well observe, those thrive better that come of an European father and Indian mother : which (not to reflect on what creatures are absent abroad) may be attributed to their living at large, not debarring themselves wine and strong drink, which immoderately used, inflames the blood, and spoils the milk in these hot countries, as Aristotle long ago declared. The natives abhor all heady liquors, for which reason they prove better nurses.

“Notwithstanding this mortality to the English, the country people and naturalized Portugals live to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance ; indulging themselves neither in strong drinks, nor devouring flesh as we do. But I believe rather we are, as exotic plants brought homo to us, not agreeable to the soil : For to the lustier and fresher, and oftentimes to the temperatest, the clime more unkind ; but to old men and women it seems to be more suitable.”

Very full information is given regarding the foundation and early fortunes of Madras where the English obtained their first Indian territory. Dr. Fryer's account of the place in 1674 is very quaint and interesting, but too long to extract. It is supplemented by a no less interesting account from Hamilton. One of the most interesting extracts in the book is the same Captain Hamilton's account of the English Settlements in Bengal. The following is his account of Calcutta:

"Along the river of Hughly there are many small villages and farms, intersperst in those large plains, but the first of any note on the river's side is Calcutta. (*sic*) a market town for corn, coarse cloth, butter, and oil, with other production of the country. Above it is the Dutch Bankshall, a place where their ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too swift Currents of the river. Calcutta (*sic*) has a large deep river that runs to the eastward, and so has Juanpardo; and on the west side there is a river that runs by the back of Hughly Island, which leads up to Radnagur, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth, and silk romaals, or handkerchiefs. Buffundri and Trefindi, or Gorgat and C'otrong, are on that river, which produce the greatest quantities of the best sugars in Bengal.

"A little higher up on the east side of Hughly River, is Poujelly, a village where a corn mart is kept once or twice in a week; it exports more rice than any place on this river; and five leagues farther up on the other side, is Tanna Fort, built to protect the trade of the river, at a place convenient enough, where it is not above half a mile from shore to shore; but it never was of much use, for in the year 1686, when the English Company quarrelled with the Moghul, the Company had several great ships at Hughly, and this Fort was manned in order to hinder their passage down the river. One 60-gun ship approaching pretty near the Fort, saluted it with a broadside, which so frightened the Governor and his myrmidons, that they all deserted their post, and left their castle to be plundered by the English seamen. About a league further up on the other side of the river, is Governapore, where there is a little pyramid built for a landmark, to confine the Company's Colony of Calcutta, or Fort William. On that side, and about a league further up, stands Fort William.

"The English settled at Calcutta about the year 1690, after the Moghul had pardoned all the robberies and murders committed on his subjects. Mr. Job Channock being then the Company's Agent in Bengal, he had liberty to settle an emporium in any part on the river's side below Hughly; and for the sake of a large shady tree chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthful place on all the river; for three miles to the north-eastward, is a salt water lake that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither; but in November and December when the floods are dissipated, those fishes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with thick stinking vapours, which the north-east winds bring with them to Fort William, that they cause a yearly mortality. One year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about twelve hundred English, some military, some servants to the Company, some private merchants residing in the town, and some seamen belonging to shipping lying at the town; and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the clerk's book of mortality.

"Mr. Chaunock choosing the ground of the colony, where it now is, reigned more absolute than a Raja, only he wanted much of their humanity, for when any poor ignorant native transgressed his laws, they were sure to undergo a



severe whipping for a penalty, and the execution was generally done when he was at dinner, so near his dining-room that the groans and cries of the poor delinquent served him for music.

“The country about being overspread with Paganism, the custom of wives burning with their deceased husbands, is also practised here. Before the Moghul’s war, Mr. Channock went one time with his ordinary guard of soldiers, to see a young widow act that tragical catastrophe; but he was so smitten with the widow’s beauty, that he sent his guards to take her by force from her executioners, and conducted her to his own lodgings. They lived lovingly many years, and had several children. At length she died, after he had settled in Calcutta; but instead of converting her to Christianity she made him a proselyte to Paganism; and the only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently. He built a tomb over her, where all his life, after her death, he kept the anniversary day of her death by sacrificing a cock on her tomb, after the Pagan manner; this was and is the common report and I have been credibly informed, both by Christians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta under his Agency, that the story was really true matter of fact.

“Fort William was built an irregular tetragon, of brick and mortar, called puckah, which is a composition of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and cut hemp; and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm stone or brick. The town was built without order, as the builders thought most convenient for their own affairs; every one taking in what ground best pleased them for gardening, so that in most houses you must pass through a garden into the house; the English building near the river’s side, and the natives within-land.

“The Agency continued till the year 1705. Then the old and new Companies united, and then it became a split Government, the old and new Companies’ servants governing a week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir Edward Littleton was Agent and Consul for the new Company at Hughly when this union of the Companies was made; and then he was ordered to remove his factory to Calcutta, and, being of an indolent disposition, had left his accounts with the Company run behind. He was suspended, but lived at Calcutta till 1707, when he died there. He was the only President or precedent in the Company’s service that lost an estate of seven hundred pounds per annum in so profitable a post in their service.

“This double-headed Government continued in Calcutta till January 1707. Then Mr. Weldon arrived with the Company’s commission to settle it at Bombay and Fort St. George, which were under the management of a Governor and Council, which those of the direction in England took to be a better way to promote their own creatures, as well as their own interest. His term of governing was very short, and he took as short a way to be enriched by it, by harassing the people to fill his coffers.

“Yet he was very shy in taking bribes, referring those honest folks, who trafficked that way, to the discretion of his wife and daughter, to make the best bargain they could about the sum to be paid, and to pay the money into their hands. I could give many instances of the force of bribery, both here and elsewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the skin of old sores.

“About fifty yards from Fort William stands the church built by the pious charity of merchants residing there, and the Christian benevolence of sea-faring men, whose affairs call them to trade there; but Ministers of the Gospel being subject to mortality, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a salary of 50*l.* per annum added to what the Company allows them, for their pains in reading prayers and sermons on Sundays.



"The Governor's house in the Fort, is the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India. And there are many convenient lodgings, for factors and writers, within the Fort, and some store-houses for the Company's goods, and the magazines for their ammunition.

"The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physick, but few come out to give account of its operation. The Company has also a pretty good garden that furnishes the Governor's table with herbage and fruits; and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, calkops, and mullet.

"Most of the inhabitants of Calcutta that make any tolerable figure have the same advantages; and all sorts of provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as clothing, make the country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above-mentioned inconveniencies that attend it.

"On the other side of the river are docks made for repairing and fitting their ship's bottoms, and a pretty good garden belonging to the Armenians, that had been a better place to have built their Fort and Town in for many reasons. One is, that, where it now stands, the afternoon's sun is full in the fronts of the houses, and shines hot on the streets, that are both above and below the Fort; the sun would have sent its hot rays on the back of the houses, and the fronts had been a good shade for the streets.

"Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the forenoons being dedicated to business, and after dinner to rest, and in the evening to recreate themselves in chaises or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes, which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river some times there is the diversion of fishing or fowling, or both; and before night they make friendly visits to one another when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among the men. And although the 'Conscript Fathers' of the colony disagree in many points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing strangers who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their goods at the most advantageous market, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix their own prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their wisdom and discretion: and it is a crime hardly pardonable for a private merchant to go to Hugly, to inform himself of the current prices of goods, although the liberty of buying and selling is entirely taken from him before.

"The garrison of Fort William generally consists of two or three hundred soldiers, more for to convey their fleet from Patna, with the Company's saltpetre, and piece goods, raw silk and some opium belonging to other merchants, than for the defence of the Fort; for as the Company holds their colony in feetail of the Moghul, they need not be afraid of any enemies coming to dispossess them. And if they should, at any time, quarrel again with the Moghul, his prohibiting his subjects to trade with the Company would soon end the quarrel.

"There are some impertinent troublesome Rajas, whose territories lie on the banks of the Ganges, between Patna and Cossimbazaar, who pretend to lay a tax on all goods and merchandize that pass by, or through their dominions on the river, and often raise forces to compel payment; but some forces from Fort William in boats generally clear the passage, though I have known some of our men killed in the skirmishes.

"In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the town. The Roman Catholics have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics, except what are between our High-church men and our Low, or between the Governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade.

"The colony has very little manufactory of its own, for the Government, being pretty arbitrary, discourages ingenuity and industry in the populace; for, by the weight of the Company's authority, if a native chanced to disoblige one of the upper-house, he is liable to arbitrary punishment, either by fine, imprisonment or corporal sufferings.

"The Company's colony is limited by a land-mark at Governapore, and another near Barnagol, about six miles distant; and the salt-water lake bounds it on the land side. It may contain, in all, about ten or twelve thousand souls; and the Company's revenues are pretty good, and well paid. They rise from ground-rents and consulage on all goods imported by British subjects; but all nations besides are free from taxes.

*Lapidarium Zeylanicum.* Being a Collection of Monumental Inscriptions of the Dutch Churches and Churchyards of Ceylon. By Leopold Ludovici, M. R. A. S., Editor *Ceylon Examiner*, &c. Colombo. J. Maitland & Co. 1877.

BESIDES the antiquarian value which attaches to this work, it possesses a melancholy interest, the mortuary tablets which it reproduces in facsimile not only bringing vividly before the reader a long procession of victims to the common enemy, but reminding him that time spares sovereignties no more than individuals. The elaborate character of the ornamentation on the majority of these stones contrasts curiously with the simplicity of the inscriptions, which consist generally of nothing more than the names, titles, and ages of the deceased with the dates of their birth and death. On the other hand, the armorial bearings of the deceased generally form part of the ornamentation. These are often very curious both from a heraldic and from an artistic point of view. A translation of the inscriptions would have enhanced the interest of the work.

The introductory chapters, which give a brief sketch of the Dutch Church, and incidentally some account of Dutch legislation, in Ceylon, contain much valuable information. The following passage seems to us well worth reproducing:—

It must be confessed that the measures adopted by the Dutch Government for converting the heathen were hardly calculated to secure that end. The fact is the Dutch were never a proselytising nation. More conservative than expansive in their religious aspirations, their first care was to provide for the religious wants of their own people and their descendants. This primary duty provided for, they considered it of far more importance to impose the laws of Holland—laws which in a great measure still survive in the maritime provinces—rather than its religion on their newly made subjects. Scarcely any of the writers on Ceylon have made mention of this fact, but it is to it that the Sinhalese owe their present moral status. Nothing could have been more repulsive to the sense of moral propriety of the Dutch than the social relations between the sexes among the natives. Polygamists and Polyandrists, just as circumstances favored the one or the other condition, the sacred tie of husband and wife endured only so long as it suited the convenience of the

parties; and though open, and mercenary prostitution was unknown, the relation between the two sexes partook very much of the character of promiscuous intercourse. It was the first care of the Dutch to put an end to so demoralising a state of things. They made polygamy and polyandry criminal offences, and by introducing the Dutch law of marriage and succession to property, admitted the natives to equal civil rights with themselves. And in order to give effect to these measures, they introduced the Thombo or Land Register in which the name of every family was entered together with the name, extent, and description of lands owned by each. The law was made universal in its application and irrespective of caste distinctions—that is, each caste had its own Thombo, and the rights of property of the *Wellale*, the highest caste, and of the *Pudua* the lowest, were secured with the same scrupulous care. The registrars or Thombo holders were called *Pallye Gurunanses*, (church teachers) and were expected to solemnize marriages, register births, prepare candidates for baptism, and bring infants to receive that rite on stated occasions, when the ordained Minister of the district visited the stations in his circuit. The system, regarded from a strictly doctrinal point of view, was no doubt a very lax one, but if it failed to make Christians of the natives, it introduced among them a higher standard of morality. Marriage, being null unless duly registered in the Thombo, assumed the character of a solemn rite, not to be heedlessly invoked and, if once invoked, irrevocable, except through the process of an action for divorce before the Scholarchal Commission. The Dutch law of Matrimonial rights and succession to property remained in force in its perfect integrity until by a Bill passed in the Legislative Council last year, the community of goods between husband and wife, which had hitherto existed under the Dutch law, was abolished as regards future marriages.

While such laws as were deemed necessary for the social and moral improvement of the people were gradually introduced, the Dutch rulers of Ceylon made no violent changes in their customs and usages which were of themselves not *contra bonos mores*. They utilized the old system of village councils for the promotion of agriculture, and hereditary chiefs and headmen were appointed to look after the interests of their respective districts. The ancient system of caste was too firmly rooted in the country to be violently abolished, but the Dutch succeeded in so far modifying its rigid exclusiveness as to give each caste the recognized status of a guild. Honors, rewards, and official rank, were within reach of the deserving of every caste, but so graduated and restricted that one caste could not clash with another or shock the ancient prejudices of the people.

While these efforts were being put forth to ameliorate the social condition of the people, their material well-being was not neglected, and the wisdom of the Dutch policy in this direction is triumphantly vindicated by the magnificent irrigation works, which they built or restored in the Southern and Eastern provinces, while the canal from Colombo to Puttalam, a distance of ninety miles, serves, even at the present day, to recall the importance which the Dutch attached to means of inland navigation.

To judge of what the Dutch did for the island a hundred years ago with their limited resources, by the standard of excellence to which the British have attained a century after, would be both unfair and unjust; but no candid student of the past would lay it to the charge of the Dutch—due allowance being made for the difficulties of their situation, a failing exchequer, and a vigilant foe on their borders to contend against—that they were rapacious rulers, greedy of filling their own pockets at the sacrifice of the moral and material well-being of their subjects. That the Dutch failed and signally failed in their efforts at converting the heathen must be admitted. Perhaps their system was as much at fault, as the old faiths which they attempted to

subvert were impregnable. And yet we cease to wonder at the paucity of results as regards conversions to the Reformed Faith, when we measure them by the standard of recent Protestant statistics, during the seventy five years those Missionary bodies have been carrying on operations here. The American, Baptist, Church, and Wesleyan Missionaries, and the Gospel Propagation Society have labored in the Island for over seventy years, and though the work of evangelization has been carried on with all the ardour of true Missionary zeal, and all the fertility of resources, which the Christian philanthropy of these wealthy societies have placed at their disposal, the annual accessions gained to the Christian ranks bear but a humiliating proportion to the vast efforts put forth. If the taunt "that amongst the multitude of Tamil and Sinhalese converts *there is not a single instance of a Moorman or Mahomedan* who had been induced to embrace Christianity," be true of the Dutch, it is equally so of the Protestant Missionary bodies now labouring in Ceylon. The fanaticism of the followers of Islam has presented such an obstacle that not a single instance of conversion from that faith can be produced even at the present day, and so generally is the imperviousness of the Mohomedan to other religious influences accepted, that no serious attempt has ever been made either by teaching or preaching to bring him within the Christian pale.

Even among professing Christians of the Sinhalese race—the descendants of the converts of the Dutch Missionaries—the stigma "*Sine Christo Christiani*" still has its force, and some of the oldest families among the Singhalese aristocracy, though professing Christians, are Buddhists at heart. We are prepared to concede that the Protestant Missionary bodies, to whom allusion has been already made, have accomplished a vast amount of good, and though the success they have achieved in converting the heathen may be small, it is still something gained in the great cause for which they have been laboring. The little leaven of Protestant Christianity introduced by the Dutch Reformers, if it failed to leaven the whole lump, had yet left here and there in far isolated corners, germs, which in after years under the nourishing care of their successors have struck root and grown into vigorous trees.

Of these we have to speak at greater length when treating of the still surviving Dutch Churches in the island. In the meantime, it may be mentioned here that the descendants of the Dutch Colonists still belong to the faith of their fathers, though in a few instances some of these have been drawn away to join the English communion. At Colombo, Galle, Matura and Jaffna the old Dutch Churches are still maintained, and, though in some trifling points the strict ritual of the parent Church has been departed from, the form of worship is in all essentials the same as that introduced by the early Dutch Colonists.

*Indian Finance Defended: A Refutation of the Opinion too generally held, that British India is overburdened with Debt and Taxation.* London: C. Kegan, Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 1878.

THE object of this brochure is sufficiently described in its title. The writer's facts bear out his main contention; but he greatly overstates his case. Of the 131 millions shown in published statistics as the public debt of India, he seeks to show that only £26,179,672 can be considered as a net liability, the remainder being covered by the amount held by Government of its own securities, £5,903,040; Cash balance in hand, stated as £17,872,534;



Bank shares, £461,875 ; Loans to Municipalities and others £7,226,176 ; reproductive investments in railways, canals, etc, £75,895,878. The overstatement is mainly comprised in the last item, the assumption involved that it will, in the long run, yield a return equal to the interest on the money being far too sanguine. If the capital thus invested were taken at half its nominal value, it would be nearer the truth, we fancy.

On the other side, the writer shows that the net taxation actually borne by the people of India is only £14,294,914, or less than 1s.-6d. per head.

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*Old Ceylon: Sketches of Ceylon Life in the Olden Time.* By John Capper, author of the 'Three Presidencies of India,' 'The Gold Fields,' &c., &c., with illustrations by Ceylon Artists. Colombo: Ceylon Times Press. 1877.

"OLD Ceylon" has disappointed us. We do not know whether we expected too much from its author, but certain it is that an oppressive sense of disappointment weighed upon us as we perused it, and when we came to the end of it, we felt keenly that we missed what we had expected, and that, with what we had found instead, we had reason to be dissatisfied and disappointed. We expected to read glowing descriptions of the customs of the time when English manners began to supplant the Dutch ones, and when there was a sort of struggle for mastery between the habits and manners of the two nations; but we looked for these in vain. It is true that there are reflected in these pages some phases of the state of things existing at the period of which the author is writing, but the little that has been done in this direction does not at all atone for what has been left undone. There were a great many more facilities then, than there are at the present day, for observing the customs and manners of all classes of the natives. As civilization advances, these customs and manners dwindle away, and, in a few years more, there will be nothing to teach the Ceylonese that the customs and manners now in vogue are not like those which existed in the time of their forefathers. This consideration alone ought to have tempted the author of the work before us to have made some of his sketches more comprehensive. There are, we must admit, some sketches portraying a few phases of life 'in the olden time,' but we look in these in vain for a good description of Society.

The first sketch is called 'The Garden of Flowers.' *Malwattie* is the name of a hamlet adjoining the coffee estate on which the writer resided, and which is erroneously said to mean a



garden of flowers. Here Singhalese society in the interior is delineated, though not very faithfully or cleverly, while exaggeration, the ruling spirit of the whole book, is freely indulged in. The author is enchanted with every thing around him, and more especially with the "pretty granddaughter" of a blind old man; to whom, though she is a native of the interior, he gives the name 'Dotchie,' or, as it is more frequently spelt in the same sketch, 'Dochie.' Now, 'Dochie' is only the Dutch familiar for 'Dorothea.' It is true that there are some maidservants in our midst with contracted or corrupted forms of ladies' christian-names, but the idea of giving one of them to a native girl of the interior is not at all a happy one and shows the author's ignorance of native names. Indeed, this ignorance is displayed in another sketch.

The author is so desperately struck with the charms of this 'pretty granddaughter,' who, in turn, shows some regard for him, that when he leaves his estate in quest of coolies, and returns after an absence of two months, to find 'Dochie's little garden' deserted, he is oppressed with a fear of—he knows not what. But the romance does not end here. When he went into his own bungalow, he found a letter awaiting him, in which everything was explained, and that letter was from Dochie herself, informing him that she had gone and married a young Singhalese man to whom she had acted the Good Samaritan, when beaten and robbed. The idea that a native girl of the interior should have written a letter and addressed it to a European is preposterous.

The absence of Dochie's pretty, smiling face so disconcerted him that he could no longer pass, on his way to his estate, the road along which Dochie's house was situated. *Malwattie* was no longer a garden of flowers for him, and, to avoid passing that road, he actually induced the Korale to have another road opened to his estate! And so, to use the author's own words, 'I ever after avoided a spot, the sight of which served but to fill me with vain regrets.'

The second sketch is entitled 'Our Cook's Wedding', and describes the marriage ceremony of a cook belonging to the family of a friend of the author's. This sketch the reader expects to be an interesting one, but it is full of exaggerations and incongruities, and, in the end, the reader fails to understand thoroughly how native marriages were conducted "more than a quarter-of-a-century ago." After the marriage ceremony, the mother drives to the wedding-house, and there, after a series of romantic adventures is engaged in the extraordinary occupation of—feeding the bride at the wedding feast! But let the author here speak for himself. After describing some vain

attempts which the unfortunate bride had made to convey her spoon to her mouth, owing to her dress being too tight, he says :—

“ Her dress was so tight, the ornaments so encompassed her, as with a suit of armour, that all her attempts to reach her mouth with her food were abortive. To bend her arm was evidently impossible. Once she managed to get a piece of ham as high as her chin; but it cost her violent fractures in several parts of her dress, so that I became alarmed for what might possibly happen, and begged her not to think of doing it again, offering to feed her myself. Feverish, thirsty, and weary as I felt at that table, I could scarcely suppress a smile when I found myself, spoon in hand, administering portions of food to the newly-made wife.”

This is, unhappily, too original to have the faintest shadow of truth, and anyone, who has studied the native mind and nature, will see the utter impossibility of this “ spoon performance,” as the writer characterizes it. This stretch of imagination is nearly equalled by a subsequent occurrence, in which, notwithstanding his gallantry, the “ unfortunate bride ” was swept away by the table losing its centre of gravity and carrying her with it. To quote the author’s own words :—

“ It was in vain I pulled at the unhappy bride, to save her; she was a doomed woman, and was swept away with the fruity flood.”

And it was with the utmost difficulty that she was ‘ excavated ’ by our gallant and carried away by her friends. The bride being swept away by “ hetacombs ” of oranges, pyramids of plantains, shoals of sour-sop, mounds of mangoes, to say nothing of alligator-pears, rhumbatans, custard-apples, guavas, jamboes, and other fruit, as varied in name and taste as in line and form, or, as the author afterwards curtly says, by the “ fruity-flood,” by the table losing its “ centre of gravity,” is a very romantic occurrence, related in very high-sounding language, while the archæological feat, of “ excavating ” the bride from under the “ fruity flood,” will not lose one whit of its merit by comparison with the excavations at Anuradhapura, Pillonuvera, or even Mycene.

The third sketch is “ Coffee Planting in the Olden Time.” This is one of the very few sketches in the book which is well-written. It gives the reader a good idea of the working of a coffee estate, some years ago, and the difficulties a planter had to contend with.

“ Dutch Colombo ” is the next sketch. It gives one a fair idea of the condition of Colombo under the Dutch, but, excluding the observances on the arrival of the Spring fleet of ships with Christmas goods from Holland, there is hardly anything said of the ancient customs. ‘ Our Old Clerk ’ is also a sketch in

which the social customs could very well have been introduced. The opening paragraph is worth quoting, and, as a similar description of a warm day occurs in another sketch, it is not uninteresting to compare them both, and to observe the originality of the ideas contained in them.

"The air about the Old Fort walls in the Old Fort streets was still and steaming. Not a leaf or a twig on the *sooriza* trees would have moved for love or money. The sky looked as though it had been black-leaded, and polished for the new monsoon that was making itself heard in the distance, far out at sea. Perspiring sparrows deserted the hot house-tops, crows forgot to "caw," so stifling was the weather in that sultry month of May. (p. 52.)

"Not a breath of air was stirring amidst that dense mass of vegetation; not a twig or a leaf could be persuaded to move; the long and graceful paddy-stalks glittered and sparkled in their watery resting-places, as though they were made of the purest burnished silver. The buffaloes had taken to their noonday watering places. The birds were evidently done up, and were nowhere to be seen; the beetles crawled feebly over the cooler shrubs, but they could not get up a single hum or buzz amongst them all; even the busy little ants perspired, and dropped their lilliputian loads." (p. 185.)

"A Peep at the Perahera" puzzles one a great deal. The writer describes all he sees on his way to the "celebrated Perahera of Catuapura;" he tells the reader all he sees when he arrives there, but when he finds himself on the point of describing the procession of elephants—the Perahera—in the proper signification of the term, he disappoints the reader, who has all the while been skipping over laborious descriptions of scenery, to come to an account of the procession of elephants, by quietly mounting his pony and riding homeward! All that he says of the Perahera itself, is embodied in the last paragraph:—

"When I left Catuapura crowds were still flocking into the town, for on the morrow the huge temple-elephants were expected to march in procession through the place, decked out in all kinds of finery, but it was a wearisome spectacle, and I was heartily glad to find myself once more on my pony quietly winding through green paddy-fields and under shady topes."

"Old English Colombo" describes what Colombo was in its early days, but there is no mention of the manners and customs of the ruling or the ruled. The Fort, "inhabited by young officers," is lengthily described, but beyond this, sketch contains hardly anything of interest.

An account of the work done in "our Coffee-mills" is given, but, in prefacing his remarks, the author, in his anxiety to explain that a description of what goes on in one coffee-mill will represent the work done in all coffee-mills, repeats himself, and makes this explanation in two consecutive pages. In page 164, he says :—

"An account of the processes carried on in any one of these many mills will represent the work of the whole, for although the special arrangements and disposition of drying ground, peeling-house, and picking and packing stores, may differ in certain details, they all follow one general principle."

And in the following page he says :—

"It is not necessary, in describing the process of coffee-curing and packing, as carried on in Colombo, that we should give a sketch of any particular establishment. The mode of procedure is identical in all of them, though there may be modifications of arrangements in some not to be found in others, and some of the larger, or more recently-erected, mills have mechanical appliances for economising labor, not to be found in others. Apart from these arrangements, however, there is no essential difference in any of them."

"A New Year's Day" is exceedingly disappointing. It is the day, above all others, on which the natives may be seen to the best advantage, but beyond a dissertation on the difference between the comfortable dwellings of the Burghers and the whitewashed quarters of Europeans, hardly anything is said.

*Verses: Mostly Written in India.* By G. H. T. London. C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1878.

**T**HOUGH the fact of G. H. T. having written these verses is sufficient proof that he or she is a person of much more than average ability and culture, the verses themselves rise in only one instance, that we have succeeded in discovering, to the level of respectable mediocrity.

The following version of the Tenth Ode of Horace's Second Book is quite equal to most similar attempts :—

LAUNCH out into the open main,  
Or blindly hug the shore?  
Waste in a year a lifetime's gain,  
Or keep a miser's store?  
Do neither; but with aim serene  
Preserve, my friend, the golden mean.

So, free from sordid solitude,  
 You shall not vaunt a full-blown state ;  
 Nor nurse the common envious mood  
 That carps at every palace gate.  
 The lofty pines, when winds assail,  
 Feel most the fury of the gale.

High towers fall heaviest in the squall,  
 (A great man's lot is often hard),  
 And when tho angry lightnings fall,  
 The mountain-tops are ever scarred.  
 You see my drift? Wise men, I say,  
 Fear most when sunned by Fortune's ray.

And adverse times freeze not their hopes,  
 For well they know the selfsame Power,  
 That binds with frost the grassy slopes,  
 Will bring again the summer flower.  
 If now you feel the wintry blast,  
 Think this—the hard times will not last.

Though silent now, who knows but what  
 A note of joy he soon may sing?  
 Shall Fate for ever wound, and not  
 At times, my friend, lay by her sling?  
 When Fortune lours, show heart and pluck,  
 But shorten sail when winds blow luck."

We cannot, however, accord even this measure of praise to the other renderings or imitations.

"To the Old Flame," for instance, not only lacks the peculiar aroma of Horace's muse, but is strongly redolent in places of her of Wapping :

WHAT slip of youth is wooing thee,  
 Bedewed in rose perfumery,  
 In ball-room's cool recess?  
 Sacred that hair to whom—  
 Wanton in golden bloom,  
 Siren of artlessness?  
 Ah! he who woos thee fondly now  
 Shall often mourn thy broken vow,  
 With tearful eye a-grieving;  
 Gazing on stormy sea,  
 Wailing the Fates' decree—  
 Fool for believing!

Fool, not to know the fickle breeze,  
 But ever think to love and please;  
 Ah! Helen, thy soft witcheries  
 Beguile the young untried:  
 I who fell in Love's sea  
 Swam out full speedily;  
 Now as dry as any bone,  
 With a wife of fourteen stone,



And a fortune of her own,  
 Bid I my neighbours see  
 How of Helen's witchery  
 'Scaped I the tide.

The line

With tearful eye a-grieving

is one which, if admissible in any version of Horace at all, would be so only in one written expressly for the fore-castle. Taken as a whole, however, we fear G. H. T.'s imitation of the famous Fifth Ode would be damned by vulgar, as certainly as by cultivated, tastes.

I who fell in Love's sea,  
 Swam out full speedily ;

would be tolerated nowhere out of the nursery. Indeed, we doubt whether it would be tolerated there.

We must, however, do the author the credit of saying that his verses are generally polished in diction and correct in metre. Only they are very seldom poetry.

Though they were mostly written in this country, very few of them have any other connection with India. One, on the Storm-wave of 1876, begins as follows :

I.

BRING the lamp a little nearer,  
 What's the news? I read . . . at first  
 Can scarcely grasp it—till as nearer  
 The words stand out, each reader, hearer,  
 Exclaims with something like a groan,  
 " Good God ! a terrible cyclone  
 Has burst."

II.

Shipping, trees, houses, blown away and shattered !  
 Think of a storm-wave whose destructive sweep  
 Is traced by human bodies, dead and scattered  
 O'er leagues by thousands—as if those lives mattered.  
 No more than sheep.  
 Think of a hundred thousand swept away—  
 Alive to-night, and dead at break of day !

It would have been difficult, we should think, to have described the catastrophe less effectively. But this is among the worst of the verses.

*Disestablishment : A Leading Question of the Day.* Being a Lecture, delivered by Mr. Arthur L. Sykes, at the Old Methodist Chapel, Calcutta, on the 2nd April 1878. Calcutta : Mookerjee and Co., Calcutta Press.

THE purport of this Lecture is sufficiently indicated by the title. The arguments in favour of the general principle of Disestablishment, to which the greater part of the lecture is devoted, have our entire concurrence. On the question of the application of the principle in this country, however, the lecturer strikes us as being somewhat vague. If he denied absolutely the duty of the Government to provide for the spiritual wants of its servants in India under any circumstances, that would be a position which we could understand. But it is not clear that he does this. He rather seems to rest his opposition to such a provision on the assumption that, if it were not made, voluntary effort might be depended on to take its place. He says :—

“Many who are in favor of the general objects of the Indian Disestablishment Society think that provision should always be made by the State for the spiritual needs of soldiers. I do not think so. It is my conviction that the voluntary system would be found capable of making such provision. All spiritual work should be done gratuitously and heartily by the Christian-Church. The men who have to devote themselves entirely to spiritual work should be maintained by those who have not the same gifts. If a Christian Church cannot support itself and its own work, it is not worthy of the name of a Church, and cannot, does not live.”

Looking at the way in which the Christian population in India is scattered, we do not believe that the voluntary system can reasonably be expected to make the required provision. That the expenditure of public revenue on religious ministrations should be reduced to a minimum, and that all personal connection between the Government and such ministrations should be severed, moderate grants in aid to religious societies, so conditioned as to secure a proper provision for the spiritual needs of Government servants, taking the place of a Government establishment, we are prepared to concede. Though this would not meet all the arguments against an Establishment, it would dispose of some of the most important of them, and, at the same time, would render possible a considerable financial saving.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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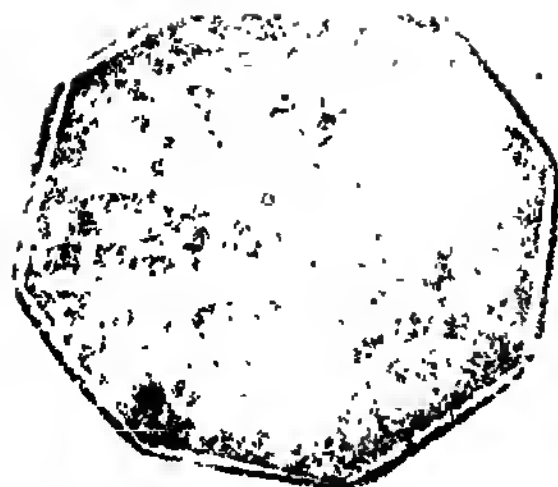
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## Errata.

In the note to page 693, col. 1, line 5, for “and” read “word.”

In note to page 645, for “εἰππον, εἰπωλον, εἰθαλασσου,” read “εἰππον  
εἰπωλον, εἰθαλασσου.”

In page 710, line 10, for “free” read “fact.”

In page 714, line 40, for “toti” read “toto.”

Page 717, line 12, for “Quixot” read “Quixote.”

the peninsula, the stately temple of Dwarka still looks down on the sea, by which dwelt the Yádus of old: midway down the southern coast, close to the little port of Veráwal, are the ruins of Somnáth, the scene of the last invasion of Mahmúd, the iconoclast: eastwards, a few miles up a sea-creek, north-west of the flourishing town of Bhaunagar, the relics and buried buildings of Walá attest the antiquity and greatness of the seat of the Wallabhí dynasty. Southwards from Walá, and equi-distant between it and the southern coast, rises the Shatrúnjaya hill, with its unrivalled crown of Shrávak temples, while in a more central situation, fifty miles due north of Somuáth, towers the much greater hill of Gírnár (3,500 feet), famous not only for its Shrávak temples and other architectural antiquities, but also for the venerable stone of Asoka, coeval with times immediately succeeding those of Alexander the Great. If these places might perhaps be of chief interest to the antiquarian or the historian, there is also no want of attraction either to the lover of scenery or to the lover of sport. On the south, over a large tract of country, from Junagarh south-east towards the sea, stretches the great Gír forest, one

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\* *Report on the Antiquities of Káthiáwád and Kach.* Archæological Survey of Western India, 1874-75. By James Burgess, F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., &c.

of the few remaining habitats of the Indian or Gujarát lion, and the habitat of much other game, both large and small. This forest, however, reeks with malaria, except at the very hottest season, and is not therefore likely to be a place much frequented by visitors. But everywhere throughout the country, north and south, game abounds; while of varied scenery there is no want, nor of pleasant summer-residences by the sea.

The inhabitants of this country are principally Rájputés, who trace their origin variously to the sun, the moon, and the monkey-god; and (as was to be expected from such pedigrees) they are a proud and independent race. Other classes of Hindoos—Vániyas, Kunbís, Kolís, and Nágars—are also well represented, but, mingled with them, are many Mahomedans, of whom the Nawáb of Junagarh holds the highest rank in the province. Several large States are likewise held by the Káthís, a wild and warlike people, who entered in early times from the north and are generally believed to be Scythian. This Káthí portion of the population became, in comparatively recent days, so conspicuously offensive to the Marhattas that the whole peninsula has been called by their name; but in respect neither of numerical strength, nor of original possession, have they any title to the honor.

The number of States and holdings into which the area of this country (about 21,000 square-miles) is parcell'd, amounts to nearly 200, but some of these are so insignificant as not to consist of more than one village or one square-mile of land. Junagarh, Nawánagar, Bhaunagar, Dhrángdhrá, Morví, Gondal, and Porbandar, are the most important States, having the revenues of small principalities. All are supervised more or less by a British Political Agent with five assistants, of whom one is judicial. The head-quarters of the Agency are at Rajkot, where also is stationed a British camp of a regiment-and-a-half of native infantry, a wing of cavalry, and a mule battery of artillery (mountain-train). That is the regular official amount of English influence in this country, with occasional extra politicals for occasional special requirements, but, except through the political officers, the English influence does not make itself very much felt outside of Rajkot, and probably one has better opportunities in Kattywar than elsewhere of being admitted without reserve to a knowledge of native character and of native systems of Government.

The common people are well-to-do, living on a thinly populated and productive soil. Mixed with the nílgai and black buck, large herds of cattle and sheep and goats wander over the plains; but, the shepherds, having a strong sentimental objection to the taking of life, the flocks are, as a rule, maintained only for the sake of their wool and milk. In fact, the traveller through this country may often experience considerable difficulty in gratifying his carnivorous habits, for no compensation, however large, will induce

the poorest shepherd to take a willing part in the crime of converting his flock into mutton. In the absence of real religious objections, the English traveller is driven by necessity to assert his claims to a supply of meat in return for a fully sufficient payment; but it frequently happens that the sowár, or peon sent to enforce these claims, meets with considerable resistance from the shepherd, who, when at last forced to concede what he cannot be forced to sell, may even prefer to save his soul (though not his sheep) by indignantly rejecting the proffered price. The greediest appetite will probably be softened by so very unwilling a separation of the simple shepherd from the object of his care.

The Kattywar horses used to be famous, but they seem to have somewhat deteriorated. Probably, however, this will not be deemed a matter of regret, when we consider the common reason assigned for their degeneration. It is said that, the well-ordered state of the country no longer permitting the nocturnal raids on which the swiftest Káthí mares were formerly employed, the supply of a first-rate quality has naturally diminished with the demand. Still, however, though somewhat light of limb, the Kattywar horses are by no means to be despised, and, so far as my experience goes, are second to no breed known in India, except the Arab.

On the whole, to compare things ancient with modern—and there is much in modern Kattywar to remind us of the most primitive times—a patriotic son of Sauráshtra might not unworthily claim for his land ‘the mighty boast’ vaunted by Sophocles of his mother-city :

Famed in its goodly steeds,  
Famed in its bounding colts,  
Famed in its sparkling sea ;\*

though the other praises sung in that well-known chorus might, as applied to Kattywar, require some modification. The *bulbul* would hardly, from a vocal point of view, be a full equivalent of the nightingale of Colonus, though the majesty, if not the melody, of the peacock is something to be proud of. For ‘the gray green foliage of the olive’ we should have to substitute the cotton plant, which is by far the most important of the products of Kattywar, and is dear to the eyes of the Bombay merchant, if not of Zeus and Athene.

Having premised so far of Sauráshtra in general, I shall now direct my observations towards one particular point of it, the Girnár Hill, which rises on the eastern side of Junagarh, the capital (as I have said) of the chief of highest rank in the province. I have called it ‘the Hill of Sorath’ because Sorath (an abbrevia-

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\* *κύϊππον, ἐύπωλον, ἐύθαλασσαν*, Soph. *œd.* Col. 711. Plumptre’s translation.

tion of Sauráshtra) is the name of that division of Kattywar in which Junagarh is situated.

Recently I visited this hill, in company with my wife and a friend, with the one object of rest and refreshment after work in the heated plains, and I wish to give a short account, in an unscientific sort of way, of its general features and attractions, partly because of the intrinsic pleasure of recording pleasant reminiscences, and partly because I hope that the record may induce others with a similar object to resort to the same scene. This hill and city of Junagarh have not been destitute of previous notice. They have been described by Colonel Tod in his *Western India*, by Mr. Postans, by General Jacob, by Mr. Forbes in the *Rás Málá*, as well as in official papers, and the journals of the Asiatic Society. More recently they have been noticed by Mr. Burgess of the 'Indian Antiquary', and by the writer of an interesting article in last November's number of *Blackwood*. In briefly relating my own observations, I shall therefore endeavour not to go over the ground which has been already traversed.

The city of Junagarh (old fort), anciently called Girinagar, though beautifully situated, does not in itself present anything of remarkable interest. Its principal building, the very elegant mausoleum (*maqbara*) of Májí Sáhiba, mother of the reigning Nawáb, is quite a modern structure. Close to this maqbara we are shown a row of graves, called 'the twelve Sáyyids,' in which are said to be interred twelve brothers who fell in battle, all on the same day. The twelve tombs are certainly there, but whom they cover, and what is their history, are questions of much greater uncertainty.

The Nawáb's palace is a lofty but incommodious building, in the main street of the town, having a stone front, elaborately stuccoed.

The Mahomedan Government of this city is notably tolerant of all creeds, Jains and Hindoos (especially Nágars) being treated with great indulgence. "Hence the chronicler of Sorath, himself a Nágar, writes: "Here the Musalman nobles despise not the tenets of the Hindoo, while the sons of the Nágars peruse in these gardens the sweet Gulistán and Bostán."

The streets are neither trimmer nor sweeter than those of other native towns; but all the houses are built of stone, and among them are several handsome edifices. The population is about 19,000.

But, looking above the town to a sort of natural platform between it and the mountain, we are struck with the venerable and picturesque ruins of the lordly Uparkot, whose uncertain date carries us back into mythical ages. The writer of the *Tawárikh-i-Sorath* tells us that it is commonly believed that the Uparkot was



built during the reign of Rájá Ugrasen, king of Mathurá, in the time of Krishna; and that when the Yádus fled from Mathurá to Sorath they found refuge in this fortress. It is undoubtedly of very great antiquity. Colonel Tod says of it: "If there could be a doubt as to the antiquity of the city, the appearance of the citadel would remove it. Every stone carries us back to the days when the Chapun Kula Yádu, 'the fifty-six Yádu tribes,' had paramount sovereignty in India. Whatever period may be assigned to the sway of Shámuáth (afterwards deified) in Sauráshtra, there is no doubt that a Yádu prince ruled here when Canac-shen, the Ráma's ancestor from Lokote, in the Punjab, conquered Balcadés in the second century."\* The wall of the fort, with its eighty-four towers, is built of stones excavated from the surrounding moat.

But we must not at present give further attention to this majestic fortress or its rock-cut subterranean chambers. At this time of year, when the heat of the sun, refracted from the mountain, is almost unbearable, it is better not to linger in the valley, and so, after sleeping one night in the bungalow kindly provided by the Darbár for travellers, we will, if you please, suppose ourselves to be starting at 5 A.M., on a mid-May morning, to ascend the Hill of Protection† which stands invitingly before us.

After driving through the streets of the town, and passing the Uparkot on our left, we emerge through the Wagheshwarí gate on the south-east corner of the city wall. From this point the traveller has to choose between walking and a *doli*; the pathway is too narrow and rough to admit of other means of locomotion. Most people will probably prefer the means with which they are supplied by nature; but the *doli*, a sort of legless armchair, supported on poles, like a Roman 'sella,' is a useful alternative for ladies and invalids, and is easily procurable.

Passing on through a narrow gorge, skirted on each side by stunted groves of teak, custard-apple, dhák, caranda, and other trees and creepers, we reach, at about a mile's distance from the city, the celebrated stone on which are inscribed the edicts of Asoka, more than two thousand years old. These famous edicts, which are also found on similar stones in Orissa and the Yusufzai district near Afghanistan, are so well-known that they need only be briefly noticed here. To a full and exact translation, Mr Burgess has added, in his newly-published work, beautiful photographs of the inscriptions.

It appears that Asoka was himself a convert to the Buddhist faith, and certainly his edicts would seem to display a convert's uncompromising zeal. No life is to be taken: public morality

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\* Tod's *Western India*, p. 364.

† Avantigir: one of the names of Girnár.

must be strictly observed : no festivities are to be held : *dharma* and religious peace must everywhere be all in all. Dr. Hunter, in his *Orissa*, gives an interesting description of the Dhauli edicts, which are identical with the first eleven of these. The difference is that this stone has three additional edicts, and these three are important, especially the thirteenth, which (though much impaired) gives the names of four contemporary Greek kings, supposed to be Antiochus II, Ptolemy II, Antigonus Gonatas, and Magas of Cyrene.\* There are also two other inscriptions † on this stone besides those of Asoka, but these, treating mostly of repairs to the road and the Sudarshan reservoir and being of less antiquity, are of somewhat inferior interest.

The great stone, however, like some other great things, makes no great show. Lying inconspicuously on the right of the path, at the back of the temple of Rám Jánki, it is likely enough to escape altogether the observation of the passer-by. It is partially sheltered by a tiled, but apparently leaky, roof, supported on stone pillars. Perhaps it deserves more consideration, though now it is much better cared for than it was. Turning away from this gray granite manuscript, so little changed after twenty centuries, I could not help thinking of Matthew Arnold's lines on the youth of Nature, and of the brief insignificance of the longest generations of men—

Race after race, man after man,  
Have dream'd that my secret was theirs,  
Have thought that I liv'd but for them,  
That they were my glory and joy.  
They are dust, they are chang'd, they are gone.  
I remain.

Advancing up the valley of the Sonarekh—in which it is said that gold has been found, though whether the name has come from the gold, or the hope of gold from a misleading name, I cannot pretend to say—through a ravine, growing more and more romantic as the wooded slopes on each side rise higher, we cross a small picturesque stone-bridge on to a stone-paved causeway, and presently reach the Damodar temple on the bank of a sacred pool of the Sonarekh, where, during this month of special sanctity, ‡ hundreds of women bathe daily. The whole vicinity of this pool is held in great veneration, and the place is covered with little shrines, fat brahmans, and naked devotees. There is also a burn-

\* Speier's *Life in Ancient India*. p. 240.

† Of Rudradámá, and of Skandha Gupta.

‡ Adhik, the intercalary month of the Hindoo calendar. It is inter-

calated every  $3\frac{1}{4}$  years by doubling one of the six months from Chaitra to Asho. This year the doubled month was Jeth : the first of the two Jeths is Adhik.

ing-place, whence the ashes of the dead are mingled with the living stream; and, curiously enough, close to this spot a Mahomedan Fakir has built himself a cell. The fish, which five years ago abounded in this part of the river, seem now to have disappeared. I suppose an increase of talkative bathers has been followed by a proportionate diminution of the silent swimmers. Whatever the fish may think of it, however, the scene by the tank is attractive enough to a traveller's eyes this morning. The gay and varied dresses of the women reflected in the water, the hum of life, the sacred bells, the pretty shrines backed by the dark hills, with the joy of the morning over all, are a very fascinating combination of vivid sight and sound. It is sad that man (as distinguished from woman) should be the one disfigurement in the scene. The naked ascetics who keep for ever shrieking discordantly \* 'alak, alak,' and the greedy, lazy priests, mumbling mystic nonsense, are objects sufficiently humiliating to one's pride in masculine humanity. All along both sides of the path are spread brahmans' cloths, into which each woman, as she passes from the bathing, drops a pinch of grain, adding a cheap sense of charity to that of general purification. A seer or two of mixed grains will thus be collected in one cloth in the course of a day. Hence the path leads us in a quarter of an hour to the temple of Bhavanáth, with its dark-shadowed grove of fine banyans and tamarinds, thickly-peopled by monkeys. The new-risen sun now emerges to view, flooding the valley with saffron haze, but, as we take a slight turn to the right, it is henceforth concealed behind the mountain, whose prominent boulder, the Bhairava Jap, stands out in black relief against the bright cold background of blue.

Three-quarters of a mile further on, are five small shrines called the Páñch Pándavs, and here the actual ascent may be said to begin, though for some time we have been gradually rising. The path is steep, but not difficult, and from this point an ordinary walker may reckon on reaching the first group of temples in an hour-and-a-half. The irregular granite blocks which form the first portion of the ascent, are on the whole not so tiresome as the regular flight of worn stone steps which latterly prevail. There are five rest-houses (*deras* or *parabs*) conveniently placed for the comfort of the traveller; while for his spiritual refreshment the views throughout are magnificent. Deep-wooded basins on either side, glittering in the morning sunlight, and chequered only by the filmy shadows of ever-flitting clouds, contrast grandly with the deep shade of the bald granite boulders in front. The retrospect-

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\* This mystic word—the more uttered it. It is thought to be a corruption of "alakshya," the incomprehensible. The syllable "Om" is somewhat similar.

ive sight of Junagarh, the Uparkot, and distant Vanthali, with the Musulman sanctuary of Dálár in the foreground, is also very fine, but the view in this direction is of course grander, because more extensive, from the top. At the fifth rest-house (*málí parab*), the weary pilgrim may obtain a draught of deliciously-cold spring water. Near this place we pass several caves, inhabited by very hideous asectics, whose only coverings are ashes and long matted hair; but, in spite of their frightful appearance, they seem to be harmless creatures, and I dare say they would be very glad to give up this wild sort of life if they could.

The accommodation on the hill for Europeans is not extensive. There are, however, two rooms (of which one has been built very recently) adjoining the guard-room of the temple of Nímnáth, which may be used as residences. There is no space sufficiently level for a tent, nor would tents on such a windy height be at all comfortable. But the fresh and invigorating air of the hill, the magnificent views of the valleys below, and the innumerable objects of interest immediately around, are a very liberal compensation for the temporary absence of a few creature-comforts.

The whole hill being held sacred by the Jains, the sacrifice of life of any sort is most strictly forbidden; and, if any one were to be so foolish as to set this prohibition at nought, he would certainly incur unpleasant consequences and would probably be driven from the hill. We therefore thought it expedient to send back to Junagarh some live fowls which had been brought up with a view to replenish the larder, but it was very easily arranged that the necessary supplies should be sent up to us every day from the town. Having made this very small concession, we found the priests of all the temples not only conciliatory, but positively obliging. In this matter, as well as in other arrangements, we were guided by the advice of our friend Majmudár Manishankar Jetháshankar, a native of Junagarh, whose local knowledge and friendly assistance largely contributed to our enjoyment. He very kindly ascended the hill in order to keep us company; and with him came also his friend Mr. Wallabhjee, who having a good knowledge of Sanscrit, was skilful in deciphering inscriptions. The spontaneous attentions of these two gentlemen we shall not soon forget.

The temple of Nímnáth, adjoining which were the rooms in which we were lodged, is about 2,700 feet above the level of the sea, and 600 feet below the first peak, on which stands the far-seen Ambá Mátá. It is the first, and greatest, of a group of Shrábak temples situated on a sort of terrace on the mountain side. The temples of this group are surrounded by a wall, or kot, and it appears that all of them were original-



ly palaces of the old Chorásamá kings, and that afterwards they were converted to their present religious use. There is very little doubt that this is the fact, though it is a fact which is not unnaturally distasteful to the Shrábak community. Standing on the west face of the cliff, and overhanging the valley 2,000 feet below, these palace-temples extend northwards in the following order. First, the wall-surrounded group which consists of five temples, known respectively as Nímnáth, Panchabhai, Rishabhdev, Merakvasí, and Sanghárám Soní. Then, in the same line, but somewhat detached, is the temple of Kumárpál; while on the opposite side of the pathway stands Rá Khengár's mchel (palace), sometimes called Raja Somprati's temple, and the beautiful triple sanctuary of Vastupál Tejpál. The above are by far the finest of the Jain temples on Gírnár, though few others, less rich and more recent, occur on the higher slopes. All are noticeable, inside and outside, for their beautiful finish and symmetry, and especially for the delicate carving of their vaulted roofs and pillars. They consist of a shrine (gambhára), generally at the east, but in one or two instances at the west end, opening into one or two entrance-chambers, or halls (sabhá-mandap or rangmandap). Externally, the first temple is that generally known as Rá Khengár's mchel, the graceful dignity of its carved walls and portico being well set-off by its position on a commanding brow of the hill. The two interior *mandaps* have vaulted circular roofs richly carved, but the carving in this temple, as also in others, has been a good deal damaged, probably by fanatical Mahomedans of Alláhau'ddín's time and later. The finest and best-preserved specimens of carving are those of the two central chambers in the north and south corridors enclosing the court of the Merakvasí temple. The stone roofs of these chambers are marvels of lace-like lightness, and are said to resemble in style the carving of certain Jain temples in Ceylon. In this Merakvasí temple, as also in that of Sanghárám Soní, the special peculiarity is that its shrine is on the west side instead of the east. This is explained by the supposition that, these temples having been originally palaces and happening to be enclosed on the west, it was found convenient in adapting them to religious purposes to convert the enclosed portion into a shrine. The Sanghárám Soní temple indeed gives other indications of such an adaptation. Its whole structure is far more that of an ancient residence than a place of worship. Not only is the western inclosure far larger and loftier than the ordinary shrines—more like a habitable chamber—but the solid stone pillars of the handsome mandap support a spacious upper hall, with sides open to the air and seats placed along the balconies whereon to rest in the shade. This upper chamber is just such a room as a wealthy



native might now-a-days build as a place of lounge and airy recreation. The marble images in the shrines both of this temple and of Merakvasí are those of Sheshphano Párisnáth, that is to say, the twenty-third Tirthankar, canopied by the hood of the eternal serpent, the couch of Vishnu and stay of the world. In the Merakvasí temple we may notice the fine and curious carvings on the doorways and ceilings, especially a remarkable device, over the east entrance, of five human bodies joined together in one head. In the Rishabhdev temple there is not much to notice except a great image of the first Tirthankar, 12 feet high by 10 at the base: like all other similar images, it is in a cross-legged sitting posture. In this temple is also a tablet, dedicated Samvat 1509 (A. D. 1452), containing small images of the Tirthankars in twenty-four separate cells or compartments.

The triple temple of Vastupál Tejpal, the vaulted roofs of which are magnificently carved, was erected, as we are informed by one of its inscriptions, in Samvat 1286 (A. D. 1229). In the shrine of the middle temple is an image of Malináth, the nineteenth Tirthankar. The side temples contain huge mountain-like pedestals, diminishing from the base upwards, and surmounted by four marble images called Chaumukh.

But the temple of Nímnáth, the largest, costliest, and most important of all, deserves to be described more particularly. It is very old; though coatings of whitewash, supplied with more liberality than taste by a wealthy Bombay merchant, have recently endued it with a comparatively youthful appearance. The priest in attendance assures us that its age is not less than four thousand years: an assurance which we must receive with the greater hesitation on account of its utter incompatibility with another of this same gentleman's statements, that it has never at any time been used for any other purpose than Jain worship.

The temple proper is divided into two large apartments and a shrine (east). The western apartment is chiefly remarkable for two large altar-like erections covered with more than eight hundred patterns of pairs of feet of Shrábak disciples. These symbols, ridiculous as they appear, are so sacred that we are not allowed to touch them with our hands. Both erections have inscriptions, somewhat interfering with the regularity of the rows of feet, bearing date respectively Samvat 1694 and 1695 (A. D. 1637 and 1638). In this apartment we were also shown several mixed-metal (*páñch dhātu*) relics, dug up about eighteen months ago in the courtyard of Rá Khengár's palace. Of these relics five seemed to be of one piece,—two separate and similar pieces of Bimalnáth (thirteenth Tirthankar) with an attendant, the two separate canopies for these pieces, and an elaborate singhásan, or base, to support the whole. The figure-pieces bear date Samvat

1523 (A. D. 1466). The Singhásan is ornamented with elephants and lions, flanked on the left by a six-headed image of Kártik Swámí, mounted on a peacock, and on the right by a four-armed goddess, holding in one of her right hands a goad (*āṅkas*), in one of her left a cobra. It was pointed out by Mr. Wallabhjee that the necklace on this figure exactly resembles similar ornaments of modern workmanship. We were not, however, able to discover whom it was meant to represent. All these metal relics are in very good preservation. With them, at the same time and place, were discovered several marble Tirthankars which are now in the central mandap of Rá Khengár's mehel.

The western apartment of Nímnáth leads into the central room (or rangmandap) which is also entered from outside by the main door on the south. On either side of this main entrance stand stone dwárpáls, or sentries, while in a shrine on the right is a small red image of Ambá Deví, who is thus honoured as the Kuldeví of Nímnáth and also perhaps as being the general protectress of the whole hill. The rangmandap is a fine room supported on massive pillars of granite and beautifully paved with 'swastiks'\* and other devices in different marbles. The middle mosaic, ten feet square with a 'swastik' in the centre, is particularly elaborate. On two of the pillars Mr. Wallabhjee was able to read inscriptions, dated respectively Samvat 1333 and 1339 (A. D. 1276 and 1282), which prescribed the amount of worship to be daily performed in the temple. The vaulted stone roof is embellished by sixteen large figures, one male and fifteen female, supposed to be Krishna and the milkmaids. There would not be anything necessarily incongruous in such representations in a temple of the Jains; but may not these particular figures belong to those very ancient times when "the illustrious Harivansa celebrated famous sacrifices and magnificent festivals on this Girnala"? † Chandeliers and glass-globes hang from the ceiling, while from the pillars and walls are suspended heavy bells and hideous kettledrums; but evidently these last are intended rather to be heard than seen.

The rangmandap opens into the eastern shrine, where sits crosslegged, stately, a large black image of Nímnáth, profusely decorated with gold. This Nímnáth is the twenty-second of the 24 Tirthankas, or saints, who, on the bridge of their virtues, have 'crossed over' from the woes of existence to a state of final emancipation. The creed is a very cold one, and, though it forbids the taking of life, it does not appear to infuse into its followers

\* The 'Swastik' is a mystic figure, cruciform, of lucky omen, and resembles the fylfot of English heraldry. It is also the sign of the seventh Tirthankar. See note on p. 56 of Vol. I of Forbe's *Rās Málá*.  
† Tod's *Western India* p. 516: translation of Girnár inscriptions.

any of the old Buddhist enthusiasm, or even a desire to alleviate this 'weary strife of frail humanity' which it so much deprecates.

One day, after inspecting this temple, we were invited to be present at the Artí, or evening service before the shrine. The ceremony on this occasion was to be of more than usual magnificence in honour of some wealthy Vániyas who had that day come up from Junagarh. So investing our unholy boots in the cloth slippers supplied by the priest we entered the rangmandap by the south door and witnessed a very interesting scene. The whole interior was ablaze with light, through which, from the east, the black eyes of the idol stared with a distant but awful solemnity. The gaily-dressed worshippers were assembled in the mandap, the men seated confronting one another in opposite rows, while the women stood retiringly in a group behind. Deafening was the clatter of bells and drums, and blinding the glitter of the coloured dresses and chandeliers: through all, and above all was felt the presence of that cold yet powerfully passive gaze, a striking symbol of that divine aloofness which is already the reward of the Tirthankar. Though very far from admiring the Jains, or the Jains' religion, most of us, I think, will find something to admire in so complete a manifestation of the Lucretian 'divô m natura.'

*'Semota ab nostris rebus sejunctaque longè.'*

There seemed to be no other pújá but the noise and glitter. A priest did indeed keep swinging a lamp backwards and forwards before the shrine, but this was rather to show off the image than for any other purpose.

Perhaps, however, of all the objects in the Nímnáth precincts, that which will most interest the ordinary tourist is the marble figure of Párisnáth, famous as the *amijhara*, or, sweating statue. Why it should be famous is not very clear, but probably it owes much of its celebrity to the awe-inspiring cavern in which it is placed. After groping blindly through a dark passage and abrupt descent, suggestive of Avernus, and coming suddenly face to face with the white image in a dark weird chamber, its bright, cold, stately appearance is certainly rather startling. If a pious pilgrim at such a time should be told that the image has miraculous power, it is probable that the state of his feelings would not be greatly shocked by the assertion. And so it has been for a long time asserted that this image has a miraculous power of perspiration. It is called the *amijhara*, or nectar-fount (*amrit jhara*), and holy water is supposed to exude through its marble pores. It is likely enough, as the writer of the article in November's *Blackwood* has pointed out, that drops of water resembling perspiration may be seen on the image on certain occasions; but I doubt whether that writer's theory is altogether sufficient to ex-

plain the phenomenon. He thinks that the outside hot air, drawn in by attraction, added to the warm breath of the visitors, will be naturally condensed on the cold marble; but though I saw the statue at a time when, if ever, these conditions must have been exactly fulfilled, *i.e.*, at 9 A. M. on a mid-May morning,\* with seven or eight companions in the cell, of which the air was close and heated almost to suffocation, still there was no appearance whatever of moisture on the Tirthankar. And as Mr. Manishankar tells us that the perspiring period is known to be in the monsoon, I strongly suspect that the perspiration is nothing more miraculous than drops of rain which have trickled into the cell through its porous roof and walls. The position of the image, with its back against the subterranean wall, would help to support this suspicion, but in any case I am persuaded that the perspiration is rather the effect than the cause of the veneration in which the image is held. If it had not been placed in such mysterious seclusion, we should not have heard of its miraculous sanctity.

The image is of the regular type common to all the Tirthankars: a figure seated, with hands resting crosswise on crossed silver feet, and expressive, in every respect, of repose. Its height is about four feet. I could not see the slightest sign of what Mr. Burgess mentions as "a slight hollow in the shoulder *said* to have been caused by water that used to drop from the ear," though I examined this part very carefully. The ears, like those of other Tirthankars, are so long and straight that the lobes reach down to combine with the shoulders, but the closest scrutiny will not reveal any other peculiarity. In the same cell is a white statue of Ninnáth, recognised by his sign, the *shankh*, on the pedestal, for I may remark that, as a rule, the Girnár statues of Ninnáth are *black*, agreeing with the colour of his reputed cousin, Shrí Krishna *ghanshyám*. The enclosed passages (*bhāmti*) surrounding three sides of the court of the Ninnáth temple, contain sixty-two cells with small images of Parisnáth, while in the centre of the court, and close to the east end of the temple, is a large shrine of the Hindu Mahádev.

But though every ledge and peak of this mountain reminds us of its religious antiquity, and the very air seems to be conscious of that hushed serenity which pervades holy grounds, the numberless objects of natural scenery are hardly less interesting than the architectural monuments. Out of a dense undergrowth of wild

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\* A saturated atmosphere being one of the conditions, they would not be completely fulfilled on a May morning, when the air is comparatively dry and the additional moisture caused by the breath would

be readily absorbed. The fact that the phenomenon takes place in the monsoon months would tend to confirm the explanation offered by the writer in *Blackwood*. Ed. *Calcutta Review*.



figs and buteas, and small blackberried shrubs called, *beldā*, rise, tier after tier, huge boulders of granite, commanding views upwards to the shrine-capped peaks, and downwards over the far-spread plains extending to the sea. Midway in air light veils of cloud and wheeling kites swim gracefully, relieving the sheen of the sunlit valleys with ever-varying shadows. Of the great boulders, the most conspicuous is the Bhairava Jap, or Lover's Leap, an immense granite mass, which stands out boldly on the northern side of the mountain and impends threateningly over a sheer fall of 2,000 feet. Nor is it wanting in awful traditions equally interesting with its appearance. It is said that those who hurl themselves hence, not only escape the miseries of this world, but at once become kings and priests in paradise; a transition which would naturally commend itself to those who feel that caste-degradation is a burden greater than they can bear. Accordingly, Colonel Tod remarks that the ambitious victims of this deadly leap "are never of the higher class, but consist of those who cannot be exalted by any ordinary effort of their own in this life." There is no doubt that in former times this desperate deliverance has been frequently resorted to, nor would native religion or native sentiment prevent its being resorted to now-a-days. Also local testimony of the most credible kind is to the effect that, within living memory, several instances of such self-destruction have undoubtedly occurred. The evidence of Bāwa Shivadās on this point (p. 33), agreeing as it does with the popular belief, deserves to be treated with some respect. Tod records that his friend, Mr. Williams, who was here at an assembly of 12,000 pilgrims in 1812, heard of one—but only one—person who "made the leap to Bhiroo, and he was a poor wretched creature." At the same time, it is not improbable that several other instances have occurred, quite unknown to Europeans, or indeed to any except the native community of the immediate neighbourhood. It is probable also that, if an instance were to occur in these days, the Junagarh darbār would be careful to suppress its publication.

There are two directions in which made steps and pathways enable us to explore the mountain with comparative facility—one ascending eastwards to the peaks, the other descending to Hanumān Dārā on the north.

Let us take the descent to Hanumān Dārā first. But before going down we have to ascend 200 feet to the temple of Mahādev, where is a sacred cistern called *gaomukh*, green and pretty after the monsoon, but at this time of year dusty and dry. The cistern is fed by a spring which flows through a cow's mouth carved in the rock.

Hence we take the northerly pathway, and, looking down on the group of Jain temples, and from constantly shifting points of



view, the same wide range over the plains, we come, after half an hour's walk, to the hermitage of Rámanauda's feet, where dwells the venerable Báwa Shivadás, just under the base of the Bhairava Jap. This Báwa is by far the most ancient *jogi* on the mountain, and appears to have lived in these same cells longer than 'the oldest inhabitant' can remember. Originally he came from the Punjáb, and he spoke of a recollection of Simla, Subáthu, and Murree. But he added that he had been here since the first Siege of Bhurtpore, which took place (he averred) in 1781, when he was 25 years old. The actual date of this Siege, however, was 1805, so, if we accept, with this amendment, the Báwa's statements as to himself, he will now be 97 years old—an age which, though probably rather above than under the truth, is not altogether an impossibility. There is no doubt that in the popular belief the Báwa is accredited with any age between 100 and 125, and in proportion with this belief is the great respect in which he is held. He is a very pleasant old personage, intelligent and conversable, and more refined in manner and appearance than any other hermits whom we met. He was able to tell us a good deal about the victims of the Bhairava Jap, whence he says he has seen about thirty dash themselves to destruction. Once he saw three men, bound together by *dhotees*, take the leap all at once; but this happened ten or twelve years ago. About five years since, a Káthí grássia, weary of mortal vexations, came up the hill, determined to avail himself of the Bhairava Jap's consolation, but he was diverted from his purpose by the Báwa. This desperate dandy (for he had dressed himself in his grandest apparel) was afterwards led down the hill between two Arab guards, under whose tutelage he appears to have come to his saner senses. But it is not difficult to believe that hundreds of people in this country, by whom—and especially by the Káthís—opium is largely eaten, may often arrive at that morbid mood to which the leap of death would be welcome.

This same Báwa Shivadás was seen in this place more than six years ago by the writer of the *Blackwood* article already referred to; and Mr. Burgess also mentions having seen him in 1869. Hence a short round along the steep face of the cliff brings us to the Patthar Chattí hermitage, from which an *aghorí* is said to have been driven by the miraculous sanctity of a hermit, who proved his superior right of possession by licking (*chátná*) a piece off a granite stone. A similarly childish legend is told to explain the origin of the name of the Devil's Dyke in Sussex.

The *aghorí* I may mention, is the filthiest specimen of a human jackal. He belongs to a sect of semi-religious semi-monstrous devotees, who in days gone by are said to have haunted the wilds of this mountain, and especially the desolate summit named after Káliká Má. To Káliká Má, the dread goddess Kálí, these *aghorís* devote themselves; and their devotion consists in performing the

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horriddest penances and in eating loathsome carrion and raw human flesh. It is even said that they will seize and devour any human creature on whom they can lay hands. But the utter hideousness of such filthy cannibalism has naturally reduced the number of its votaries ; and *aghoris*, if they exist at all, do not exist on the Gírnár now.

From Patthar Chhattí a very steep series of more than 2,500 steps, leading down the almost perpendicular face of the mountain, brings us to a point in the valley below where there is a small shrine of Nímnáth's *paglán* (feet) under the shade of magnificent mangoes. The shelter of the trees is very refreshing on this hot May afternoon, and hence, after a mile's rough walking over the dry stone bed of a torrent and through dense tangles of jungle, inhabited by panthers, sámbar, cheetull and hyénas, we come at last to the Hanumán Dárá, a *kund* and shrine of the monkey-god. And here, if anywhere, amidst the silence of these primeval trees, with beautiful views across the deep valleys of the encircling hills, the divinity of the woods and all Hindu dryads would surely choose to dwell. Probably there is not, in the length and breadth of India, a spot more silent or more secluded.

The returning climb up the long steep steps, under the impending crags of the massive Bhairava Jap, is a rather wearisome one, but it may be comfortably managed in a *doli*.

After one night's rest at the Nímnáth hostel we will follow the upward, and more frequented, route to the Gírnár peaks. On our right, after passing under an archway as we commence the ascent, a large inscribed stone is pointed out, but the letters appear to be much worn by weather, and have never, I believed been deciphered\*. Past the Mahadev temple, up the steep steps worn by pilgrim feet and indented by pilgrim staves, we come to the ancient temple of Ambá on the first of the Gírnár summits. Hence the easterly view of the higher peaks is one of almost terrific grandeur : westwards the peaceful plains of Sorath stretch far away to the Barda hills. The structure of the temple is solid and simple ; and simple also is the ugly red image of the ancient Mátá in the eastern shrine. The interior of the temple is as black with smoke as its external walls with age ; and perhaps the minds of the ministering priests are not much cleaner than their building. For, as I sat meditating on the view from the western porch, one of these pújáris, creeping up furtively, begged me to give him some brandy, and he smuggled away a whole bottle of that stimulant in a most unpriestly fashion. He was fearful, he said, lest his sins should be exposed by the Junagarh man who had come as my guide, and who happened at that particular time to be behind the temple.

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\* Another longish oval stone, about 10 feet by 12, inscribed with characters apparently resembling those of the Asoka edicts, is to be seen near the Bhimkund. But the letters of this inscription also have been much defaced by exposure.

Over all the priests and hermits of these heights brandy has a most conciliating influence, and brandy is therefore a useful accompaniment to any one who wishes to find expert guides in exploring the intricate recesses of the hill. This particular *pújári* followed me spontaneously throughout the rest of my walk, and even volunteered to be my guide to the unexplored terrors of *Káliká Má*.

Between *Ambá Mátá* and *Káliká Má*, the western and eastern peaks of the ridge, intervene four other summits of which *Gorakhnáth* and *Datátri* are the highest. And these two highest, but these two only, are accessible by flights of narrow stone steps from *Ambá Mátá*. A descent of about 100 feet brings us to the base of *Gorakhnáth*, up which the ascent (of about 500 feet) is rather steep. Both on the ascent and descent of *Gorakhnáth*, towards *Ambá Mátá* and towards *Datátri*, we pass a *bor* bush (*zizyphus jujuba*) covered with the votive rags of pilgrims; and the pilgrims themselves, of whom many are women, salute us with great good-humour, as though in this high and holy air all ephemeral differences of race and religion should by common consent be forgotten. Noticeable also are the thousands of piles of little stones along the pathways, erected (as I was told) by the pilgrims as symbolic of mansions not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens.

*Gorakhnáth*, the culminating point of *Girnár*, is nearly 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, or about the height of *Snowdon*. Its granite summit is bold and bare, but on it grows one single banyan, the solitary child of these barren crags, known to be at least 30 years old and probably much older. The tree, which is now only two feet high, has a continual struggle for existence, for, though at this season healthy enough, it suffers an annual blight and decay during the four months of constant monsoon. Besides the feet of its patron saint, this *Gorakhnáth* summit is capped by a shrine containing the '*paglán*' of *Nímnáth*, erected five years ago by a Baboo of *Moorshedabad*.

A very steep climb, down and up, takes us in about 20 minutes from *Gorakhnáth* to *Datátri*. The last hundred and fifty steps are in fact nothing but a corkscrew staircase hewn in the perpendicular rock, and in scaling them the hands are not less helpful than the feet. On the summit is a hexagonal shrine, dated 1830 (*Samvat* 1887), containing the usual pair of feet: the two pillars of the shrine facing S. E. are *dwárpáls* or *chobdárs*. *Datátri*, though not quite so high as *Gorakhnáth*, commands more extensive views over the three beautiful valleys of *Darwál* on the north, *Súrgakund* on the east, and *Boriá* on the south: on the west the view is intercepted by *Gorakhnáth*, a magnificent object in itself.

No pilgrims, and but few adventurers, undertake the pathless and perilous journey to the farthest peak of *Káliká Má*, the

ancient home of *aghorís* and shrine of their patroness Kálí. So at Datátri, as the terminus of pilgrimage, every pilgrim lays down his staff. Hence it may be inferred that by counting the staves we might form some idea of the number of pilgrims. But such an inference would be very misleading, for many of the sticks are stolen or sold by the priest in charge of the shrine. Nor is it, otherwise, easy to determine the average number of visitants, though probably we shall not be far wrong if we estimate them at 100,000 annually. At the Nímnáth temple, at Gaimukh Kund, at Báwa Shivadás' cell, and at Patthar Chatti, pilgrims are fed gratuitously, and it is reckoned, from the consumption of food, that those so fed must number about 50,000 in the year. It is likely that at least an equal number would undertake the pilgrimage at their own charges. Two fairs are annually held—one on Shivarátri at Bhavanáth, the other on Chaitra Punam Shudh on the hill—when the concourse of pilgrims is especially large. On the other hand, during the months of monsoon, the sacred hill is almost unvisited. A party of several women and a man, sitting outside the Nímnáth temple, explained that they had come on foot from Brindában, taking eight months on the road. They had supported themselves on alms bestowed at the different shrines. Hence they go on to Dwárká. A hideous old jogí from Lucknow, clad only in paint, told a similar story. The proximity of Dwárká must considerably increase the number of pilgrims and the fame of Giruár.

Below Datátri, a last flight of steep steps takes us to the Kumandal Kund, a lovely reservoir of spring-water, fringed with maidenhair fern. The general absence of ferns from this mountain is somewhat remarkable, and this maidenhair of Kumandal was all that I could find. This spot is the starting-point for those who desire to conquer Kaliká: and, as I was here at 8 A. M., I thought I should like to try—my spiritual friend of the Ambá Mátá being also favourable to the attempt. But, after we had gone a third of the distance, we found it necessary to return. Progress over the huge granite boulders, with thorny brushwood intervening, could only be painfully slow: we could not have reached the peak till noon, or have returned till night-fall: we had no provisions, and the May sun was blazing overhead. Kálíká Má therefore remains a mystery to be enquired into hereafter. But I do not doubt that the enquiry would be easy to any one who should start at sunrise, and return in the afternoon, after resting in the goddess' caverns during the mid-day heat. But it is time to close this rambling account of our rambles. I have endeavoured, in this inadequate description, to indicate only the leading features of the mountain itself, and have said nothing of the surrounding valleys. Other

objects of interest abound in this locality and perhaps a year's residence, not a week's visit, would barely suffice to discover them all.

At Junagarh, we were kindly received by H. H. the Nawáb and his son, Prince Bahádur Khán. The Nawáb is the seventh in descent from a soldier of fortune, Sher Khán Bábí, who in the thick of Marhatta interference and general anarchy, took and retained these lands for himself, at the time when Clive was conquering Bengal. *Stet fortuna domûs.* And long may this land, so naturally favoured, be blessed with the fruits of a good and wise Government.

And now, as we return to our duties in the dusty plains, that wonderful hill of romance and religion fades slowly behind us; but out of sight is not out of mind.

C. M.

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## THE HOUSE OF 'OTHTMAN.

PART II.—(*Continued from the CALCUTTA REVIEW, No. CXXXIII, for July 1878*).

**S**ULTAN MUHAMMAD ABU'L FATH (the Father of the Conquest) left two sons, Báyzíd and Jam. The former, by a donation of money, gained over the Janissaries, and the rest of the army followed their lead. This donation to the regular troops became henceforth a custom observed on the accession of every Sultán, and was a direct incentive to the all-powerful Janissaries in after times to change the succession upon the most frivolous pretexts. Sultán Báyzíd the Second was a scholar and a mystic, and, like Murad the Second, though he regarded war with the infidels as a religious duty, he was of a pacific turn of mind. During his reign, the Turks were perpetually at war with the Hungarians and Venetians, but little advantage was obtained on either side. Prince Jam, after an unsuccessful attempt to dispute the throne with his brother, took refuge with the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. They sent him to France, where he was long confined as a prisoner, after which he was transferred to the custody of the Pope. The Christians used him as a means of keeping Báyzíd in awe and extorting money from him by the threat of releasing and assisting Jam; but the unfortunate prince died early, while in the custody of the Pope, Alexander Borgia. Christian historians affirm that this infamous Pope, bribed by Báyzíd, poisoned his royal captive; but the Turks say that the deed was the work of an emissary of Báyzíd's, named Mustafá, who, getting access to Prince Jam, obtained the post of barber to him, and killed him by shaving him with a poisoned razor. The known character and proclivities of the Borgia Pope certainly do not tend to remove the suspicion of the foul deed from him.

Jam was a scholar and a poet, and his manifold virtues and strange adventures in Farangistán are a favourite theme with Turkish writers. They pretend that Báyzíd and Jam were both born to Muhammad by the captive French Princess; and that Jam, when a prisoner in France, also married a French Princess, and that his children by her sat upon the throne of France, so that the blood of the Valois and of the house of 'Othmán were intermingled. This they affirmed to be the reason why the Ambassadors of France took precedence of all other Ambassadors in Darbár at the Sublime Porte. The French Ambassador came first, then the Persian, then the German; and the Sunni Turks laughed to see the Ráfzi envoy of the Sháh standing between two infidels. The corpse of Jam was sent to his brother, who gave it splendid obsequies.

Some of Jam's poems, composed by him in captivity, are preserved among the Turks. The following is a translation of a sonnet ascribed to him : \*

~ Bird of my soul, be patient of thy cage,  
This body, lo ! how fast it wastes with age ;  
The tinkling bells already do I hear,  
Proclaim the caravan's departure near.  
Soon shall it reach the land of nothingness,  
And thee, from fleshly bonds delivered, bless.

Báyázíd's cruelty to his brother was avenged on him by his own sons. Three of these turbulent youths continually raised disturbances against their father and warred with each other. The troops were dissatisfied with the inglorious reign of Báyázíd, and longed for a more active leader. According to their proverb, *Al harakat barakat*, " movement is happiness," they supported Prince Salím against his father, and Báyázíd was compelled to resign the sceptre to his rebellious son. It was at Chorli that he was defeated by Salím, and he is said to have then uttered the following prophecy : " Oh ! Ye Salíms, your days shall be short and your victories many : ye have taken the Khiláfat from me at Chorli, and there ye shall give it back." By the effect of this imprecation, it is said, it happened that both Salím the First and Salím the Second died at Chorli, each after a reign of eight years and nine months. Salím the Third, however, reigned eighteen years and was murdered at Constantinople.

Sultán Báyázíd, the mystic, did not long survive his deposition, and it has been suspected that he was poisoned by his son. The following curious story is related of him by the Turkish chronicler, Aoliya Afandi. He says : " The last seven years of Sultán Báyázíd's life he ate nothing which had had blood and life in it. One day, longing much to eat calves, or sheep's feet, he struggled long in this glorious contest with his soul, and at last, as a well-seasoned dish of the feet was put before him, he said unto his soul : ' Sec, my soul, the feet are before thee ; if thou wishest to enjoy them leave the body and feed on them.' At the same moment, a living creature was seen to come out of his mouth, which drank of the juice in the dish ; and after having satisfied its appetite endeavoured to return from whence it came. But Báyázíd having prevented it with his hand from re-entering his mouth, it fell on the ground, and the Sultán ordered it to be beaten. The pages entered the room and kicked it to death on the ground. The Mufti of that time decided that, as the soul was an essential part of a man, the dead soul should be buried. Prayers were performed over it, and the dead soul was interred in a small tomb near Báyázíd's tomb. This is the truth of the

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\* Aoliya Afandi,

famous story of Báýázíd the Second having died twice, and having been twice buried. After this murder of his own soul, the Sultán remained melancholy in the corner of retirement, taking no part or interest in the affairs of Government. The same anecdote of the soul coming out of the mouth to relish an excellent dish had already happened to the great Shaikh Báýázíd Bostámi, who had longed much to eat *muhallabi*, a dish composed of milk, but Báýázíd Bostámi permitted it to re-enter, and Sultán Báýázíd killed it, notwithstanding which he continued to live for some time." \*

Sultán Salím was surnamed by the Turks *Yáwuz*, or the Ferocious. He commenced his reign by cruelly putting to death his two brothers and their children. He next ordered a general massacre of all the Shiás in his dominions. Persia had just regained its ancient independence, and the Kizilbásh Turkish tribes of that country had adopted the Shiá heresy and raised their spiritual leader, Ismaíl the Sufi, to the vacant throne. Báýázíd had sent presents, including some carpets, to Sháh Ismaíl; but when Salím after his accession received a Persian envoy he said to him rudely: "Go and tell the heretic Kizilbásh (Red head) that the Father of the carpets is gone and the Father of the clubs is come. A pitched battle was fought between these two mighty monarchs on the plains of Chaldir in Armenia. It is said that the heroic Sháh severed with a stroke of his scimitar the iron chain which fastened the Turkish guns together and defended the gunners from the attack of the hostile cavalry; but the Persians had no firearms and the falconets of Salím's topjís and the calivers of his Janissaries decided the fortune of the day. The victory was complete but Salím found the total conquest of Persia a task beyond his strength. From this time dates the renewal of the long strife between the Cæsars and the Sassanides, the rivalry between Rúm and Irán, the Sunni Turk and the Shiá Persian, which has continued with little intermission to the present day. Salím Yáoúz next turned his arms against Egypt, where he overthrew the Mamelukes, slew one of their Sultáns in battle, and hanged his successor before the gates of Cairo. The fiery valour and dashing charges of the Mamelukes (the Turks called them *Charákisa*, or Circassians) were of no avail against the Turkish firearms; and Egypt became a province of the Ottoman empire. The Venetians had previously offered to sell ordnance and ammunition to the Mamelukes, but they had proudly refused them, on the ground that they were not sanctioned by the Koran or the Traditions, and must therefore be inventions of the devil; and that they were unworthy of brave men, who should meet their foes hand to hand. But they had occasion to repent bitterly of their refusal. Salím, after the conquest of Egypt, returned to Istambol where he com-

menced great preparations for the conquest of Rhodes ; “ but the only voyage he had to take was the voyage to another world.” He died at Chorli on the road to Adrianople, the place where he had defeated his father. When Salím conquered Egypt he found there the descendant of the Abbasside Khalifs, who was kept as a State pensioner by the Mameluke Sultáns. Salím made him transfer the Khiláfat to himself, and he obtained possession of the Khirka-i Sharíf and the Sanják-i Sharíf, the sacred garment and standard of the prophet, which he brought back with him to Constantinople.

The conquest of the Mameluke realms also gave him possession of the holy cities of Makka and Madina ; and from his time the Sultáns of the House of 'Othmán have laid claim to the spiritual dominion of Islam.

Sultán Salím attempted to cut through the Isthmus of Suez, but the sand choked his canal as fast as it was dug, and compelled him to relinquish the attempt. His son Sulimán, called by Christian writers the magnificent, and by the Turks *Kánunî*, or the lawgiver, succeeded him. He was the greatest of the House of 'Othmán and in his reign the empire attained the acme of its splendour. Sulimán was the contemporary of Pope Leo X, Henry the Eighth of England, Francis I of France, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, Sháh Ismáíl Saffávi of Persia, and Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls of Delhi, a galaxy of famous monarchs not easily to be matched in any other age, and he was not the least among them. His subjects called him *Sáhib Kirán*, or the Lord of the Age. He drove the Knights of St. John from Rhodes, took Belgrade and Buda, and made all Hungary, south of the Danube, a Turkish province, but he besieged Malta and Vienna in vain. In Asia, he conquered Baghdad and Mosul and all Irak-Arabia. In Africa, he added Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers to the empire. He sent aid to the Moors of Granada against the Spaniards, and despatched fleets to fight the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Saljukian kingdom of Karamán in Asia Minor, the Christian kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia and Bosnia, the Greek empire and its dependencies, the ancient kingdom of the “Grand Soldans” of Egypt, and the independent Barbary States, had all fallen before the House of 'Othmán, and now another monarchy was wiped from the map of Europe. The brave young king Louis of Hungary, with all his chivalry, fell in the “ghul-oghárat” of Moháj, and Hungary was for two hundred years a disputed prize between the crescent and the cross, the House of 'Othmán and the House of Hapsburg. In spite of the difference of religion there was always a strong party among the Magyars favourable to the Turks, for the free Protestants of Hungary hated the Jesuits of Vienna worse than the Musalmans, who



treated Christians of all denominations with the same contemptuous toleration. The Turks, on their part, reckoned the Hungarians as an oriental people, and never classed them, or the Poles and Russians either, among the hated "Farang." "The seven infidel kingdoms of Farangistán" have been supposed by some to refer to the seven Electors of the German empire, but it was probably only a vague geographical designation for the Western Powers of Europe, of the same kind as "the seven climes" and the seven years. It is curious to learn that "Farangi" slaves were at a discount in the Turkish markets. Circassians fetched the highest prices, and Poles and Russians came next. The Franks were the least valued. The reason alleged for this was that the Eastern nations furnished stronger and more robust men, and bonnier women; but probably the real reason was that the civilized people of the West wore their chains less easily, and pined in their hopeless captivity.

During the whole of Sulimán's reign, and for long afterwards, Hungary was the battle-field between Turk and Christian, and Sulimán died there in his camp before the besieged fortress of Sigeth, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-sixth of his reign. His death was concealed from the soldiery by the prudent vazír. The body was embalmed and carried with the army, and so well was the secret kept that it did not transpire for seven weeks, by which time Sultán Salím the Second was established on the throne at Constantinople. So that the Turks say that Sultán Sulimán conquered the towns of Sigeth, Gulá and Komár after his death.

In his old age, Sulimán succumbed to the passion for woman which proved fatal to the renown of his great Jewish namesake, and his infatuation for the Russian captive Khurram led him to put to death his noblest son, the princely Mustafá, to clear the way to the succession for Salím, the unworthy son whom his favourite had born to him. "It is related that Sultán Sulimán, passing this son's grave one day on his way to Kághid Khána, directed these words to his dead son: 'Rebel, art thou become a monarch, or art thou dead?' Thus saying, a black vapour arose from the prince's grave, and Sulimán's horse, affrighted, threw his rider. In the same moment the faces of Rustam Páshá and Charkáb Ali, the favourites, grew black. Sulimán from that day got the gout, and Rustam Páshá's face remained black during seventy days, after which, the skin coming off, it became yellow, as it had been before. Sulimán now saw clearly that he had been led by Rustam and Charkáb to condemn his son, and wished them black faces in the other world as a reward for their black deeds."\*

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\*Aoliya Afandi.



Sultán Sulimán caused the *kánún náma*, or statistical code of the Ottoman empire, to be drawn up; and he codified the numerous unwritten rules which had grown into custom in the administration of public affairs, and the regulation of court ceremonies. He took cognisance of everything and fixed every thing. He left the Ottoman empire a powerful, well-regulated State. The whole Osmanli nation was an army of which the Sultán was the commander-in-chief. All the land in the empire except the crown lands and the *vakf*, or religious foundations, was parcelled out into military fiefs. The small fiefs were called *tímárs*; the large fiefs were called *ziámats*. The fief-holders, called *tímárlies* and *záims*, were all horsemen: the former served themselves as privates, the latter brought a troop of their own retainers into the field. Every district had its Sanják Beg or Lord of the Standard, and every Viláyat or Province had its Beglerbeg or Viceroy: these functionaries had office establishments where all the fiefs in their province were registered. When war was proclaimed, the Beglerbeg summoned his Sanják Beks: they in their turn summoned their *záims* and *tímárlies*. When they were all mustered the Beglerbeg led them to the general rendezvous. All these feudal horsemen served entirely at their own expense. Men who had no fiefs served in the *akínji*, or foragers, who played the part of Cossacks for the Ottoman army. They served without pay, too, for the sake of the booty of which they took the first, and therefore the lion's share. Those who were too poor to serve on horseback, served as pioneers, miners, &c. Every province had to furnish its regular quota of these men. The inhabitants of the islands, and of seaport towns belonged to the sea service, and were bound to obey the Capitán Pasha (who combined the functions of Minister of Marine and Lord High Admiral), as their feudal superior. There was a regular corps of *Lavands*, or Marines also, always kept on foot, which had its head-quarters at the capital.

The other regular troops who were paid, clothed, and rationed by the Government were, first, the cavalry, divided into sipáhis of the Red and of the Yellow Standards; they answered to the Bárgírs of the Mahratta armies, while the feudal cavalry were like the Mahratta silahdárs. The Turks apply the Persian word *sipáhi* to a cavalry soldier only; and they used it more particularly for these corps of paid cavalry, who were, however, organised on what we call the silahdár system, and differed little in arms, equipment, or drill from the feudal cavalry. There were other corps of horse also, composed of professional soldiers, such as the chosen *mutafarrika*, horse-guards, who formed the personal escort of the Sultán. Their number was limited to a few hundred men: the Gunalis who wore the Hungarian dress: the Dalis (madmen) who were supposed to merit their name by the exhibition of frantic

courage, and who mostly served as body-guards to the Vazírs and Páshás. The Khán of the Crimea was bound to serve the Sultán in his wars with all his Tartar horsemen, and the Mamelukes of Egypt also continued to hold their land under the Turks on the tenure of military service. \*The Barbary provinces likewise each furnished a quota of sipáhis from among their Moorish inhabitants, who were called Maghrabis \* (Westerns) by the Turks.

The artillery service was performed by the Topjís (Gunnners) but all ordnance stores, arms, and munitions of war were entrusted to the care of the men of a special corps called the Jabajís (armourers). But the mainstay of the Turkish military system was the body of Janissaries, the first example of a regularly embodied corps of infantry in modern Europe. Their value soon became apparent, and the early Sultáns bent all their energies to improving this formidable body, which their successors long and vainly laboured to destroy. The number of the Janissaries was at first a few thousands: at the taking of Constantinople they numbered twelve thousand. In the reign of Sultán Sulimán the Great they had reached twenty thousand, and they went on increasing until they are estimated to have amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand at the beginning of the present century, of whom perhaps only a quarter actually served as soldiers. They were at first, as we have seen, recruited entirely from captive boys taken in war, or from among the Christian subjects of the Sultán. Every seven years, a Colonel of the Janissaries set out with five or six hundred men to levy boys from the Christian families of the empire in Europe, and these pressgangs collected as many thousand boys as were required to fill vacancies in the ranks. The boys were dressed in red jackets and caps, and marched to Constantinople, where they were registered as *ajam oghláns* (rude boys, recruits or novices), lodged in barracks, and kept under strict discipline. They were of course turned into Musulmán's offhand. As they grew big and strong enough, they were drafted into the army, the best going to the Topjís and the Jabajís, and to the Sultán's Bustánjís (Palace Guards); the rest were made into Janissaries. If any turned out weak or puny, in spite of the care taken in their selection, they were made pages in the seraglio.

It may be imagined that the post of a recruiting officer, to whom the selection or rejection of the children of Christian parents was left, was a sufficiently lucrative one. One of the characters represented by Kará Gaz (Black-Eye), the Turkish Punchinello, was a colonel of Janissaries with his *ajam-oghláns*. The colonel rates the boys, and each one answers in his own tongue or patois—

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\* Byron, in the *Bride of Abydos*, writes of Giaffir Pasha, that he—  
His way among his Delis took  
With Mangrabee and Mameluke.

Bosniak, Greek, or Albanese : in this way they made the spectators laugh amazingly. The fame and privileges of the Janissaries, however, soon effected a great change in the Turkish estimate of the infantry service, and Turks eagerly sought admission into the ranks. At length they were admitted, and soon their numbers increased. The next step was to permit them to marry, and the rule of celibacy was no longer strictly enforced. Next they petitioned that their children should be admitted into the corps, and at length, the son of a Janissary claimed a right to be a Janissary too, and the corps became a caste. The enlistment of Christian boys ceased altogether, for there was no longer room for them. It is said that, in the last days of the corps, there were thousands of Janissaries on the rolls, who were children in arms. As the Janissaries became more and more powerful, and interfered more and more in politics, many men got their names inscribed on the rolls of the corps, wore the dress, and frequented the assemblies, in order to gain the favour and share the protection of such a powerful body ; consequently there were Janissaries in all grades and classes of society. The Sultán's own name was enrolled as a private in their first regiment. It was the custom of most of the Sultáns of the House of 'Othmán, in order to avoid the cumbrous pomp of their state processions, to go about habitually incognito, with a few attendants. As they passed through the bazárs, on their way to inspect a new barrack, or wandered about at night in quest of adventure, every one knew that it was the Sultán, but it was not etiquette to notice him. On these occasions, the Sultán almost invariably wore the dress of an officer of the Janissaries, while his attendants were habited as privates of the corps. There were many Janissaries among the Páshás, too, for the rule was, once a Janissary, always a Janissary ; and the *nishán* or badge of the regiment, tattooed on the recruit's arm, could not be obliterated during his life. The Janissaries thus formed a large association, and their military organization supplied them with the means of utilising their numbers.

The Janissaries were commanded by a general, called their Aghá, who was appointed directly by the Sultán. He had a seat in the Diván, and was one of the most powerful men in the empire, as long as he had the confidence of his men, but he was generally more their slave than their master. The next officers to him in rank were the colonels, *chorbájis*, or soup men, as they were called, for the free rations which were served out to them were looked on as the keystone of the Janissary organization. The cooks (*áshjián*) and scullions (*karcá kullukjián*) were sub-officers in the companies (*buluk*). The whole body of Janissary officers were called *úják aghalari*,

or lords of the kitchen-range, and the whole corps, or rather its head-quarters at Constantinople, was spoken of as "the *úják*." The soup-kettles, of which each company had one, served as standards and rallying points. When mutiny was intended, the soup-kettles were overturned in the barrack-square, as a sign that their owners would no longer accept soup from the Sultán. When word was brought to the Vazírs in the Diván, that the Janissaries on guard at the Gate of Felicity refused to eat their soup, every one trembled. Few men had the courage of Abáza Páshá, who, when the unwelcome news was brought to him, swore that he would make the Janissaries eat, not only their soup, but the dishes too. They wore a pewter spoon, as an ornament, in their caps instead of a plume.

One of the sights of Constantinople was the race of the Janissary cooks, every morning on the grand parade (the *Atmaidan*, or Hippodrome), for the carcasses of the sheep killed for their rations. The master-cooks, in their gold caps, black leather gowns, and long boots, loaded with silver chains, and with an armoury of knives and cutlasses in their girdles, marshalled the running-cooks, who raced barefoot from the *Talím khána* over the open square, and the first who arrived at the carcasses might lay hold of what he pleased, while the rest, coming after him, also had to abide by the rule of "first come, first served."

In the time of Muhammad the Fourth, there were one hundred and eleven regiments of Janissaries. For some reason, of which we are not aware, the eleventh regiment took precedence of all the others. The first regiment ranked second, the hundred and eleventh came next, and then the second, third, and all the others in regular numerical order. But these regiments were of widely-varying strength, according to the estimation in which they were held, or the locality at which they were stationed. For, after the conquest of Istambol, the Janissary regiments seldom changed their quarters, but were for the most part stationed as permanent garrisons in fortified towns. No doubt this conversion of them into a kind of local militia had a great deal to do with their loss of discipline and with the decay of their military spirit; but every regiment had its depôt, or *oda*, at the capital, so the hundred and odd depôts, along with the Janissary regiments in garrison at Istambol, made up a very large force. This enormous depôt was called the *úják* and it virtually governed the empire, for, with the numbers at its command, it overawed all the other troops and the population of the capital as well. If the Janissaries at Belgrade, or at Erzerúm, were dissatisfied with the Páshá, they had only to send a complaint of him to the *úják*, and he would be recalled. The questions of peace or war was decided as the Janissaries wished. when



the *Aghá* or any of the officers entertained views opposite to those of the majority, he concealed them if he was a wise man. Violence was the only method, being the readiest and quickest, which these mercenaries employed to gain their ends, after they had given a hint that something was wrong by the refusal of their soup; and force was the only law to which they bowed. Their officers wore heavy girdles of copper, which they unclasped and used on the heads of refractory soldiers, in the way that British soldiers use their waist-belts in an affray. An officer could only venture to act thus in isolated cases, however. Woe betide the officer who ran counter to the wishes of his whole company. As may be imagined, out of barracks the Janissaries were a set of turbulent ruffians; generally to be found in wine-taverns, or drunk in the streets. Drunken Janissaries were as common at Constantinople as drunken sailors (alas!) are at Portsmouth. They fought with the men of other corps, and with the watch: they attached to themselves all the ruffianism of the great city, which made capital out of the disturbances that the Janissaries inaugurated. In spite of their excesses in wine, the Janissaries were zealous champions of Islám. It is curious that, with their renegade origin, they should have become the stoutest defenders of their adopted faith, and the most bitter enemies of their ancient one. As long as the *'ulamá*, or divines, carefully respected the interests of their body, they were their very humble servants, and were always ready to take their part in any dispute with the Sultán. This alliance between the *'ulamá* and the Janissaries, between priestcraft and soldiery had proved most unfortunate for the House of 'Othmán and for the prosperity of the empire, and postponed the reform of the Constitution, until the falling fortunes of the State had reached a point from which there could be no recovery.

The Janissaries early shewed their mutinous propensities. Salím II Yávuz was obliged to quell their insolence by severity on more than one occasion. It was after executing their commander, then called the *sagbán báski* (head dog-keeper) for mutinous conduct, that Salím appointed one of the officers of his own household *Aghá* of the Janissaries. Under Salím's son, Sulimán, they constantly shewed their teeth. The Lord of the Age found himself obliged to truckle to his insolent infantry. Sulimán once swore in his anger that he would put down the Janissaries by the aid of the shoemakers at Marján Charsú (the Coral Bazar), and the speech nearly led to a fray between the guild of the shoemakers of Istambol and the Janissaries. The character of Sulimán had kept them somewhat in awe, but under his successor they broke loose from all restraint. They refused to allow Salím the Second to enter Constantinople



until the customary donation had been paid to them, and when the Vazírs and high officers of State came in person to remonstrate with them, the insolent soldiers rapped them over the head with the stocks of their calivers. The Sultáns of the House of 'Othmán might refuse to grant the title of Pádisháh to the "Alamán Királi" (Chief of Germany), and the rest of the infidel rulers of the Farang; but they themselves had met with their masters, and their worst foes henceforth were those of their own household.

Sulimán the Magnificent was the last Sultán of the House of 'Othmán who possessed talents worthy of the autocrat of a great empire and the leader of a warlike nation. Up to his time, almost all the Sultáns of his House had been remarkable for energy and activity; after him they were distinguished, with but rare exceptions, for their sloth and imbecility. The sudden change in the character of the family may perhaps be explained by the change in the mode of education of the princes of the House of 'Othmán now inaugurated. Hitherto they had been brought up in the camp, among the soldiery, and given the government of provinces at an early age: now they were educated in the privacy and seclusion of the seraglio. The change was made in the hope of averting the mischief of the civil wars between rival brothers, which always followed upon the death of a Sultán; but these fratricidal contests were only exchanged for hideous wholesale butcheries in the harem on every occasion of a new accession.

The change in the character of the Sultáns, from whatever cause it may have arisen, was accompanied by a marked change in the condition of the Turkish empire and nation. Both had grown steadily and continuously up to the death of Sultán Sulimán I, and after his death both ceased to grow. The tide of Turkish immigration into Europe seemed to be suddenly checked. For long it had flowed steadily, filling Rumelia, Bulgaria, and Servia, and generally following up the course of the Danube along its southern bank; but it had now reached its extreme limits, and very few Turks settled as colonists in Hungary, nor did they cross the Danube into Valachia. From this time the numbers of the Othmanli nation, instead of increasing, remained stationary, and soon began to decline. Nor did the limits of the monarchy advance materially after the death of Sulimán.

In the space of two centuries, the empire, which began with a petty tribe of wandering free-lances in Bithynia, had stretched its borders from the centre of Europe to the centre of Asia, from Buda to Baghdád, from the frontiers of Poland to the Libyan desert, from the shores of the Caspian to those of the Adriatic. In two hundred years more, it had advanced only a few miles further into Hungary and Poland, and had gained possession

of one or two more islands in the Mediterranean Sea ; and for the last two centuries its limits have receded with a rapidity almost equal to that of their advance.

Sultán Salím the Second, called the drunken, wallowed away his reign in sensual pleasures within his palace. The Emperor of Germany was glad to negotiate an armistice with the Turks after Sulimán's death, and Salím's passion for the wine of Cyprus led him to undertake the conquest of that rich and valuable island. His reign passed away in the long and general maritime war which his violation of the Treaty with Venice provoked, and the Turkish naval prestige was broken for ever at the fatal battle of Lepanto, which, in the words of Cervantes, completely destroyed that grievous error which the Christian nations had so long laboured under, in believing the Turk invincible by sea.

Salím displayed spirit and patriotism in striving to retrieve this heavy disaster, and gave up his own private treasures for the use of the State. His reign was disgraced by the infamous violation of the capitulation of Famagusta, when Brágadino, the gallant Venetian commander, was flayed alive by the Turkish general's orders. Lord Beaconsfield may be right in saying that the infliction of torture is not a common practice of oriental nations, and it certainly was never a part of judicial proceedings among the Turks, nor was it ever legalised among them. Turkish writers speak with horror of the tortures inflicted on criminals in Persia ; and it is impossible to forget that the age of Salím the Drunken was also the age of Alva and Tilly, of Bloody Mary and the Spanish Inquisition ; yet Christian atrocities do not excuse Musalmán barbarities, and we may shudder at the inhuman cruelties which were habitually perpetrated upon prisoners of war by the Turks at the capture of besieged places. When Otranto was taken by the fleet of Muhammad the Conqueror, the Christian Bishop of the place was sawn asunder by his captors, and the slaughter of all captives of war who were not worth selling as slaves, was a Turkish military canon up to the time of Sultán Mahmúd the Reformer, and, judging by recent events, still maintains the force of custom among the Turkish soldiery. The violation of capitulations was another grave blot on the Turkish military character, and this crime against the code of military honour was avenged, before it could be reformed away by the fortune of war turning the Turks into the besieged in every campaign, instead of their being the besiegers. An account of the maritime wars of the Turks, and their subject States of Tarábalús (Tripoli), Tunis, and Gazáir (Algiers), would require a separate history. Bands of Osmánli Filibusters supplanted the Moorish Government in all these Barbary States, and would no doubt have done so in Morocco also, but for the cessation

of the national growth just noticed. At that time colonies of Turkish sea-rovers had already established themselves in the seaports of Morocco, where they carried on their lucrative trade of cruising against all Christian merchant vessels, and paid duties to the Government of the country. As the naval power of the Turks declined, these colonies in the Barbary States gradually assumed independence, and now Tripoli is the only one which still forms part of the Ottoman empire. Murád the Third succeeded his father Salím *Mast* (the drunken) at the age of twenty-eight years. His first act was to put to death all his brothers and sisters. The Turkish chronicler, Aoliya Afandi says: "Sultán Salím had in all one hundred and twenty-seven children, who were killed after his death and buried beside him at Ayá Sofiá. May God have mercy upon them all!" Murád was an indolent voluptuary, but the empire was long supported by the talents and care of Ali Páshá of Sokal, who had been Grand Vazír for forty years, his first appointment being under Sulimán I. He died in Murád's reign, and the State fell at once into a condition of anarchy. The Uják of the Janissaries assumed the powers of a Council of State, and sold the public offices of the empire to the highest bidder. Rebels started up in every province. The Christians in Hungary, and the Persians in Armenia, encroached on the frontiers of the Osmánlis. Amidst these troubles Sultán Murád died. He had long been ailing, and one day, weak in mind and body, he was lying in a kiosk (*káshk*) on the shores of the Bosphorus, watching the passing shipping. He was repeating aloud some verses, commencing:

‘Come and keep watch by me to-night, O Death,’

in melancholy mood, when it chanced that two war-galleys rowing by saluted the Porte; and the concussion of the guns shattered the coloured glass in the dome of the kiosk. As the fragments fell around the Sultán, he exclaimed: "At another time the salute of a whole fleet would not have broken that glass; and now it is shivered by the noise of the cannon of those galleys. I see the fate of the kiosk of my life." He died the same night.\*

Muhammad the III was the son of a Venetian captive. He was called Muhammad of Egra by the Turks, from his great victory at Erlan, which the Turks called Egra. He signalled his accession by the murder of nineteen brothers, and of all his father's concubines. He was a sickly voluptuary, like his father. The troops demanded and received a donation of double the usual amount when he came to the throne. In his reign the Sipáhis tried to rival the Janissaries in their profitable game of raising seditions, but the latter were not disposed to admit any competition,

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\* Creasy.

and they assisted the Sultáns to chastise the Sipáhis. The foundations of a quarrel between the two corps were thus laid, which extended even to the battle-field, and long deluged the streets of Constantinople with blood. Muhammad was anything but a warrior by inclination; but the successes of the Germans in Hungary shook the whole empire, and the priests and the Janissaries angrily insisted on the Sultán taking the field in person. He did so in fear and trembling.

It is curious that Mr. Motley, the accurate and brilliant historian of the Dutch Republic, should speak of Murád III and Muhammad III as ambitious and warlike sovereigns, for no character of them could be farther from the truth. Muhammad III, in this Hungarian campaign, carried the sacred standard of the prophet into the field for the first time. A great battle was fought at Erlan. The Christians at first carried all before them, charging, says the Turkish historian, Naima, "like an immense horde of swine." A fortunate accident struck them with panic and changed victory into defeat. The Archduke Maximilian and Sultán Muhammad both fled from the fight, but the Turks kept possession of the field of battle, and the camp, guns, and stores of the Germans all fell into their hands. All the feudal cavalry of Asia, who had fled like the Sultán himself, were declared outlaws and *faráris* (runaways), and they were executed when taken. The consequence was that most of them abandoned the war and joined the rebels in Asia Minor. The whole of the Asiatic provinces were in chronic revolt, and the Persian Shah Abbas made victorious inroads on the Ottoman empire. Muhammad put to death his own eldest son on suspicion, and not long after died himself after an inglorious reign of eight years.

His son, Sultán Ahmad I, succeeded him at the early age of fourteen years. It was perhaps owing to his youth, that the life of his imbecile brother, Mustafá, was spared after his accession. His reign is remarkable for the conclusion of the peace of Sitvatorok with the Germans. In this treaty, the Turks, for the first time, granted the title of Padishah to an infidel sovereign and renounced their claims to tribute from Austria. Ahmad I, like his three immediate predecessors, was given up to sensuality, and women and eunuchs governed the empire during his reign, while the soldiery were bribed and cajoled, the provinces were in a chronic state of revolt, and the perpetual war with Persia went on, to the disadvantage of the Turks. Ahmad I died in 1617, and left seven sons, but, according to the Turkish rule of succession, the throne fell to their idiot uncle Mustafá. The practice of fratricide had hitherto always secured the succession to the reigning Sultán's sons. Mustafá's natural imbecility, increased by the debauchery to which he gave himself up, made it impossible to carry on the



affairs of Government, and after he had reigned three months, the vazírs, the 'ulamá and the army united to depose him, the first instance of a monarch of the house of 'Othmán dethroned by his own servants. His nephew, 'Othmán II, a boy of fourteen years of age, was placed on the vacant throne. In spite of his youth, 'Othmán was distinguished by an energy and strength of will to which the Turks had long been strangers in the character of their Sultáns; and these qualities soon brought him into collision with the mutineers, who had long held the real authority in the State. His ideas had always been bent on Northern conquests; and as soon as he had patched up a peace with Persia, he mustered his army for the invasion of Poland.

On the march, he observed, or thought he observed, that the number of the Janissaries present did not at all tally with the amount of money disbursed for their pay. He ordered them to be mustered; they refused to allow the muster to be taken. At the Siege of Chotin, they gave their rations to the besieged Poles, in exchange for wine. The failure of the campaign was attributed to their insubordination and cowardice. 'Othmán was bitterly incensed against them, and it is said that he planned abolishing the corps, but first, to get out of their power, he pretended an intention of making the pilgrimage to Makka. But the Janissaries penetrated his designs, and determined to strike the first blow. It was in the fourth year of his reign and the eighteenth of his age, that the unfortunate Sultán, on the eve of his pilgrimage to Makka, attended public prayers in the garrison mosque. The Janissaries assembled there began assailing him with abuse. One insolent Russian caught hold of the Sultán's robe, saying to him, "'Othmán Chalabi, you are a fine boy; come along with us to our barracks, or to Yúsuf Sháh's coffee-house." The unfortunate Sultán gained one of the windows of the mosque, from whence he earnestly appealed for aid to the people of Muhammad; but another Janissary struck the arm with which he held the window a blow, which broke it. They then seized him and put him into a cart and carried him to the Seven Towers, where they put him to death with circumstances of extreme cruelty. While his body was exposed, lying upon an old mat, the Jabbaji Báshi, Káfir Aghá, cut off his right ear, and a Janissary, being unable to get off a valuable ring that was on one of the fingers, cut off the finger to get at it. This was the miserable fate of Othman II, the first Sultán of the House of 'Othmán who fell by the hands of his own subjects; he is the only Sultán whose portrait does not appear in the *Fíroz Náma-i Turk*. He was probably cut off before any likeness of him had been painted. The Janissaries now brought the imbecile Mustafá from his prison and placed him again on the throne. They gave the seals to Daúd Páshá, but in a few days took them away again and gave them to Kará Husain Páshá,



then to Lafkálí Mustafá Páshá, but as he was considered a man too gentle mood, they made Kará Husain Grand Vazír again. He, happening to find fault with a *Mulla*, ordered two hundred strokes of the bastinado to be inflicted on the holy man: a horrid sacrilege in the eyes of the Turks. The whole of the 'ulama, with the Shaikh-ul Islám, assembled to remonstrate, when they were attacked by a mob of Janissaries and *ájám oghláns*, who killed many hundreds of them, and threw their bodies into the wells in the courtyard of the mosque of Sultán Muhammad II. The mutineers after this pulled down Kará Husain, and put up Kamánkash Ali, a subaltern officer of Janissaries, as Grand Vazír. The Sipahis now fraternised with the Janissaries: they both united, and Kamánkash was made the tool of their bloody designs. A Reign of Terror commenced, and the soldiery rioted unrestrained and revelled in pillage and murder. The history of Turkey, from the death of Sultán 'Othmán II. to the appointment of Muhammad Kiságrúli to the grand Vizárat by Muhammad IV, is one continuous record of tumult and bloodshed. These scenes gave rise to the old European conception of the character of "a regular Turk," a being as proud and obstinate as a Spaniard and as ready to quarrel as an Irishman. The historian Prince Cantemir says that these civil broils were the consequence of freedom from foreign war, for the Turks were so prone to fighting that they would rather turn upon one another than forego their favourite pastime. But this state of things in its worst phase could not last long: the very violence of the paroxysm forbade its continuance. The rebellion in Asia Minor spread every day. The Persians invaded and annexed the eastern provinces. Many of the Páshás took the law into their own hands and retaliated on the mutinous troops. The Governor of Erzerúm, Abázá Páshá, had been a *lálá*, or tutor, to Othmán II, and was especially obnoxious to the Janissaries, who believed that he had been privy to his master's designs for their suppression. As he passed through the streets of Erzerúm on Fridays, on his way to prayers at the mosque of Lálá Páshá, the Janissaries called out, "Abázá Lálá, you go to the *kilísa* (church: Greek *ecclesia*) of your nearest relation, Lálá." "Thus," says Abázá, in his subsequent petition to Sultán Murád IV, "they dared to call that noble mosque a church! When I went through the city, they cried out 'Oush! Oush!', as if they were speaking to barking dogs, but it was intended for me. I pretended, however, to take no notice of it, and continued to shew them many favours. Still, my Emperor, I was insulted in a thousand ways." When the Persian Sháh besieged Akhiska, Abázá tried to muster a force to relieve it, but in his own words "not a single Janissary would move from the wine-tavern or the *búza* house, and the

consequence was that the Persians took possession of this noble fortress which had been so gloriously taken by Sultán Salím." Abázá at length, with his irregular troops, and the aid of the populace, surprised and massacred the Janissaries in Erzerúm, and there swore eternal enmity to the whole úják, announcing his determination to avenge the innocent blood of his master Sultán 'Othmán. The mutineers were themselves now frightened at the universal anarchy which they had caused. They deposed the insane Mustafá a second time, and raised Murád, a brother of 'Othmán's, and then only twelve years of age, to the throne. As the treasury was quite empty, the troops agreed, and swore an oath, to dispense with the usual largess. However, the Vazírs scraped together, from various sources, about 3,000 purses, which amount was distributed among the troops, who did not refuse it, notwithstanding their oath not to accept of it. The deposed Mustafá was afterwards strangled by his nephew's orders. Murád the Terrible was girt at his coronation with the sabre of Sultán Salím, and with another sword said to have belonged to the prophet: no other Sultán was ever girt in this manner. His energy and activity gradually restored order, and raised Turkey from the abyss of anarchy into which she had sunk. He was a man of splendid physique and of immense strength, with an eye like a hawk and a hand like the paw of a lion. He was a daring rider, and few of his subjects could match him at archery, wrestling, or throwing the *jaríd*. He used to seize his guards by their waistbelts, two at a time, and hold them out at arm's length. The feats of strength and activity that are recorded of him by Turkish chroniclers would fill a volume.

He did not dare to oppose the will of the soldiers who had placed him on the throne, however, but as he grew older he gradually got the management of affairs into his own hands, and, on various pretexts, he singled out and slew the leaders of the Sipáhis and Janissaries, one after the other. He encouraged the old feud between the two corps, and when he had set them fairly by the ears he proceeded to wholesale executions. Unfortunately this necessary severity bred in him such a spirit of cruelty that he soon delighted in bloodshedding for its own sake, and murder became his favourite pastime. He used to boast that he had commanded the execution of more than three hundred thousand criminals, and is said to have put some thousands to death with his own hand. But the Turkish notion of statistics is vague in the extreme. With all this tyranny he was the slave of his soldiers to the day of his death, and was constantly forced to satisfy their caprice by the sacrifice of his favourites.

We must record the fate of the brave Abázá. After Murád's accession, an army, under Dishlan Husain Páshá, was despatched

to Erzerúm with an imperial firman, directing Abázá Páshá to join it with his own forces and undertake the recovery of Akhiska. Abázá received the new comers hospitably, but there were Janissaries in Dishlan Husain's army, and he suspected treachery, so he himself treacherously slew Dishlan Husain at a banquet, and then surprised and routed his troops. He was again proscribed as a rebel, and many expeditions were sent against him, the only result of which was to supply him constantly with fresh Janissaries' heads wherewith to garnish the towers of Erzerúm. But at length he surrendered himself, probably by collusion with the Sultán, and was brought to the "Imperial Stirrup." He justified himself in a remarkable speech, in which he attributed all the ills that afflicted the Ottoman empire to the turbulence of the Janissaries. Murád took him into favour, made him one of his intimate counsellors and used him to frighten the mutinous soldiery. "One day," says the Turkish chronicler, "when the Janissaries were dissatisfied and would not eat their soup, Abázá said, 'Give me leave, my Emperor, and I will make them eat, not only their soup, but even the dishes.' Sultán Murád having given him permission, he appeared in the Diván; on which a murmur was heard from the ranks of the Janissaries, who began to eat their soup with such avidity, as if they would have swallowed the soup-dishes, so great was the awe which his name and appearance excited among the Janissaries." But when Murád wished to march against the Sháh of Persia, the Janissaries refused to march, saying, "If the Sultán wishes to conquer the Persians, let him conquer them with Abázá." Murád basely yielded and delivered up one more of his faithful servants to death, to appease their mutinous murmurs. It was rumoured however, that he concealed Abázá and substituted some one else at the execution; and, in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím, a man appeared claiming to be Abázá, but Ibráhím killed him before the truth of his story could be inquired into. Sultán Murád IV made two successful campaigns against the Persians. In the first, he re-conquered the north-eastern provinces of the empire, and in the second, he re-took Baghdád, which has remained in the possession of the Ottomans ever since. Old veterans, who had served under Sultán Sulimán at the Siege of Sigeth, were carried in litters at the head of the army to encourage the troops by their exhortations. After his first victorious campaign, Murád made a splendid triumphal entry into Constantinople. "The windows and roofs of the houses in every direction," says Aoliya Afandi, "were crowded with people who exclaimed: 'The blessing of God be upon thee, O conqueror. Welcome Murád, may thy victories be fortunate!' Joy was manifest in every countenance. The Sultán was dressed in steel armour, and had a threefold

aigrette in his turban, stuck obliquely on one side, in the Persian manner. He was mounted on a Nogháí steed, followed by seven led-horses of the Arab breed, decked out in embroidered trappings set with jewels. Amírgúna, the Khán of Eriván, Yúsuf Khán, and other Persian Kháns, walked on foot before him, whilst the bands with cymbals, flutes, fifes, and drums, played the airs of Afrásiáb. The emperor looked with dignity on both sides of him, like a lion that has seized his prey, and saluted the people as he passed on, followed by three thousand pages clad in armour. The people shouted: 'God be praised,' as he passed, and threw themselves on their faces to the ground. The merchants and tradesmen had raised on both sides of the way pavilions of satin, cloth of gold, velvet, fine linen, and other rich stuffs, which were afterwards distributed amongst the Solaks Paiks, and other servants of the Sultán. \* \* \* \* During this triumphant procession to the Sarái, all the ships at the Seraglio-point, at Kizkala'a (Leander's tower) and at Topkhána, fired salutes, so that the sea seemed in a blaze." This splendid pageantry, and his strength and courage, endeared Murád to the people in spite of his ferocity, and he replenished the empty treasury with the confiscated property of the thousands whom he slew. He was just preparing a great naval armament against the infidels of Malta, *Al Aspitár* (the Hospitallers), who cruised up to the Dardanelles, and kept all the Musalmán sailors of the Mediterranean in constant terror, when death carried him off, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. His death was hastened by his excesses, for he was a confirmed drunkard.

Aoliya Afandi relates that when Murád IV visited Báyzíd Yildarím's tomb at Brúsa, he gave it a kick with his foot saying "What, do you lie here like a monarch, you, who have destroyed the 'Othmán honour and have been made prisoner by the Tátárs?" At the moment he kicked the coffin he cried, "Oh! my foot!" and from that day was attacked by the gout, which carried him off. His last act was to order the execution of his only surviving brother, Ibráhím; and it was in the act of struggling to rise from his bed to gloat over Ibráhím's expected death, that he breathed out his ferocious soul. His destined victim survived to succeed him, and to cause him even to be regretted by his subjects. Ibráhím was wholly given up to lust and vanity. He anticipated in Constantinople the orgies of the Parc aux Cerfs, and squandered the revenues of the country on his loathsome favourites. He emulated Heliogabalus in folly, while he rivalled Nero in cruelty. He once stabbed, with his own hand, a Vazír who had displeased him. When this circumstance was reported to Louis XIV by the French Ambassador, the Grand Monarque observed, "Voilà cependant régner." "Ajoute donc qu'on les étrangle," said the Duc de Montpensier.



It chanced that the chief eunuch of the Imperial harem, on his way to the Holy cities, was taken in the Levant by the Maltese galleys, and the prize was carried by the captors into the Venetian harbour of Canea in Crete, where the goods and slaves were sold. This news violently enraged Ibráhím, and he ordered the Armada, prepared by his predecessor, to be instantly despatched against Malta; but the commanders had secret instructions to surprise Canea and conquer Crete. The Venetians, were unprepared, and Canea fell; but the Turks found it no easy matter to master the rest of the island. Yúsuf Páshá, who had conquered Canea, was killed by Ibráhím for his pains. When the Sultán, having heard of the beauty of the wife of Ibshír Páshá, asked her husband to give her to him, her father Várvár Páshá incited Ibshír to rebel, and joined him with his troops; but Ibshír treacherously murdered his father-in-law to curry favour with Ibráhím, who gave him Várvár's government as a reward. The general discontent increased, until matters looked so threatening that Ibráhím recalled some of the troops from Candia to his aid. As one of the regiments of the Janissaries was being landed from the transports, emissaries from the Sultán addressed its colonel, Kará Murád, asking for presents, for since Ibráhím's extravagance had exhausted his resources he took bribes for his own favours, and begged from his own servants. "Tell the Sultán," said Black Murád, fiercely, "that we have brought nothing from Candia but powder and ball: he is welcome to that kind of present if he wants it." The newly-arrived troops at once joined their comrades in the city, Black Murád and others of the officers headed them, and the terrible rioting began. Ibráhím was deposed and strangled, struggling with his executioners and blaspheming. His favourites were hunted down and torn to pieces, and his women distributed among the mutineers and conspirators who had deposed him. His infant son, Muhammad IV, succeeded him on the throne; and the confiscated property of Ibráhím's favourites supplied the funds for the donation to the troops. The new Sultán was a child, and he grew up to be fainéant monarch, like the Sultáns who had preceded Murád IV; the only spark of manliness that he shewed being a fondness for the chase. The old anarchy had been fast returning, although the reign of Ibráhím and the chronic state of rebellion in Asia Minor, never entirely suppressed, was now again in full swing. The first eight years of Muhammad's reign were years of misrule and misery, and the empire seemed fast sinking into decrepitude, when it was saved and renovated by the vigour of one man, Muhammad Kúpríli, so called from his native town Kúprí, in Armenia, who happened to succeed to the seals of office after numerous predecessors had held them for a few months, to be banished and fleeced, or poisoned, or strangled in turn.



Muhammad Kúpríli was no genius ; he was simply an honest man, who knew his duty and tried to do it. In a country where the sole idea of politics is that of personal government, one righteous man at the helm of the State is better than all the Constitutions, or all the *Tanzimáts* that were ever devised. The people of oriental nations cannot dissociate in their minds, law from religion, nor government from the person of the ruler. Hence their contempt for a written ordinance of man's invention, and their respect for the commands of their monarch, or whoever may be their leader. Kúpríli ruled justly, and sensibly in the Sultán's name ; but before he could restore order out of chaos it was necessary to make some severe examples. He fully believed in the truth of the Persian distich—

Ne'er in the garden of the State will justice flourish green,  
Save it be watered from the fount of the sabre flashing keen ;

and he proceeded to restore peace to the distracted country by the same methods which had been employed by Murád the Terrible. "He killed," says the Turkish historian,\* "in Anatolia four hundred thousand rebels, seventeen vazírs, forty-one hegler-begs, three mulas, and a Maghrabí Shaikh." The list reads like the contents of a game-bag ; but the cure was effectual, for he smote only to punish the enemies of the common weal and not to gratify avarice or revenge. He was the *Midhat* of his day, but he was not banished, and he saved the empire, or at least postponed its ruin. When he died, his son Fázil Ahmad Kúpríli succeeded him in the vizárat. His talents excelled, and his probity equalled, that of his father, while the latter's timely severity enabled his son to indulge in a graceful clemency. He was named by the Turks *Fázil*, or the Righteous. He reformed every department of the State, by changing not the system but the men. He introduced strict order into the army, and three thousand Sipáhis and seven thousand Janissaries, who absented themselves from muster, had their names struck off the rolls. By the strict order he introduced in the revenue accounts, he filled the treasury, and mustered armies for the campaigns of Poland and Hungary larger than those led by Sulimán the Magnificent. He completed the conquest of Candia, which the gallant little republic of Venice had defended against the Turkish empire during an incessant war of twenty years. But Ahmad Kúpríli was no soldier, or we should rather say no general ; though he gallantly and successfully strove to extend the frontiers of the empire at the expense of the Poles and the Germans. Kúpríli himself was beaten in a pitched battle by

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\* Aoliya Afandi, whose account we have followed in describing the history of the House of 'Othmán, from the "martyrdom" of 'Othmán II, to the accession of Muhammad IV.

the celebrated Imperialist general Montecuculli, and on more than one occasion by that champion of Christendom, John Sobieski.

The stream of the Dnieper had been seen choked by the Turkish turbans, and the crescent went down before the cross in many a hard-fought field, but the numbers and perseverance of the Turks at last prevailed. A Turkish army actually reached Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, the most northern point to which they ever penetrated in Europe. The Emperor of Germany purchased a truce for twenty years by the cession of Neuhausel; the Poles gave up the strong fortress of Kaminiéc, in which mosques were built by the conqueror; the muezzin's cry was heard on the banks of the Dniester; and the Turks, now that the *azán* had been heard in Poland, declared that God would not suffer that country to remain long in the hands of the infidels. The old dreams of universal empire were revived, and the old Turkish spirit of conquest seemed to have been aroused: nothing was heard of but the Holy war, and even Sultán Muhammad accompanied the army once or twice as far as Adrianople. And when Almad the Righteous died, lamented, his successor, Black Mustafa, set out to conquer Germany and annex it to the Ottoman empire. But the introduction of improved field artillery, the modern system of drill, and the bayonet, had revolutionised war, while the Turks had not changed one iota in matters of drill and equipment since their genius went to sleep at the death of the great Sulimán. Their enormous host surged for two months round the ramparts of Vienna. Then came "the man whose name was John" with his little army to its relief. There was a wild, confused battle, and the mighty host was scattered in panic flight: the crescent banner had gone down never to rise again: the glory of the House of 'Othmán had flown for ever. The superstitious Turks excused their defeat by a story which gave out that the great Sulimán had, after his repulse from before Vienna, solemnly cursed any of his descendants who might renew the enterprise in which he had failed, a story very little according with Sulimán's character, or with the well-known hopes which the Ottomans long cherished of subduing the whole of Christian Europe. They believed that, Vienna once taken, the subjugation of all Germany would follow as a matter of course, and that they would then be able to pass on to the conquest of France and the other kingdoms of the Farang.

But now that the tide of war had turned, it continued to ebb rapidly. The German armies, led by the Duke of Lorraine and Prince Lewis of Baden, swept the Turks before them out of Hungary, storming their fortresses and *palankas*\* and putting all the

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\* *Palanka*, Turkish for a small fort, a stockade, from the Latin *plancae*, fort, palisade.

Musalmáns, man, woman, and child to the sword. All the neighbouring nations, who had long suffered from the insults and aggressions of the Turks, now saw the opportunity for revenge. The Poles besieged Kaminiec. The Venetians landed an army in the Morea. Peter the Great led his Russians, just newly disciplined by La Forte, to the conquest of Azof. The Turks were bewildered and overwhelmed by these numerous attacks, while Sultán Muhammad was occupied only with his hunting parties. At length the national cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing by a crushing defeat, endured by the Ottoman grand army in the plain of Mohaj, the very scene of Sulimán's great victory. The troops rose in mutiny at Constantinople, exclaiming that the Sultán was the cause of all their misfortunes, and must cease to reign. Muhammad stoutly protested that, on the contrary, their defeats were owing to their own cowardice and incapacity; but he was forced to resign the throne and retire to a prison, where he lived for seven years afterwards. He had often meditated making away with his brothers, but had been restrained by their mother, and now one of them, Suliman II, was placed upon the throne. Muhammad IV had reigned for forty years, almost as long as Sulimán the Magnificent, and in his reign the Ottoman empire attained its extreme limits and then began to recede. Sulimán II was what the Persians call a "*kushk*,"† or "*kharsalih*,"‡ a man who thought that strictness in the observance of religious duties was the one end of life, and far outweighed trivial matters like justice, mercy, and truth. The Turks, always prone to reverence external sanctity, expected great things from the well-known piety of their new Sultán, but prayers could be of little avail to stay the progress of the Christian arms, or to replenish the exhausted treasury. There was no money to pay the usual donation to the sipáhis and Janissaries, but they insisted on having it, attacked the Grand Vazír in his palace, overpowered his gallant resistance, and brutally murdered him and his family, dragging his ladies naked through the streets of Constantinople, an outrage on the sanctity of the harem never before heard of among the Turks. The mutineers re-enacted the scenes which had occurred after the death of 'Othmán II, and the pious Sultán looked helplessly on. On the news that the Austrians had taken Nish, he put himself at the head of his army at Sofía, but on hearing that the Austrians were advancing, he fled back to Istambol. Fortunately for the Turks, in this peril he was wise enough to give the seals to Mustafá Kúpríli, brother of Ahmad Kúpríli, and the energy and honesty of one man again effected a marked change in the state of the empire, as well as in the fortunes of the war.

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† *Kushk*, a dry one.

‡ *Kharsalih*, a pious donkey.

The new vazír restored order in the administration, recruited the finances, quelled the mutiny and inspired the army with fresh courage. He recovered Servia and Bosnia from the Imperialists in one campaign, and the effects of his vigour were felt on all the frontiers of the empire. Just as he was starting on a fresh campaign to recover Hungary, Sultán Sulimán the Saint died of dropsy, and was succeeded by his brother Ahmad II, who nearly equalled him in piety and stupidity. The fortunes of the crescent sank again when Mustafá Kúpríli fell by an Austrian bullet on the fatal field of Salankaman, and the short reign of the second Ahmad was a period of uninterrupted disaster. He died of the same disease as his brother, and left the throne to his nephew Mustafá II, the son of Muhammad IV, a young man who appeared to possess both talent and courage. Publicly inveighing against the sloth and cowardice of his predecessors, he announced his intention of leading his armies in person, like a true descendant of the House of 'Othmán. He invaded Hungary with a large host, and had the good luck to surprise the German general Veterani, who was at the head of seven thousand men. The author of the *Fíroz Náma-i Turk* has written "*sát hazár*" (sixty thousand) instead of "*sáth hazár*" (seven thousand) for the number of the German army, and thus has converted what was really a very discreditable affair for the Turks into a brilliant victory. For it took all the efforts of the Sultán and his numerous host to prevail against Veterani's little band, and the Turkish losses were enormous.

The next year Mustafá again took the field; but he would not risk a battle with the Germans, who were commanded by the Elector of Saxony. In an attack on the Turkish camp, the latter was repulsed, and left twenty-four guns behind him. Mustafá made a triumphal entry into Constantinople, with their captured guns in his train.

Mustafá took the field for the next campaign with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Austrians had but forty-six thousand to oppose him, but they were led by a captain who was a host in himself, young Eugene of Savoy. After some manœuvring, Eugene offered battle: Mustafá refused it and marched away to invade Transylvania. Eugene pursued, and came up with the Turks as they were crossing the Theiss. The Sultán and the Sipáhis had crossed the river; but the infantry, the guns, baggage, and camp were still all on the hither side. It was a day of horrors. The one narrow bridge of boats would have taken the army a week to defile across it; but early in the day it was shattered by the German cannon. The distracted Sultán and vazír sent contradictory messages to each other across the stream. The Janissaries, howling out imprecations against their commanders, were digging like madmen to raise entrench-



ments, while the German bullets were falling thickly among them, and when the hasty trench was almost completed, it was found too extended to be held. The Janissaries abandoned it and began digging another nearer to the bridge-head, but the Germans were already advancing to the assault, and the Turkish officers tried to force their men back to the abandoned trench. From words they came to blows, and the Grand Vazír, all the Páshás, and nearly all the superior officers of the army, fell victims to the rage of the soldiery, who were driven frantic by despair. The next instant the Germans were upon them. Ten thousand Turks were slain, and ten thousand were driven into the Theiss and drowned, and all their camp, stores, guns and standards taken. The Sultán and all his cavalry watched the terrible combat from the other side of the river. After the battle, they fled with as much precipitation as if they had been beaten themselves, and made the best of their way to Belgrade. The battle of Zenta quite cured Sultán Mustafá of his passion for military glory, and he never tempted fortune again. He was the last member of the House of 'Othmán who tried his hand at the trade of a soldier.

The spirit of the Turks was quite broken by their repeated reverses, and they confessed that God himself fought on the side of the Giaurs.\* At length, in 1699, a Treaty was concluded at Carlovitz, by which the Turks gave up a large part of their empire, ceding Hungary and Transylvania to Austria, the Morea to Venice, Podolia to Poland, and Azoph to Russia. The war had lasted incessantly for eighteen years, and the resources of Turkey were quite exhausted. From this time forth the Ottoman empire became, from an object of fear, an object of contempt, and afterwards of solicitude to the European powers, while the subject Christian races now first dreamed of a possible escape from the house of bondage. Now commenced the long struggle of Greek and Slav for political freedom and religious supremacy, which has continued to our own time. The disgraceful, though necessary, peace made the Sultán unpopular, and he himself seemed to strive to drown the memory of his defeat in drunkenness and debauchery. Sedition again became rife, and the soldiery rioted at Constantinople for several weeks. At last Sultán Mustafá abdicated in favour of his brother Ahmad III, and died in retirement not long afterwards. Ahmad III was remarkable for his love of peace and quiet, and during his reign the empire was governed by his favourites. The last aggressive war ever undertaken by the Turks was their attempt upon Persia, on the favourable opportunity offered by

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\* Spelt *Gaur*, and pronounced extra vowel sound after the letter *K* in *Giaur*. The Turks, as also the Persians, having a trick of inserting an such words. As, for instance, they say *Kioshk* for *Koshk*; *Kiúplí* for *Kúplí*.



the troubles which afflicted that country on the fall of the Saffavi dynasty, and when Nádir Shah completely turned the tables on the Turks and expelled them from the country. The Janissaries, as usual, vented their rage at their defeat upon the unlucky Sultán, and Ahmad was deposed, and his nephew Mahmúd I elevated in his stead. A Janissary private headed the mutineers on this occasion, and they held high carnival in the capital for several weeks. The ringleaders were at last inveigled into the seraglio, and there seized and strangled. Mahmúd I was no more remarkable than his immediate predecessors, and during his reign, and that of his brother and successor, 'Othmán III, the Turkish empire moved easily and smoothly along the road to ruin and decay. It still preserved outwardly the appearance of majesty and power, and the splendour of the courts of the Sultáns still excited the pride of their subjects and the surprise of foreigners. The Chiefs of the House of 'Othmán indulged in a military pomp befitting sovereigns who claimed to be the successors of the Cæsars and the Khalífs of Islám, while it indulged the taste of the Turks for stately parade and martial finery. They had a proverb that "wisdom must be sought for among the Farang : wealth in India ; and pomp among the Osmánlis." \* Every Friday, the Padishah went in state to prayers at the mosque. And this ceremony could not be omitted without dangerous consequences ; for if the people missed the sight of their monarch for more than a week, sinister rumours flew about, and people said that strange things might happen in the seraglio and nobody be any the wiser. Ahmad III fell a victim to this prejudice. He proceeded in the usual state to the mosque when he was dangerously ill, and fell fainting from his horse in the midst of the procession. He died the same night.

On these occasions, the roads which the cortége traversed, were lined on each side by all the Janissaries of the capital, in their tall white regimental caps, and military dresses and equipments. They bowed low as the vazírs and high officers of the State appeared, each with his own following in order due ; distinguished one from the other by the fashions of their gorgeons garments and by the shape and size of their turbans. The Shaikh-ul Islám and the *kádis* or judges, wore turbans of a globular shape and double the size of any of the others, and were clad in robes of white súf, emblematic of purity. Two lines of Janissary colonels, with black heron's plumes in their tall cylindrical turbans, marched on foot in front of the horse of their Aghá. Immediately behind

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\* This proverb reminds us of another three things : the brain of the Fá-Oriental saying, quoted, we think, by rangi ; the tongue of the Arab, and Háji Burton :—"There is wisdom in the hand of the Chinaman."

them came the head cook of the corps, in a black leather gown, studded with knobs of silver, his girdle stuck full of enormous knives and cutlasses, whose handles concealed his face from view; while he was so hung about with silver chains and pots and pans, that he had to be supported on each side by a Janissary, to enable him to stagger forward under his load. After the Aghá of the Janissaries came the *bustánjís*, or Sultán's palace-guards, in red caps and dresses, followed by their Bustánjí Báshí; and next the led-horses of the sovereign, their housings sweeping the ground, plumes of feathers upon their frontlets, a sabre fastened to the saddle and a mace passed through the surcingle with a buckler suspended to it.

Two state turbans of the Pádishah, surmounted with nodding ostrich feathers, were borne along upon tripods covered with scarlet cloth. As they passed, the Janissaries bent low before the Imperial plumes, while the bearers inclined the turbans outwards to the right and left, as if they were returning the salute. After them, came the chosen bodies of household troops in quaint and gorgeous uniforms. The *zulfchís* or ringletteers, who wore scarlet helmets with long false ringlets fastened to them at the temples, which fell upon their shoulders; the *khásalís*, who guarded the women's apartments; the *paiks* who carried bundles of fasces, with silver hatchets in them, in imitation of the lictors who preceded the Cæsars; the *soláks*, or bowmen of the guard, marched in two lines on each side of the Sultán, their crests and feathers, shaped like an open fan, forming a regular fence which almost hid the monarch from the view of the spectators. The word *solak* means "left-handed," for those on the right hand of the Sultán all drew their bows with the left hand. Some of the palace-guards wore the old Roman crested helmet. The Sultán himself rode between the two rows of *solaks*, inclining his head slightly in return for the salutations of the Janissaries and the populace. He was attended by his armour-bearer, in a tight-fitting robe of cloth of gold. The procession was closed by the *kislar-ághá*, or chief of the eunuchs and the *khazána-dár-ághá*, or keeper of the privy purse, who scattered coins as largesse among the rabble who followed in the wake. All this barbaric splendour has vanished with the other glories of the race of 'Othmán, and the Turkish court is now the most meanly furnished, and the army the most plainly dressed of any in the civilized or semi-civilized world.

• Sultán Mustafá III, a son of Ahmad III, succeeded his uncle, 'Othmán III, on the throne. During his reign, and that of his brother and successor Abdul Hamíd I, the empire reeled under the blows of the Russians, whose arms and arts were now directed by the genius and ambition of Catherine II, who from her glory was named *khúrshid-kulah*, or "sun-crowned," by the Musulmáns.

Mustafá III had the sense to see that reform of some kind was urgently needed in Turkey, and that military must precede all other reforms, but he had neither knowledge nor vigour enough to combat the ignorance and incapacity which surrounded him. He was a well-meaning man, and died heart-broken at the defeat which his armies received from the Russians. Abdul Hamíd I was contented to tread in the old paths, but his successor Salím III, son of Mustafá, had inherited his father's reforming tendencies in his youth. He affected the society of Europeans, and learned from their conversation the ignorance and backwardness of his countrymen.

He determined to reform the army, and thus excited the old malevolence of the Janissaries, who were now the only part of the army left to be reformed; for the rest of the so-called regular troops had gradually disappeared, while the Janissaries had become a political party, representing all the vested abuses in the country. To give up their easy habits of life, and accustom themselves to the hardships of drill and the restraints of discipline, was more than they chose to do, and they soon assumed a position of open hostility to the reforming Sultán. In some places, they rebelled altogether against his authority; and it was their misconduct which caused the revolt of the Christians in Servia, and lost that province to the Ottoman empire. The Beglerbegs and Páshás took different sides in the quarrel; some of them siding with the Sultán, most of them taking the part of the Janissaries. Unluckily, Salím's ideas of reform were more superficial than radical, and it was precisely the external changes, such as those in dress and equipment, which were most offensive to the conservative feelings of the Turks. In 1806, while a Russian War was going on upon the Danube, Salím tried to put a new uniform on some Janissaries who were just called out for service. They at first consented to wear it, but, when the dress was issued to them, they mutinied, and were joined by all the Janissaries in Constantinople. Salím had raised a new force, on the European model, called the *nizám-i-jadíd*, or "new regulars;" but he shrank from a conflict with the mutineers, and endeavoured in vain to bring them to reason. They deposed and imprisoned him, placing his cousin Mustafá IV on the throne. The Páshás who commanded the army on the Danube were most of them attached to Salím; they hastened to conclude a truce with the Russians, and hurried back to Constantinople to defend their master. They were led by the valiant Páshá of Rúschuk, Mustafá Bairakdár, so called from his having once been a standard-bearer in the army. Their numbers and determination overawed all opposition. They entered the capital and forced their way into the seraglio, but at the threshold they almost stumbled over the dead body

of Salím, who had been strangled by Sultán Mustafá's orders at the very moment that the friends who had come to rescue him were thundering at the gates of his prison. The usurper had arrayed himself in his royal robes and seated himself on his throne in the audience hall, in the vain hope of overawing the intruders. Bairakdár rushed up to him, and seizing him by the collar, dragged him roughly down, exclaiming, "What dost thou do here? Give place to a worthier."

Mustafá was now strangled in his turn, and his young brother Mahmúd placed on the throne, while Bairakdár became Grand Vazir. Mustafá had ordered Mahmúd to be executed along with Salím, that his own life might be secured by his being the last survivor of the House of 'Othmán, but the child was concealed by his attendants in the empty oven used for heating a bath until the danger was over. The Janissaries and their adherents had been taken by surprise, but they now rallied their strength and assembled their forces, and attacked the adherents of réform. Bairakdár blew himself up with his palace, to escape falling into the hands of the ferocious rabble, and a regular battle raged for several days in the streets of Istambol, which was decided at last by the topjís (gunners) declaring for the Janissaries, and their united forces overwhelmed the Nizám troops: the old state of things was restored, and the empire again slid onwards, to ruin. As young Mahmúd grew up, however, he became as ardent a reformer as Salím had been, and, with his example before his eyes, he applied all his efforts to effect the ruin of the Janissaries. He gained over the 'ulamá by bribes and favours. He had his spies among the Janissaries themselves, whom he promoted to be their officers. He restored the Nizám-i jadíd, and kept them near the capital, while he sent the rest of the Janissaries by dribblets to perish in hopeless contests with the Greek insurgents. It was a perilous game that he was playing, but he knew well, and by this time many others among the Turks too saw plainly, that unless there was some reform, the empire could not stand. It was already in the throes of dissolution. When all was ready, Mahmúd provoked the Janissaries to a revolt, and then unfurled the sacred banner of the Prophet against the chosen champions of Islám. The soup-kettles were overturned that day in the *At maidán* for the last time. The insignia of the Janissaries may now be purchased as relics by the antiquary in the curiosity-shops of Constantinople.

The Turks were reformed after Sultán Mahmúd's own heart, and the decay of their empire was certainly postponed, but not arrested. The reforms of Mahmúd were similar to those effected by Peter the Great in Russia, but they were not planted in such congenial soil. Men brought up in a seraglio can hardly earn

the name of Reformers. Mahmúd never quitted his capital, nor did he ever display energy or courage after the signal instance of both which he had given in his triumph over the Janissaries. He was always the slave of the intrigues of his women and favourites, and his only ideas on the subject of war consisted in a slavish imitation of the external appearance of European soldiers. But though his reforms were intrinsically worth little, they at least delayed the immediate dissolution of the empire.

He was succeeded by his weak and worthless son Abdúl Majíd, "whose character", says Professor Creasy, "must ever command sympathy and admiration." The total absence of any character worth speaking of may certainly command our sympathy, though it is hardly a ground for claiming our admiration. But it is observable that every reigning Sultán of the House of 'Othmán is always held up by certain writers, more zealous than well-informed, to the admiration of the European public as one whose virtues should go far towards restoring the fallen fortunes of his house ; and it is not until it becomes necessary to belaud the virtues of his successor in the same fashion that it is discovered that the idol of yesterday was after all but a bit of very ordinary clay. The Pádisháhs of Turkey are like the heirs of Nawábs and Rájahs in this country, brought up in the zenána, and with the same results. The reign of King Log is as pernicious, though from opposite causes, as that of King Stork. The present Sultán appears to be no exception to the rule of incapacity which distinguishes the House of 'Othmán, if we may judge from his action in banishing the only capable man in his empire.

We have traced the growth of the race of 'Othmán through successive stages of hasty youth, stormy middle age, and senile decrepitude.

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## CYPRUS, BEFORE THE TIME OF AMASIS.

**T**HE early history of Cyprus is shrouded in even deeper obscurity than that of the other countries in its neighbourhood. Now and again the veil is momentarily lifted, in connexion with some memorable event in the annals of Egypt or Assyria, to which countries it was successively tributary. The glimpses of its condition which we obtain on these occasions, exhibit it to us as a dependency of the Phœnicians, inhabited by numerous Phœnician and Greek colonies, with monarchical institutions, existing side by side, or, more accurately perhaps, by a number of colonies which, some primarily Phœnician and others primarily Greek, had all come, in the course of time, to be inhabited by a more or less mixed Greek and Phœnician population, and in the majority of which the Greeks had, at the dawn of the historical period, acquired a well-marked political ascendancy.

Herodotus speaks of the population as being in his time of a very mixed character ; and the objects of art which, of late years, have been disinterred in vast quantities in the island by General Cesnola, Mr. Lang and others, are of a correspondingly composite type, exhibiting strong traces not only of Assyrian and Greek but also of Egyptian influence.

Authentic history tells us nothing regarding the date of either the earliest Phœnician settlements, or the Greek settlements that followed them. But, considering the great natural wealth of the island, especially in copper\* and in timber, two materials of the utmost importance to the Phœnicians, and in the working of which they had, in the Homeric age, reached a high degree

\* In spite of the concurrent testimony of the Greeks and Romans, from the time of Homer downwards, M. Gaudry, arguing from the absence of any slags or other signs of mining, as well as from the geological structure of the island, has cast doubt on the existence of copper in Cyprus. The geology of the island has, however, been far from thoroughly examined, and it seems to us unreasonable, on the strength of mere negative evidence, to set aside the positive statements of so many competent witnesses, speaking regarding patent facts of their own times. A writer in a late number of the *Engineer* has been at the pains, in connexion with this ques-

tion of the existence of copper, of exposing the ignorance of those who would derive the name of the island from *kupros*, the Greek word for copper, a confusion of ideas to which he attributes the genesis of the old traditions regarding the existence of the metal there. He points out very justly that copper was not called *kupros* till long after the island had acquired that name. This is no argument, however, against the more probable derivation of the name, *kupros* (*æs Cyprium*), copper, from the name of the island which was believed to be the principal source of the metal in Europe. It may be noted here that there is another derivation for the name *Kupros*, as applied to

of perfection ; remembering, too, that its shores were visible on a clear day from the Phœnician coast, it is but reasonable to suppose that Cyprus was one of the first countries, if not the first country, beyond the sea, colonised by that great maritime people. Indeed, it may very well have been the accident of its proximity to their coast that supplied the stimulus necessary to call into action their latent capacity for maritime enterprise. If this was the case, the latest date which, consistently with well-ascertained facts, can be assigned to the first Phœnician colonization of Cyprus, will lie somewhere in the sixteenth century before the Christian era, while an even earlier date might be ascribed to it without much improbability.

On the other hand, the earliest period to which known facts would justify us in referring the first establishment of the Greeks in the island, is some three centuries later. In the reign of Rameses II, the Greeks were strong enough on the sea to play an important part, in conjunction with other maritime peoples of the Mediterranean, in an invasion of Egypt. By Menepthah's time their naval power seems to have undergone still further development ; while in that of Rameses III, they, along with Italian and Pelasgic allies, succeeded in wresting the command of the sea, for a time at least, from the hands of the Phœnicians.

The foundation of their first colonies in Cyprus, which Greek tradition places at the close of the Trojan War, may reasonably be supposed, then, to have taken place somewhere between these two periods.

The Egyptian chronology of the dynasties to which these kings belonged is still uncertain ; but the mean of the extreme dates given for the accession of Menepthah is B. C. 1300, and the true date is probably some fifty years later.

In the list of the maritime nations which invaded Egypt in his reign, the Greeks appear under the name of *Achaiói* (*Achaiusha*), a circumstance which furnishes us with the means of fixing approximately the date of that event. For the appellation in question, which was applied to the Greeks at the time of the Trojan War, is known to have been in use for only about a hundred and forty years, *i.e.*, from the time of the ascendancy of the great Achæan dynasty at Mycenæ to that of the return of

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the island, first, apparently, put forward by the Père Lusignan, and favoured by Bochart and the Chevalier Jauna, *viz.*, from *kophr*, the Hebrew and for *henna*, a plant which is reputed to have been largely cultivated by its inhabitants. Before this derivation can be accept-

ed, however, it remains to be explained how it was that, while the Hebrews called the island *Kittim*, or *Chittim*, the Greeks had recourse to the language of that people for a new name for it, selected on account of the growth of a product of so little importance to them as *henna*.

the Heraklidæ, or say, from the middle of the thirteenth to the close of the twelfth century before the Christian era. Mr Gladstone inclines, on what are we think insufficient grounds to the older dates; and we may notice here, *en passant*, that his argument for placing the siege of Troy before B. C. 1209 based on the fact that, while Tyre is not mentioned by Homer, and Zidon was then in its vigour, the latter city was destroyed by the Philistines in that year, is considerably weakened by the fact that Zidon subsequently recovered, and its ascendancy was still acknowledged in the reign of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, some six hundred years later.

The probable position—within the limits above described—of the date of the first Greek colonization of Cyprus would depend very much upon the character of that colonization. If it was a peaceful operation, as is not improbable, it may have taken place comparatively early; if, on the other hand, it was the result of a hostile invasion, it could scarcely have occurred before the reign of Rameses III, when, as will be presently seen, the confederated maritime nations overran the Phœnician mainland. At any rate, the latter period is presumptively the earliest to which the political ascendancy of the Greeks in the island can fairly be assigned.

Our only contemporary authorities for the affairs of Cyprus—indeed our only sources of definite information regarding those affairs—previously to the time of Amasis, in the sixth century before the Christian era, are, if we except the portion of a Tyrian chronicle preserved in Josephus, the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, and the papyri and monuments of Egypt.

We propose now to examine these sources of evidence more in detail, beginning with that which furnishes the most definite information, *viz.*, the Assyrian records. We shall then notice the less definite evidence furnished by the Egyptian monuments, and finally take a brief glance at the testimony of tradition and of the later Greek and Hebrew writers.

The author of the somewhat perfunctory, and frequently incorrect, article on Cyprus in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, tells us that the first positive fact in the history of the island is its conquest by the Egyptian king Amasis, in the sixth century before Christ. The name of the island, however, occurs several times, in connection with very positive facts, of date long anterior to the time of Amasis, in the Assyrian annals to which we have just referred.

The first of these allusions occurs in the fourteenth year of the great Assyrian king Sargon, or in the year B. C. 708. It relates that seven of the kings of the island paid tribute to that monarch, who, in commemoration of the event, sent over to Cyprus a stele of himself, which is now in the Berlin Museum.

We have already referred to an earlier mention of Cyprus in connection with Assyrian and Phœnician history, which, though it is not found in the inscriptions, is corroborated by them, and may perhaps lay claim to the character of contemporary authority. In the year B. C. 724, Shalmaneser IV, the immediate predecessor of Sargon, invaded the Phœnician coast, and, being joined by the people of Zidon, Akko, and other cities of the neighbourhood, laid siege to Tyre, then governed by king Lulia, the same presumably who, when attacked twenty years later by Sennacherib, fled to Cyprus. With the aid of these Phœnician allies, Shalmaneser raised a fleet of sixty vessels, with which he attacked the Tyrian fleet of twelve vessels, but suffered a disastrous defeat. Now, according to the fragment of the Tyrian chronicle already referred to as being preserved in Josephus, the Citians, inhabitants of Citium, or Kittim, one of the principal cities of Cyprus, had shortly before this invasion of Shalmaneser, revolted against Lulia, but Lulia had reduced them to submission, and it was with the aid of their ships that he destroyed the Assyrio-Phœnician fleet.

In this place, too, we may notice an obscure cuneiform inscription, describing the conquests of the older Sargina, or Sargon, king of Upper Babylonia, and a usurper, probably of Semitic origin, who founded a new and powerful dynasty at Agane, and who appears to have been engaged, from the second to the sixth year of his reign, in a series of campaigns against the tribes of the Syrian Coast, the land of Martu, or Akharri.

In this inscription, which has been assigned to the nineteenth century before our era, occurs the following curious passage :

“When the moon, as a lion, appears, a moon omen, Sargon who upon this omen  
“Rose up, an equal or rival he had not against the peace of his land as far as  
“The lands of the sea of the setting sun, he had crossed, and the third year as  
far as the setting sun,

“His hand captured the whole of it. The place first he established,

“His images before the setting sun (he set up) Their spoil from the land of  
the sea he caused to cross.

Now by the land of the sea of the setting sun, Cyprus is reasonably supposed to have been meant; and if this interpretation is correct, and this isolated inscription, unsupported by any further allusions to the island for upwards of a thousand years, can be accepted as conclusive evidence, it would follow not only that the Egyptian suzerainty established over the Phœnicians in the time of Thothmes I was preceded by an Accadian suzerainty, but that Cyprus was invaded by the Accadian monarch, doubtless by means of Phœnician ships, at that remote date.

Mr. Boscawen is disposed to see some corroboration of this interpretation in the fact that a cylinder seal has been discovered by General Cesnola in a temple at Curium, bearing the inscription—



## 696 *Cyprus, before the Time of Amasis.*

Abil Istar,  
Son of Ilu Balid,  
Servant of the God Naram Sin :

Naram Sin being the name of a son of the identical Sargon, of Agane, referred to in the above inscription, who, he suggests, may have been afterwards deified. It is evident, however, that the mere fact of such a seal being discovered in a Cyprian temple is insufficient to connect even the person whose name it bears, still less him whose servant he calls himself, with the island.

As to the inscription of the elder Sargon, we may well suspend our judgment concerning it pending further researches, remarking in the mean time that it is inconsistent neither with known facts nor with probability.

In the reign of Sennacherib, the successor of Sargon, we again hear of Cyprus, under circumstances which show that a close relationship still subsisted between it and the Phœnicians of the neighbouring coast. Incited by the Egyptians, and taking advantage probably of the pre-occupation of Sennacherib in a succession of campaigns on his southern and eastern frontiers, first against Babylon, and then against the nations to the north of Elam, and the revolted dependency of Ellipi, Hezekiah, king of Judah, together with Lulia, king of Tyre and Zidon, and a number of the smaller kings of the Phœnician coast, had formed a confederacy against the Assyrian monarch and raised the standard of revolt. In the year B. C. 702, accordingly, when the campaigns just mentioned had been brought to a successful close, Sennacherib turned his arms against this confederacy, and first attacked Lulia, king of Tyre. Lulia, being unprepared, thought discretion the better part of valour, and fled, in one of his ships, from the city of Tyre to Yatnan, or Cyprus. Of the revolted Phœnician towns, Tyre alone seems to have offered a successful resistance.

About the year B. C. 690, Sennacherib made a second expedition into Palestine, the accounts of which are obscure, but which probably was not so successful as that just mentioned, for it appears to have been followed by a period of inactivity on the part of the Assyrians during which the Elamites ravaged their borders with impunity. Moreover, in the early part of the reign of Esarhaddon, his successor, we find the Phœnicians still in revolt against Assyria.

After the new king had disposed of the Chaldeans, he marched against Zidon, then ruled by Abdi Milkutti, totally destroyed it, and beheaded that king, together with his ally, Sandarri, king of Sis. This success led to the submission of the whole of Palestine and the neighbouring coast, including Tyre, then governed by Bahal, while at the same time, we are told, the ten kings of Cyprus sent their tribute.



A nominal list of these kings is furnished ; and it is noteworthy that, notwithstanding the close dependence of the island upon Tyre, of which this circumstance furnishes a further proof, the names of most of them are plainly Greek, *viz.*, Aegisthus, king of Idalium ; Pythagoras, king of Kidrusi ; Kin—, king of Soli ; Ithuander, king of Paphos ; Erisu, king of Salamis ; Damastes, king of Curium ; Karmes, king of Tamissus ; Damos, king of Ammochosta (Famagusta) ; Unasagus, king of Lidini, and Puzus, king of Aphrodisia. It is remarkable, however, that, though Salamis was the most distinctly Greek of all the colonies, the name of its ruler in this list is Phœnician.

For the “ Kin—” of the list may probably be read Kinures, while Ithuander has been identified with the Eteandros, whose name appears in Cypriote characters on two gold bracelets found in a temple at Curium by General Cesnola.

One of the results of this campaign seems to have been the aggrandisement of Tyre, whose king Bahal managed to secure the favour of the conqueror ; and a convention was entered into, by which Esarhaddon made over to that city a large portion of the coast and surrounding country. Another cause which tended to enrich Tyre at this time was the overthrow of the sister city of Zidon, the trade of which was transferred to her in consequence.

Bahal, however, in his prosperity, proved ungrateful for these favours, and, ‘instigated’ probably by Tirhakah, who had just recovered Egypt from the Ethiopians, entered into an alliance with that monarch against Assyria, B. C. 671, thus showing himself true to the character for cunning ascribed to the Phœnicians by Homer, and afterwards to their colonists at Carthage by the Romans.

Esarhaddon took the field and invested Tyre. Finding, however, that there was little chance of reducing the place as long as it retained the command of the sea, and could draw reinforcements and supplies from Egypt, Esarhaddon resolved first to break the power of the Egyptians. He accordingly marched into their country from Aphek in Lebanon ; completely overthrew Tirhakah ; captured Memphis, with a vast amount of treasure and the wives and concubines of the king, and then, pursuing his journey up the Nile, penetrated as far as Thebes and annexed the whole of the intervening country to Assyria.

What occurred at Tyre in the meantime, has not been ascertained. It may be that Esarhaddon raised the siege when he set out on his campaign against Egypt, or the siege may have been continued by one of his generals. There is no notice, however, of the submission of the place, and from what happened three years later, it would seem either that no such submission was made, or that the city must immediately afterwards have reasserted its independence.

Esarhaddon died B. C. 668, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Assur Bani Pal, who had, indeed, been associated with him in the government after his return from Egypt.

Esarhaddon had no sooner retired from Egypt than Tirhakah, who in the meantime had fled into Ethiopia, renewed the contest with great vigour; and by the time of Assur Bani Pal's accession had recovered his throne, driven out the Assyrian Governors, and again made Memphis his capital. Assur Bani Pal accordingly determined to lead an army into Egypt and recover the country. Marching by Syria and the Mediterranean coast, he crossed the Egyptian frontier to Kurhanet, where he defeated Tirhakah's general, and finally re-took both Memphis and Thebes. What we wish more particularly to note, however, is that, on his way along the Mediterranean coast, the Assyrian monarch, like his predecessor, received tribute not only from the twelve kings of Palestine, including the king of Tyre, but also from the ten kings of Cyprus.

Tirhakah afterwards again revolted, was again defeated, and died. Nud-ammon, his successor, made a similar attempt to restore the independence of Egypt, with a similar result, Thebes being on this occasion completely destroyed. These Egyptian revolts were, as usual, accompanied by Tyrian revolts; and, after his campaign against Nud-ammon, Assur Bani Pal again laid siege to this flourishing city. Reduced to extremities by want of water, Yahimelek, the king, sued for peace, and was glad to give Assur Bani Pal his daughters and nieces in marriage, with rich dowries. The smaller kingdoms of the coast, including the Island of Arvad followed his example; and perhaps the kings of Cyprus also paid the customary tribute, but they are not mentioned on the occasion.

Great changes in the fortunes of Egypt and the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean were however dawning. Psammetichus, king of Memphis and Sais, aided by Gyges the Lydian, expelled the Assyrian garrisons from the former country for the last time. The prestige of the Assyrians on the Mediterranean coasts was doubtless much shaken by this event; and, during the campaign of Assur Bani Pal against the Arabians, Usu and Akko, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, threw off the yoke, but met with severe chastisement. Tyre itself, owing probably to the family relations subsisting between it and Assur Bani Pal, does not seem to have joined them on this occasion. Towards the end of the reign, however, she again revolted; and Assur Bani Pal, having marched against her, deposed her king, and appointed an Assyrian Governor in his place. In connection with this event, again, no mention is made of any submission on the part of the kings of Cyprus, who, it is probable, seeing the Tyrians unable to defend

themselves, asserted their independence, and who were unlikely in any case to acknowledge an Assyrian Governor.

We have thus seen that the mention of Cyprus by name in connexion with Assyrian affairs, in the cuneiform inscriptions, commences with the reign of Sargon, in the year B. C. 708, and ceases with the first expedition of Assur Bani Pal against Egypt; and that the connexion consisted in the sending of presents, or the paying of tribute, to the Assyrian monarch, an act of homage which appears to have generally, if not always, had for its antecedent the submission of Tyre and Zidon, or, at all events, of Tyre. No record exists of any invasion of Cyprus itself by the Assyrians, whose naval power was never considerable, and was probably dependent on Phœnician ships and crews, or of any direct conflict between the two countries; nor is it likely that anything of the kind took place. For offensive purposes Cyprus, there can be little doubt, was altogether beyond the reach of the Assyrians, and the only injury it had to fear at their hands, was exclusion from the great emporia of Tyre and Zidon, where doubtless its merchants did an extensive trade in copper, timber, and oil.

We are disposed, in short, to think that the allegiance of Cyprus to the Assyrian sovereign was a purely nominal affair, dictated partly by commercial considerations, and arising out of its relations with the two great cities on the Phœnician coast.

From the mere absence of any reference to this allegiance in connexion with Assur Bani Pal's later successes against Tyre, no certain conclusion can be drawn, since the imperfect state of the Assyrian records of the time detracts largely from the value of such purely negative evidence. It is noteworthy, however, that the omission is synchronous with the expulsion of the Assyrians from Egypt, with the aid of Greek troops, brought by Gyges from the coast of Asia Minor, and it seems not improbable that this event may have led the kings of Cyprus, themselves for the most part Greeks, to cast off even this nominal allegiance, or, it may be, to transfer it to Egypt. According to the Greek accounts, indeed, it was not until the reign of Aahmes II (Amasis) that the Egyptians actually secured a footing in Cyprus. But Apries, the predecessor of Amasis, is said to have defeated the fleets of Cyprus and Phœnicia in a naval battle; and in the reign of Necho II, the successor of Psammetichus, twenty years earlier, the Egyptians had succeeded in establishing some sort of naval supremacy in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

As to the influence of Assyrian art, which might, perhaps, be thought to presuppose the existence of a very intimate connexion between the two countries, it was probably through Tyre, and not by direct importation from Assyria, still less as a consequence of Assyrian occupation, that it found its way into the island.

## 700. *Cyprus, before the Time of Amasis.*

Though, as we have seen, the first mention of the payment of tribute by Cyprus to the Assyrians occurs in connection with the expedition of Sargon, the suzerainty of Assyria over Tyre and Zidon dates at least as far back as the Syrian expedition of Assur Nazir Pal, in B. C. 870. Though, as we have already remarked, the incompleteness of the Assyrian records, so far as they are at present known to us, would generally prevent our inferring from their silence that Cyprus did not also acknowledge that suzerainty, there is one case in which this reason does not apply. One of the two known records of the reign of Vulnirari III contains a detailed list of his conquests both in the East and in the West; and this list, while it includes Phœnicia, the Mediterranean Coast, and the cities of Tyre and Zidon, makes no mention of Cyprus, or of any island of the Mediterranean. As the list was evidently intended to be a complete one, we are justified in concluding that Cyprus was not among the countries which submitted to Vulnirari III on the occasion of his Syrian expedition, which probably took place about the year B. C. 797; and if this inference is correct, the probability of its having recognised the Assyrian suzerainty at an earlier date is comparatively small.

The suzerainty of Assyria over the cities of Phœnicia was preceded by that of Egypt, though there may not improbably have been an intervening period during which they were independent.

This Egyptian suzerainty was probably first established in the time of Thothmes I, or in the latter end of the sixteenth century before Christ. No distinct reference to Cyprus occurs in the Egyptian records of this period, or for many centuries afterwards; but there are good reasons for believing that it paid tribute on more than one occasion. In the reign of Thothmes III, the Kefa, or Phœnicians, are described as having dependent colonies "in the midst of the great basin of the sea," a description intended, there can be little doubt, for the colonies in Cyprus; and these colonies are represented as joining with the Phœnicians in sending tribute—gold and silver in rings; vases, of the class called by the Greeks *rhyton*; a gold vase in the shape of the head of a cock (more probably an eagle's head, the domestic fowl being then unknown in Western Asia); jewels; plates of gold, and ivory. In the reign of the great Rameses II (sometimes identified with Sesostris), the Egyptians went beyond the mere exaction of tribute, and established a chain of garrisons in Phœnicia and Palestine. It was in this reign that the Hittites formed a great maritime league against Egypt, the nations forming which are mentioned in the poem of Pentaur, the "Egyptian Iliad," and included the Mysians, the Lycians, the Dardans, and the Trojans. The confederates were defeated, and finally a very elaborate treaty was entered



into between Rameses and the Hittite king, whose daughter he received in marriage.

We have already, in connection with the advent of the Achæoi on the scene, alluded to the invasion of Egypt by the Greeks and other maritime nations in the reign of Meneptah, the successor of Rameses II, on which occasion they fought in alliance with the Libyans and other North African nations.

Rameses III again, in the eighth year of his reign, inflicted a severe defeat, both by land and by sea, on a confederacy composed of the Sardinians, Osci, Sicilians, Pelasgi, Teucrians, Tursha, or Etruscans, and Danai, who are spoken of as having come up from the Isles of the Mediterranean and the Coasts of Asia Minor, and who are declared to have subdued the peoples of the Phœnician Coast on their way, as far as Amor, to the south-west of the Dead Sea. The confederates are described as having been taken as in a net, and fallen in the mouth of the Nile. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Rameses III followed up this great victory by invading the countries from which the maritime nations came, or that he possessed any sea-going fleet adequate for the purpose. Indeed, the probability is that the disaster which befel the fleet of the invaders in the mouth of the Nile, was due to their previous defeat on land, owing to which their ships were only partially manned.

The Greek maritime cities and their allies would seem, about this time, to have obtained the command of the Mediterranean, a fact which affords some reason for thinking that the political ascendancy of the Greeks in Cyprus, the existence of which some centuries later is so strikingly exhibited by the list of the ten kings who paid tribute to Esarhaddon, may date from the same period.

In connection with the subject of an Egyptian suzerainty over Cyprus, we may here appropriately recall to mind the fiction of Odysseus, *Od.* XVII, 424-444, in which the hero relates how he went to Egypt with a buccaneering crew, doubtless Phœnicians, who laid waste the country and attacked its inhabitants, and how, at last, when his party had been overpowered and captured by an overwhelming force of Egyptians, they made him over to Demetor, king of Cyprus.

As in the case of the Assyrians, it is, we think, extremely doubtful whether, before the time of Amasis, this suzerainty ever extended to anything beyond the exaction of tribute. There is a possibility, indeed, that something of the nature of an occupation of the island may have taken place in the reign of Thothmes III. For Egypt at that time, according to the Karnak inscription, possessed the control of a powerful fleet, which conquered Crete, the islands of the Ægean, and portions of



the coast of Greece and Asia Minor ; and Cyprus, though not mentioned by name, may have been included among the parts invaded by it. But it appears to be beyond doubt that it was with the ships of their tributaries, the Phœnicians, and not with a navy of their own, that the Egyptians made these conquests, if conquests they can be called ; and by such a means, it is evident, no permanent maritime supremacy, and consequently no lasting hold on dependencies across the sea, could be maintained. As a matter of fact, we know that both the marine and the maritime supremacy in question were purely temporary, not lasting probably more than a century.

Moreover, these events are susceptible of another, and, we think, a more probable construction, *viz.*, that the Phœnicians practically made use of the suzerain power to extend their own influence, and that the territories, conquered in the name of Egypt, and by means of Egyptian troops conveyed in Phœnician vessels, were at once made over to the Phœnicians, to have and to hold as tributaries of Egypt. Such a theory would attach a special significance to the fact that, while Crete and the islands of the Archipelago are mentioned among the places invaded, Cyprus is not so mentioned ; for if, as we consider unquestionable, Cyprus was already occupied by the Phœnicians, they would have had every motive for keeping the Egyptians out of it, and none for carrying them to it.

Mr. Gladstone says : " The Egyptian history of the maritime conquests of Thothmes III, if we are allowed the almost inevitable assumption that the nautical instrument for creating the supremacy was Phœnician, reads like an account, in other words, of what Thucydides has slightly but firmly sketched from general tradition, and what we are enabled to gather with a considerable amount of proof from Homer, respecting the empire of Minos in Crete over the archipelago and on the continent of Greece."

Now there is little doubt that Minos was a Phœnician, and that the Cretan supremacy of those days was consequently Phœnician.

For any more intimate relationship between Egypt and Cyprus we must come down to the reign of Necho. in whose time the Egyptians first turned their attention to maritime enterprise on a large scale. Egyptians, no doubt, visited the island previously, for the purposes of trade, or out of curiosity ; but it was probably in Phœnician vessels that they did so, and even Pharaoh Necho himself was compelled to employ Phœnician navigators.

We have remarked above that, while the sixteenth century is the latest period to which, consistently with the known facts of history, the first Phœnician colonization of Cyprus can be referred, a much earlier date might, without much improbability, be

assigned to that event. We might, perhaps, put the case more strongly, and say that probability distinctly favours an earlier date. We now proceed to examine the reasons for this opinion.

It has already been shewn that in the reign of Thothmes III, *i. e.*, probably not later than the beginning of the 15th century B. C. (Wilkinson assigns the commencement of the reign of this Thothmes to B. C. 1495), the Egyptians, carried by Phœnician ships, invaded and conquered Crete and the islands of the archipelago, together with part of the Grecian mainland; and we have pointed out strong reasons for believing that this colonization was really Phœnician, rather than Egyptian. Greek tradition and archæological research strongly corroborate this view of the character of the invasions under Thothmes III, inasmuch as they establish the fact of extensive Phœnician colonization of the regions in question from about that period, which is the essential fact in the present argument.

It needs no detailed reasoning to prove that the nation which possessed a marine capable of performing these exploits, or even of discharging the function of transports for the military forces necessary for their performance, must have already cultivated the arts of ship-building and navigation for a considerable period. At a very moderate estimate two or three centuries, at the least, must have elapsed from the beginnings of Phœnician navigation before it could have been in a condition for them not only to attempt such an enterprise, but to succeed in it. In other words, it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that the Phœnicians must have been navigating the Mediterranean from the 18th century before our era, at the very latest.

Now, as we have already observed, it may be assumed with very little hesitation that Cyprus would have been the first insular position of importance colonized by this people. In the first place, it was the nearest to their shores,—so near that it could have been easily reached, in fine weather, in comparatively small vessels, and was almost certain to be well known to them as soon as they ventured to put out to sea at all, even though only as fishermen. In the second place, its natural wealth was such that, being known to them, it could scarcely have failed to attract them. Further, it is highly probable that it possessed no civilized population before this period, and consequently its colonization would have been attended with no formidable military difficulties.

We are justified, then, on these grounds alone, and altogether apart from such testimony as that of the inscription of the elder Sargon already referred to, in concluding that the Phœnicians had in all probability settled in Cyprus at least two or three centuries before the time of Thothmes III, *i. e.*, in the eighteenth century before the Christian era.

There is, however, another group of facts which make, though it may be with less approach to certainty, for a still more remote antiquity for this colonization.

We have as yet no infallible means of fixing the date at which the neo-lithic, was succeeded by the bronze, age in any part of Europe; but we know that in those parts which were earliest civilised, *i. e.*, in Italy and Greece, the change had taken place long before the dawn of history.

The age represented by the objects discovered at Mycenæ and Hissarlik, which is indubitably pre-Homeric, and probably not later than the twelfth century before our era, is that of the later bronze, or the period of the transition from bronze to iron. The same may be said of the discoveries at Modena, Emilia, and other places in the plains of Lombardy, and of those of Count Gozzadini in the Certosa at Bologna. This was an age at which the art of working in metals had reached a very high stage of development, as is shown not only by the shapes of the vessels and other articles, but by the elaborate processes of ornamentation in *repoussée* and bas-relief which many of them underwent.

To give an idea of the highly wrought character of this ornamentation, we cannot do better than quote, from a late writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, a description of one of the bronze urns found at Bologna.

This urn, we are told, "is ornamented with bas-reliefs, representing a procession in three zones. Two horsemen and thirteen footmen with couched lances, helmets and shields, lead the way; then come priests and their attendants, with the victims for sacrifice; an ox, over whose head is a bird, and a goat, hurried along by the horns, and two mules. The three figures, whom we take to represent priests, have on their heads broad-brimmed hats, similar to those worn by some of the French curés; behind them comes a big dog. The third zone, which resumes the direction of the first, displays the agricultural pursuits preceding the preparations for the feast: a calf carried on the shoulders of two slaves, a pig drawn by a third, and others following. In the centre of the groups, acting the *point de mire*, appears the idea which inspires the whole. At one end of a couch, *biclinium* or *anaclynteris*, whose arms are adorned with griffins' heads, sits a lyre-player, at the other a performer on the syrinx, each backed by a small boy in the nude. They wear the huge *pileus* before alluded to; and between them hangs another *situla*. Rural episodes—on the right hare-hunting and bird-netting with the *varra*, and on the left a peasant carrying his primitive plough and driving his steers—finish both ends of this third zone. Finally, the fourth or lowest is filled with fantastic animals—five-winged chimæras, two quadrupeds, a stag, and so forth."

Now an age which could produce metal work of this character must, there can be no doubt, have been removed by many centuries of gradual progress from those first beginnings of the art which are associated with the neo-lithic or later stone age.

If it could be settled with certainty that the beginning of the art of working metals was due to the Phœnicians, or that the Phœnicians were the first to introduce it into Europe, we should be compelled to refer the commencement of their commercial intercourse with the shores of the Mediterranean to a more remote period than even the eighteenth century before our era. This, however, in spite of the Greek traditions on the subject, cannot be settled with absolute certainty.

Until lately it was believed that no important source of tin was worked in Europe before the historic period, except the Cornish and Spanish mines, worked by the Phœnicians, the great source of whose copper was probably the mines of Cyprus. Had this been the case, all the circumstances would have pointed to the Phœnicians as the originators and earliest carriers of the bronze-wares which are found scattered over the greater part of Europe, not only in Mediterranean but in Trans-alpine regions. For the mines which could have supplied the tin for so vast a manufacture, carried on through many centuries, must necessarily have been extensive, and no nation without the command of the sea could have maintained the traffic with these distant parts necessary for its diffusion in such large quantities and over so wide an area. It has, however, been lately discovered that large mines of both tin and copper not only existed in close proximity to one another, but were extensively worked, at a very remote period, in Tuscany. Numerous remains of foundries, too, show that the Etruscans worked the metal itself largely at this ancient period, and there is strong evidence in favour of the view that it was a land-traffic, starting from these foundries, that supplied Northern Europe with its bronze weapons, utensils and ornaments.

Upon this basis a theory has been founded by some writers, that it is not only to the Etruscans that certain portions of Northern Europe were indebted for their bronze-wares, but that the art of manufacturing such wares originated independently with them, and that they supplied the other countries of Europe with them before the arrival of the Phœnicians.

Though we admit the possibility of this theory being true, there are two circumstances which point to another as far more probable, *viz.*, that it was from the Phœnicians that these Etruscan founders themselves derived their knowledge of the use of bronze, and that it was only after they had been so instructed that they began to work the tin-mines of Cento Camerelle, and to manufacture the alloy on their own behalf.



In the first place, then, in all the great finds of bronze-wares, whether in Tuscany, or, again, at Reallon and other places in France, or even in Transalpine Europe, the favourite forms of ornamentation—patterns in right lines and circles; spirals; the fylfot, etc.—are such as are known to be characteristic of Phœnician art, and the prevalence of which can be traced in an unbroken line all along the north-eastern and northern shores of the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor to the islands and coasts of Greece and Italy. So predominant, indeed, are these forms of ornamentation in what have been called the Palæo-Etruscan bronze remains, that some writers have actually been led to speak of them as distinctive of Etruscan Art.

The other fact is that, associated with many of the most ancient of these deposits, as for instance those of Reallon and Cervetri, of the lake habitations of Bourget, of Bologna, of Etruria, and even of Transalpine Europe, are found not only beads and other ornaments of amber, but beads and vessels of coloured glass, sometimes worked into patterns, articles which there is the strongest reason for believing to be of Phœnician manufacture.

Thus, in any case, we have articles of presumably Phœnician, and certainly not of Etruscan, manufacture, associated with the earliest bronze manufactures of Europe; and it is difficult to understand how this association could have arisen except through the intervention of Phœnician maritime commerce.

These facts taken together, we think, plead eloquently for a very remote antiquity for Phœnician navigation.

We now propose to glance briefly at the information respecting Cyprus during the period under notice, furnished by the classical writers of antiquity. Embodied long after the events to which it refers, and based for the most part on tradition rather than authentic records, this information, though frequently of a much more circumstantial character than that furnished by the monuments, is necessarily of subordinate value as evidence. Foremost among the writers in question is Herodotus, whose statement regarding the mixed nature of the population we have already noticed. He tells us, in fact, that the island was inhabited by three different races, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks, the last of whom he distinguishes as Arcadians, Cythnians and Athenians, referring their advent to the time of the return from Troy. Both Herodotus and Diodorus declare that the Cyprians retained their independence till the time of Amasis, who was the first to conquer them, though Apries his predecessor invaded the island, after making himself master of Phœnicia, and carried away a great booty. Herodotus is generally so trustworthy a witness that we may fairly accept this statement as strongly corroborating our view that the suzerainty of the Assyrians and Egyptians over the island was of a purely nominal character.



The Greeks appear to have recognised at least fifteen cities and nine separate kingdoms in the island.

Among these nine kingdoms, the boundaries of which probably underwent frequent changes, Amathus, situated on the south coast, near the site of the modern Limasol, was regarded as the most ancient. Scylax calls the inhabitants of the district Autochthons:—they were certainly Phœnicians, and the name of the colony is probably identical with the Phœnician Emath. Eratosthenes is said to have written a voluminous history of this city, which unfortunately has not been preserved, but is quoted by Suidas and others.

Amathus is said to have contained a celebrated temple dedicated to Adonis Osiris, a significant combination of an Assyrian with an Egyptian cult. In this temple Aphrodite is also said to have been worshipped under the name of Amathusia, "*sous la figure d'un homme barbu, qui reunissait en lui les deux sexes.*" This statement of Theophrastus and other Greek writers, regarding the form under which Aphrodite was worshipped, finds striking confirmation in one of the statues discovered by General di Cesnola at Golgoi, and described in his splendid work on Cyprian antiquities. This statue, which represents a person with the beard of a man and the breasts of woman, wearing her hair in six long tresses, three falling over each shoulder, and holding in one hand a dove and in the other a cup, we have little hesitation in identifying with Aphrodite. A similar statue, in marble, believed to be also of Cyprian origin, but perhaps a relic of a local worship of Aphrodite, was found at Marseilles in the 17th century, and is now in the Museum at Lyons. In the same temple was preserved a famous necklet, which local tradition identified with that given by Vulcan to Hermione, but which Pausanias acutely observes was of gold set with emeralds, whereas the mythical necklet of Hermione was of plain gold.

Plutarch notices a tradition, which he professes to have derived from a work by one Poeon, a native of Amathus, that Theseus on his return from Crete with his wife Ariadne, being driven on to the coast of Cyprus by contrary winds, put in at Amathus, and there landed Ariadne, who was in an interesting condition and much distressed with the fatigues and discomforts of the voyage. Theseus, having returned on board his ship for some temporary purpose, was swept out to sea by a sudden squall. In the meantime Ariadne, believing that her husband had intentionally abandoned her, was overwhelmed with grief, and, in spite of the assiduous efforts of the ladies of the place to console her, died of a broken heart. Theseus, returning after the sad event, instituted a festival in her honour, and dedicated to her two little images, one of silver and the other of bronze,

doubtless the much-cherished household gods which she had brought away with her from her Cretan home.

Further to the west was the famous city of Paphos, now Baffo, and said to have originally been called Eritika. The foundation of this city, referred by Herodotus to Kinyras, whom the genealogy of Apollodorus makes son of Sadok, the Phœnician, is placed by Eusebius in the 224th year before the siege of Troy. Homer speaks of Paphos as being situated at a distance of six stadia from the sea, on the banks of the Aphrodisia, at the embouchure of which river Aphrodite was reputed to have first landed. Here it was, at all events, that the most ancient of her temples was erected, her worship, in the form of a pyramid surrounded by torches, having been introduced, according to Herodotus, from Ascalon, its most ancient seat, on the coast of Palestine.

At a distance of 60 stadia from old Paphos was subsequently founded—by Agapenor, according to the Greek tradition—a new city, to which the same name, of Paphos, was given, its rival being thenceforth, for the sake of distinction, called Palæ-Paphos.

Among the most ancient of the cities was Citium, the Kittim or Chittim of the Hebrew writers who confounded it with the entire island, if not with the islands of the Mediterranean generally. Citium was situated to the east of Amathus, in the same spot as the modern Larnaka, and we hardly need the testimony of Suidas to its Phœnician origin. Tradition assigned its foundation, like that of Lapathus, to Baal, or Belus, himself; and it is celebrated as the birthplace of Zeno the Stoic.

Salamis, on the east coast, near the site of the modern Famagusta, was reputed by the Greeks, according to Athenæus, to have been founded by Teucer, when expelled by his father from the island of Salamis. Teucer is said to have brought with him both Greek and Trojan followers, and to have been aided in his enterprise by Kinyras, the ally of Agamemnon, one of whose daughters he married. According to Tacitus, it was Teucer who introduced the worship of Zeus at Salamis, where there was an ancient temple of that divinity.

Salamis appears to have established some sort of political supremacy over the other cities of the island, which it maintained with occasional interruptions up to a late period. Among the remaining cities were Lapathos, already alluded to, Karpasos, Soli, and Kytri, perhaps identifiable with Kerynæa. Both Lapathos and Soli were, according to Plutarch, the capitals of kingdoms, and the latter, which appears to have been a Greek colony, was said to have been founded by Akamas and Phaleros, and to have been first named Soli after Solon, who sojourned there during his travels and was received with great honour by its king, Kypranor.

The bad Greek spoken by its inhabitants was said to have given rise to the term solecism, as applied to an impropriety of speech.

Among other legends connected with the island is that of the rape of the Cyprian women by Dido, during her flight by sea from Tyre, for the purpose of providing husbands for her male followers.

We have already alluded to the story in which Odysseus is made by the author of the *Odyssey* to relate how, when he got involved in an attack on the Egyptians by his crew of piratical Phœnicians, he was made over to Demetor, king of Cyprus, thus proving at least the existence in the time of the writer of a tradition of some kind of relationship between the rulers of Egypt and those of the island. In *Od.* I, 184, the same writer speaks of the Taphians carrying iron to Temese in Cyprus and intending to bring back copper; while in *Iliad*, XI. 15-46, he relates how Kinyras, the ally of Agamemnon, already mentioned, on hearing of the Trojan expedition, sent, as a present to that monarch, a splendid corslet, of bronze, gold and tin.

The references to Cyprus, under the name of Chittim, in the Hebrew Scriptures are not very definite, and throw little light on the history or condition of the island, beyond the fact of its being a place of wealth and importance, famous for its ships.

In Numbers XXIV, 24, Balaam is described as predicting, in the course of his prophecy, that "ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever." In the prophetic description of the overthrow of Tyre, Isaiah XXIII, 1, 2, 12, we have "Howl, ye ships of Tarshish; for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in; from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them. Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon that pass over the sea have replenished. And he said, thou shalt no more rejoice, oh thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zidon; arise, pass over to Chittim; there also shalt thou have no rest." In Jeremiah II, 9, 10, 11, the prophet, reproaching Israel in the name of the Lord, says: "Wherefore I will yet plead with you, and with your children's children will I plead. For pass over the isles of Chittim and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing. Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods? But my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." In Jeremiah XXVII, 6, the prophet, in describing the riches of Tyre, says the company of the Asshurites have made their benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Finally, in Daniel XI, 30 we have: "For the ships of Chittim shall come against him" (the king of the North).

A special interest attaches to the early history of Cyprus, from the fact that it was one of the first points of contact between

Phœnician, Egyptian and Greek mythology on the one hand, and between Assyrian, Egyptian and Greek art, on the other.

To the grounds already indicated for concluding that the Phœnician colonies in Cyprus were older than those in Greece, which, as we have seen, in all probability date from the 15th century, B. C., may be added the character of the Greek traditions regarding Aphrodite and her worship. Hesiod, in his *Theogony*, speaks of her as having appeared in the sea and first landed in Cyprus, while Homer recognises her connection with that island in the epithet *Kypris*; in the fact that he there locates her altars and domain, and in his story of her flight from Olympus to Paphos, in the *Lay of the Net*. Moreover, the form in which she was worshipped in Paphos, that of a ball, or pyramid, probably a phallic emblem, is obviously of very remote antiquity, and non-Hellenic in its character.

Now, Aphrodite is identifiable with the Phœnician goddess Istar, or Astarte, who is known to have been the tutelary deity of the Phœnician settlers in Cyprus, whither she had been brought from Askalon. Whether her worship was introduced into Greece from Cyprus, or directly by Phœnician colonists from the mainland, the circumstance that the Greeks traced her origin to Cyprus indicates a knowledge of the fact that it existed there previously; while it furnishes some reason for thinking either that it was first introduced into Greece from Cyprus, or, at all events, that the Greeks had become acquainted with the Cyprian worship before settlers from the Phœnician mainland arrived on their shores.

Perhaps the most probable hypothesis regarding the course of the Phœnician settlements is, that Cyprus was the stepping-stone by which, in the first instance, the Phœnicians reached the shores of Asia Minor and the islands and coasts of Greece.

One remarkable circumstance in connexion with the early history of Cyprus remains to be noticed. While all the known alphabets of Europe and Western Asia, including the various forms of the Greek alphabet, employed in the cities of Asia Minor, in the different Grecian islands, and on the Grecian mainland, as well as those of the Italian peninsula, whether belonging to the Latin or the older Etruscan group, including also the runes of the Northern nations, were either derived from the Phœnician, or were cuneiform, Cyprus had a character of its own, which is traceable neither to the Phœnician, nor the cuneiform, nor to the Egyptian, nor to any other known form of writing. As it is contrary to all experience that the people of the island should, alone of all the surrounding nations, have been at the pains of inventing a written character of their own in preference to adopting one ready to their hand, and employed by the nation with which they were most intimately associated, it is hardly possible to avoid the



the conclusion that the Cypriotes already possessed this peculiar character before the period of the Phœnician colonization. Yet it is difficult to believe that, unaided, they had accomplished a task which none of their neighbours, far more favorably situated for the purpose, had essayed. It becomes, therefore, a most interesting question whence they derived this character. The

## NOTE

### *On the Article on "Cyprus before the Time of Amasis."*

Since the article on "Cyprus, before the Time of Amasis" was printed, fresh light has been thrown on the early history of the island by the decipherment of an inscription on a cylinder of the reign of Assurbani-Pal, discovered by Mr. Rassam, in the temple of Nimroud, and lately deposited in the British Museum. This inscription contains the names of the kings of Palestine and Cyprus who submitted to Assurbani-Pal during his march against Tirhakah, king of Egypt. The names of the Cyprian kings are as follows:—"Ekistura, king of Edihli; Pilágurá (Pitágurá?), king of Kidrusi; Kisu, king of Silúa; Ituandar, king of Pappa (Paphos); Erisu, king of Sillu (Soloë); Damasu, king of Kuri (Curion); Admesu, king of Tamesu (Tamisus); Damasu, king of Gartikhadasti; Unasagusu, king of Lidir; Putsusu, king of Nure."

This list, it will be seen, differs but slightly from that of the kings who submitted to Assurbani-Pal's predecessor, Esarhaddon. The Kin———of the latter list appears as Kisu, and Admesu has taken the place of Karmes, as king of Tamisus, while the other names correspond, with slight differences of spelling. "Besides exacting tribute from these kings," says Mr. Pinches, in an article in the *Academy*, from which we have taken the list, "Assurbani--abla also compelled them to help him with ships and men in his conquest of Egypt."

JAMES W. FURRELL.



## ANGLO-INDIAN MUFASAL LIFE IN THE LAST GENERATION.

**I**T is a not uncommon remark that men know less of the times of their fathers than of earlier times. I suppose the reason must be that the very recent past is not usually taken up by writers of history. Certainly that is the case in India; and many persons, who are more or less acquainted with the campaigns of Lake and Wellesley, know little or nothing of the Pindári War or the campaigns of Punniar and Sobraon. It is the same with what Mr. Herbert Spencer rather barbarously calls the "Sociology" of our fathers, compared with that of older ancestors. The impeachment of Warren Hastings, the Battle of Waterloo, the manners of the Regency, are familiar to all readers of Alison, Macaulay, or the current memoirs of the time; and we all have some ideas, of a similar kind, of the days of pigtails, hair-powder, and cockfighting that characterised the corresponding period in India. But very few, it may be safely said, have any clear conception of the state of society in the reigns of George IV. and his sailor-brother, either in the British Islands or in British India.

At least, I must frankly acknowledge that such has been hitherto the case with myself and with those Anglo-Indians whose company I have enjoyed. One or two very old men, like Dr. Grant, R. J. Taylor, C. S., or the late Lieut.-General Dick, lingering on into modern times, have told anecdotes of their youth. Especially was Mrs. Ellerton a receptacle of ancient social traditions; and many still in India must have shared the pleasure of her strange and varied reminiscences. How far indeed the memory of this extraordinary instance of longevity went back, one hardly dares to say: far too early, however, was it for our present purpose, which is only to attempt a rough sketch of Anglo-Indian life from the time of Lord Amherst to the end of the incumbency of Lord Auckland.

The subject is not one of such deep or wide interest as the social history of the people of the country during the same period. But that subject requires more leisure, more research, and a more powerful pen than can be brought to bear upon the present article. Nor need the enquirer turn away from our more limited canvas. For the people of India are very imitative; and though, for various reasons, there is less of social intercourse, perhaps, in one sense, between the two races now than at the time we are about to notice, yet at no time have the manners of the dominant race been without a powerful influence upon the social habits of the natives.

Foremost among the reasons of the comparative ignorance of the social life of the time is the want of materials. We have no quaint *Calcutta Gazettes*—such as those edited by Messrs. Seton, Karr and Long—with their naive advertisements. Valentia and Heber describe an earlier time, the amiable Bishop having died in 1826, just at the beginning of our period. Fortunately two clever women, from different points of view, presented numerous vignettes taken with feminine keenness of observation, and it must be to Miss Eden and Mrs. H. Parkes that I shall have to ask my readers' acknowledgements for almost all the information that I have been able to procure for their amusement or instruction.

The married lady takes precedence, for her reminiscences begin first. She landed in India in the end of 1822 with her husband, a young civilian, or "writer," of the season. Mr. Parkes passed some time in Calcutta and then went into the provinces, where he passed an uneventful career, chiefly at Allahabad. He had no family, and left the service on the earliest possible opportunity consistent with obtaining his annuity, for he went to England on furlough in 1845 and never returned.

Childless, curious, with a smattering of natural science and a half-developed taste for sketching, the whole actuated by that habit of being interested in one's immediate environments, which is a mark of gifted natures, his wife occupied the long leisure of a civilian's house in the hot-weather and rains in questioning her servants, observing the habits of indigenous animals, and picking up miscellaneous and unsystematic knowledge of the country. In the winter she roamed about, sometimes with her husband, often without him, visiting Dehli, Agra, and the Himalayas. The result was shown in a couple of quarto volumes, published by Pelham Richardson of Cornhill in 1850; and a most curious farrago, as may be supposed. Accounts of her own family (the Archers); of journies by sea and land and river; descriptions of Zenanas that the author visited, and of sports that she shared; interspersed with more or less correct accounts of Mughal history and architecture; the whole illustrated by drawings of land and water, of plants and animals, of heathen gods and goddesses; and all signed in mysterious Persian characters, which, when transliterated, read into the words *Fani Párkas*, meant for "Fanny Parkes." The work is entitled, most inappropriately, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque*.

Mrs. Parkes was in no sense a "pilgrim" (or *háji*, as she still more affectedly says in some places), and her wanderings were mostly in unpicturesque localities. Her book would have been better named *Excursions of a Mem-Sahib in danger of being bored*.

But, such as her book is, it is bright, and above all things original ; none but a lady, and a clever and amiable lady, could have written it, and we may be grateful for the gift and accept it without fastidious criticism.

The nature of our project will be understood by that of this book. Like the "Pilgrim," we do not go into important public matters ; but it may be as well to notice a few landmarks.

The Pindári war was over ; the Bhonsla and the Peshwa were struck down, and, with the sole exception of Sindhia, the immediate predecessor of Britain, there was no military organisation but Britain's from Nepal to the Nizam's country. Lord Hastings had freed the press, both English and Vernacular, with the memorable declaration that supreme power, "even when its intentions are most pure," should never cease to "look to the control of public opinion." Vernacular schools had been opened in Bengal, Lady Hastings herself setting the example of writing school-books. The civil service, trained under the Marquess of Wellesley and stimulated by the powerful-competition of military aspirants for civil employ, was at the highest point of efficiency that it has ever reached. Monro, at Madras, and Elphinstone, at Bombay, were a startling contrast to the broken-down peers and politicians sometimes sent to those Presidencies by home influence. Jenkins was Resident at Nagpore, Ochterlony at Ajmere, C. Metcalfe at Dehli, Campbell Robertson held high office in the North-West ; the members of this great galaxy being almost, if not quite, contemporaneous.

Such was the Anglo-India on whose scene the pilgrim entered to play her modest but intelligent part. She was very homesick for the first few years ; but her love of animals, her general good health and activity of body and mind, most of all her curiosity and ever-increasing interest in what was immediately about her, these things combined to relieve her nostalgia, if not to complete her reconciliation to a life of exile. In some respects, indeed, her life was duller and more dreary than it would be now. There were no organised "North-West Provinces" then ; Allahabad is sometimes, in her book, said to be in the Central Provinces, more usually in "the up-country," and the English in the far Mofussil evidently looked on themselves as almost shut off from intercourse with the civilized world, *penitus tota divisos orbe Britannos*.

Travelling was awful. A steamer was introduced under Lord W. Bentinck, which went from Calcutta to Allahabad in three weeks ; but when the Parkeses first started to join at Allahabad, they marched along "the new road" from bungalow to bungalow. In driving from their new station to Benares and back, the following were some of the adventures that befel them. In one

march their luggage was stolen, and Mr. P. had to ride after the thieves. Mrs. P., following in a buggy, was run away with and upset; she fell out at the back, leaving her legs inside. Mounted, by-and-bye, in another vehicle she was presently thrown out in front by reason of the horse putting both his forefeet into a deep hole in the highway. After being run away with once more she at length reached her destination, torn, bleeding and dishevelled; and, after passing the next ten days in bed, set off to return. Ill fortune pursued the poor pilgrim. The first night of the march was stormy, and she was wetted to the skin in bed by rain pouring through her tent. The next day their camels fell, and they found themselves at night-fall "*plantés* in the jungle, without food, bedding or warm clothing." "A pukka ague and fever was the consequence which lasted \*\* for three months."

It is to be feared that the pilgrim, with all her interest in the natives, never got beyond the pigeon-Urdu so general among ladies in India. Her transliteration is funny. *Háth* the hand, she writes "hart," and four o'clock is with her "char vajr"; the funniest perhaps of all being *murgh-i wála* (literally the "wallah's cock") as the Hindustáni for "poulterer." But she speaks of the servants by their names, she describes their customs and their superstitions, she physics them when they are ill, and is evidently "a good mistress." Their wages were at least thirty per cent. lower than now; but they kept more of them. Our young couple paid Rs. 290 a month in wages. Gram was 1 maund 35 seers per Rupee, but in revenge horses were very expensive. When the Parkeses first left Calcutta—presumably he was starting as an Assistant—they sold their pair of carriage-horses for Rs. 2,500, and one lady's horse for the same! What they bought them for is not mentioned; but we all, to our sorrow, know that there is a considerable difference between buying and selling.

Salaries were still good. The Opium Agent at Ghazipore drew £7,500 a year; and Mr. Bathurst—who had no work but writing his initials, "R. B. B." on permits—cut the Governor-General and refused to sign his name in full because he could not get an increase to £10,000. After Lord W. Bentinck's reforms and reductions the service was left with an average income per head of £2,000 a year.

Such, then, was the condition of the civil service in those days. High pay, large expenditure, debt to natives and agents. When a man died, as was often the case, practically insolvent, a hat was sent round for his widow, until the Government of the Court of Directors in 1823 gave a compulsory and official character to a fund which had been formed so far back as 1804. The earliest model of anything of the kind had been devised at Madras in 1787; so that the provident and decent arrangements for the widows and



orphans of members of the covenanted administrative aristocracy originated among "the benighted" more than a quarter of a century before they assumed their final organization in the governing presidency.

In 1825 another Fund followed, for ensuring annuities to the members who might outlive 25 years of active service. It is one sign how much the conditions of the country have improved in the subsequent fifty odd years that Mrs. Parkes, in mentioning the new system, seems doubtful of its advantages. She thought that the chances were much against officers living so long, and that if they did, their lives would not be of value sufficient to make it prudent for them to give five years purchase for their annuities. Now-a-days we are accustomed to the sight of gentlemen after thirty-five years of service applying for extension on account of their redundant physical powers. There is now in the upper provinces a civilian—retired, *bien entendu*—who came out in 1830, and has never been to Europe since. He is perfectly hale and vigorous: long may he remain so!

Lord William Bentinck's great merits are now so generally admitted that it can hardly be necessary to enter on his defence. When he took the reins from "Earl Amherst of Aracan" he found that the Eastern adventures of that unlucky ruler had dissipated Lord Hastings' cash balances, and converted a surplus into a deficit. The Court of Directors, too, with the charter just coming to an end, was in no mood for half measures; and every species of economy was enjoined upon the Governor-General. But men whose pockets were emptied were not in a mood to discriminate between the odium due to him by whom the deed was actually done and those by whose authority he might, perhaps reluctantly, be set in motion. Such public opinion as existed in India, the opinion of two spoiled and high-spirited local services and of the officers of the royal army, ignorant but sympathetic, burst like a storm upon Bentinck's head. When he made his progress from Calcutta to Simla, officers withheld from him the courtesies of civilised society, almost the common dues of human nature. When his barge stuck on a sand-bank, no aid was offered; his levees were hardly attended by a soul; the whole of the officers of one regiment, the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, refused his invitation to dinner. In this instance, however, the worm turned, for the military secretary wrote to the commanding officer simply pointing out that the invitation was tantamount to a royal command, and that any one by whom it should be disobeyed would be suspended from rank, pay and allowances, pending a reference to the Court of Directors, a matter in those days of nine or ten months. The unwilling guests then attended; and a lively evening we can fancy having ensued. In vain did Lord William try the friendly and familiar vein with civil officers too. One



of them (having charge of a treasury) was sportively asked by the poor Governor-General whether his cash balance as shown in the returns *always* corresponded exactly to the exact state of the coin in the chest? "It must, my Lord," replied the glum Collector, "for you see I happen to keep the key myself." Another, being asked what his appointment (to which some fees were attached) was worth, replied at first that the salary was so much. "Yes, I know," said His Excellency, "but I mean, what do you make." "Every d—d farthing that I can," was the reply.

Mrs. Parkes teems with references to this subject. Here is one. "It is supposed he will, if possible, avoid Cawnpore; the soldiers are in so discontented a state he may perchance *receive a bullet on parade.*" Who does not see that the truculent little pilgrim, as she wrote, tried to believe that she would be glad to be among the spectators?

In the Calcutta *John Bull* for July 26th, 1831, it was distinctly stated that Lord William had carried his combined parsimony and vandalism to such a pitch as to have taken £12,500 for the Moti Musjid of Agra; and to be in treaty with a wealthy Hindu of Muttra for selling him the Taj, in order that the materials might be removed and used in building a pagan temple at Brindában, a place of pilgrimage in the neighbourhood. Fortunately these two buildings are still standing in unblemished and undiminished splendour.

Curious notices of places are to be found scattered about these rambling volumos. Agra does not seem to have changed much, beyond the removal of the head-quarters of the civil Government there from Allahabad, a move once more reversed since the mutiny. Of Delhi we get some good descriptions; the shadow of the Mughal Court still lingered there; and the pilgrim went to call upon the queen and got into hot water because she was suspected of being in quest of presents. She was shown the window of the palace out of which Jawan Bukht escaped in 1787. Lucknow was of course a very different place from what it is now, with its innumerable seraglios, its wild-beast fights, and all the surroundings of a Moslem court. Of Cawnpore we learn that the 11th Dragoons (now Prince Albert's own Hussars) and the 16th Lancers were stationed there, and that officers used to play at twenty-rupee whist, but whether long or short, is not mentioned. To Landour and Mussoorie the pilgrim gives several chapters; and considering the difficulty of getting there and back, these old hill-stations do not seem to have changed much since 1838. Naini Tal was then undiscovered, having been as much put under *purdah* by a jealous Commissioner as any oriental bride could have been by a cautious husband. We may note, in passing, that it took the pilgrim nearly nine months to get from Landour to London travelling all the time.

Of Calcutta, we learn that the Strand road was opened in 1825, that the Agents used to allow men in the service to overdraw on consideration of 8 per cent. interest, and that there were a good many failures among them. One officer, when the great house of Alexander closed in 1833, lost all that he had there, having already lost sixteen thousand pounds that he had won in a lottery by the failure of Mackintosh & Co. American Ice was first brought to Calcutta by Mr. Tudor about the same time. House-rent in the European quarters of the city ran from Rs. 250 to 500 a month. A steamer was chartered (the *Hugh Lindsay*) to go to Suez and receive any overland mail-bags that might be sent there; but the enterprise was before its time, and only served to make the idea familiar.

The place about which the pilgrim has most to say is Allahabad, where her husband was stationed for some time in the capacity of magistrate, and was succeeded, apparently, by Mr., afterwards Sir, Robert Montgomery. He attained his full appointment after a service of ten years.

Of Allahabad the pilgrim records that it contained five billiard-rooms but no church, till 1841, when the unsightly structure in the old station was erected by subscription. At that time Mr. Blunt was Lieutenant-Governor; and the Sudder Courts and Board of Revenue were stationed there. Mr. Blunt's was an extraordinary career. Having held the highest posts in India—he actually officiated for a short time as Governor-General—he dwindled by degrees (it was before the thirty-five years rule), and finally, having sunk to joint-magistrate in Bengal, gave some cause of displeasure to Sir F. Halliday and was removed from the service. He died in India not many years ago.

In Mr. Blunt's time the provincial capital was a very gay place; and the pilgrim records that all the best balls and evening parties were celebrated in the hot-season. They now began to have the benefit of thermantidotes, however, which were first introduced in 1831; the name of the inventor is not recorded.

The pilgrim became very fond of "Prag". Departures and returns figure largely in her volumes, so far making good the title "Wanderings;" and the return to "dear old Prag" is always the subject of evidently quite sincere raptures. Her verandah must have been a very strange sight at times. In one place she tells us that she had her "old carpenters (number not stated), the saddler, the ironsmith, the painter, the stone-cutter and the sealing-wax maker all in their old nooks" in it, and all apparently in full blast at one and the same time.

In 1844 the machinery of the Local Government was moved to Agra, and as the glories of Prag seemed to have vanished, the pilgrim left about the same time, not however without observing

the first dawn of any locomotion more rapid than a boat or a palanquin-dâk. This twilight of modern movement that was to illuminate the pilgrim's departure, consisted of a truck on which you placed your *dooly*, a pony being then harnessed to the front and drawing you along the "Grand Trunk Road" till relieved by another animal of the same species. What would she say (I hope she is still alive and hearty) if she could come up from Bombay in the comfortable carriages of the G. I. P. at thirty miles an hour, and see the gas lamps, and Cannington, and the Lieutenant-Governor, the High Court of Judicature, and all who are placed in authority therein, not forgetting the Cannington Church and the emporium of Messrs. Lyell?

Our pilgrim is not much of a politician. The great reform movement of 1830, which we know from Jacquemont to have caused considerable excitement amongst Anglo-Indians, receives no notice in these volumes, any more than the still more purely local excitement arising from the end of the old charter and the many changes, administrative and other, which immediately followed. Nor is the terrible famine that afflicted the N.-W. P. in 1837 referred to, until chance brings the pilgrim to Kanauj in the early part of the following year. Then, when the concrete signs of suffering are brought under the ken of her senses, she is very much shocked. But before that time, Allahabad having escaped the droughts by which it was caused, the distress that devastated the rest of the provinces is not so much as named. This, perhaps, shows that, owing to the defective state of communications, no effect was produced in one district by what was laying waste another; but I am afraid that it also shows that the male members of Anglo-Indian society looked upon famine as "shop," and did not make it a general topic of conversation.

The pilgrim seems to have associated with a good class of gentlemen. "Women," she writes, "have more influence over men in India than in any other country" (I, 140), which she accounts for by the fact that officers are so much confined to the house in the hot-weather. That this is not the whole reason may be safely inferred from the fact that the influence of ladies in Anglo-Indian society is certainly not less felt in hill-stations, where no such confinement exists. A full examination of the question would be out of place here; probably many persons would agree as to the chief cause of the greater *rapprochement* between the sexes in our society. That the fact is so, no one can reasonably deny. Young ladies are more likely to get married, young men are more ready to go to balls and dance, matrons are more cultivated by middle-aged men in the higher ranks of Anglo-Indian society, than is the case in corresponding classes in England.

When our pilgrim's male friends did enlighten her on politics

they seem to have given her "straight tips." She is not the least afraid of the Russians. Talking to "two field-officers" of the 16th Lancers at Meerut, in October 1838, just on the eve of the regiment's march to Quettah and Candahar, she asked: "What is this war about; the fear that the Russians and Persians will drive us into the sea?" To which the parting heroes answered: "The Government must have some powerful reasons of which we are ignorant; it is absurd to suppose *that* can be the cause of war. Why send us there? Let them fag themselves out by coming to us. We can get there easily enough, but how are we to return? We may be cut up to a man." It happened that the 16th were not cut up, though they lost their commanding officer, Colonel Arnold, and many a fine officer and man. But the inauspicious spirit with which these brave fellows seem to have been inspired at setting forth, was prophetic, nevertheless.

The secret history of that foolish and unfortunate expedition has never been given to the world. Cam Hobhouse, Byron's friend, generously took its parentage upon himself. In India it was claimed, for a time at least, by Mr. Henry Torrens. The late Mr. J. R. Colvin used to relate with much humour the fluctuations of the volatile under-secretary's deliverances on this subject. "When all went well Torrens used to cry 'All my thunder!' but when disaster came he changed his note and exclaimed, in his sympathetic voice, 'Poor John Colvin!'" It never seems to have struck the ardent imagination of the speaker that neither he nor his colleague had more to do with questions of that magnitude than drafting a few letters and dockets in the Secretariat.

Quite the most exceptional of all the male acquaintances made by Mrs. Parkes in India was Colonel James Gardner; and it is probable that her book will owe any permanent value that it may ultimately prove to possess, to the information that it contains about this remarkable man and his way of life. It would take up too much space to repeat any of the details, but the few facts for which I have room will be found curious.

William Linnæus Gardner, nephew of an Irish peer, came out to India as an officer in the British army about 1790, but exchanged into the native service. In 1802-3, when Lake was pursuing his career of conquest through Hindustan, Holkar wished to negotiate through Gardner, and sent him to the Commander-in-chief with a communication, keeping his family as hostages for his return. This was delayed. When at last Gardner got back, the Rajah reprimanded him in open *durbâr*, and added "If you had not arrived to-day I would have thrown down the *kanâts* of your tents." This was equivalent to saying that the privacy of the zenana would have been violated, and the Irish soldier at once exploded. Drawing my sword," he told Mrs. Parkes, "I attempted to cut Holkar



down, but was prevented by those about him ; and ere they had recovered from their amazement I rushed from the tent, sprang upon my horse, and was soon beyond reach of my pursuers." How he eventually got his family free, or whether he was obliged to leave them to their fate, is not stated ; but the unfinished story is dramatic enough, for the danger was genuine. About this time Holkar put to death Colonel Vickers and seven others of his European officers whom he suspected of intended desertion or treachery. On reaching the camp of the British, Gardner was received with honor and employed to raise and command a corps of native cavalry, a service in which his experience of the people and influence with them gave him great facilities. He married a daughter of the Nawab of Cambay, and after a long married life they died within a few weeks of one another. One of his sons married a granddaughter of the emperor Shah Alam, and the Gardners, became otherwise connected by marriage with the House of Taimur. One of the girls also married back into the Irish Gardners, and thus became connected with several distinguished English families, including the noble houses of Carington and Dinorben.

The family formerly had large possessions at Khásganj, in the District of Etah, N.-W. P., but have become very much Asiatised from their long and repeated intermarriages. Yet I fancy that they must be the next heirs to the estates in Europe, if not to the title ; for the present Lord Gardner (born sixty-eight years ago) had no brothers and has no sons.

In the family of Colonel Gardner Mrs. Parkes gathered experiences of zenana life which she afterwards improved at Delhi and elsewhere. Her impression was that the ladies lived very dull lives and were rather inclined to be quarrelsome. She witnessed the wedding of one of the Miss Gardners to a prince of the Imperial House, and gives an account of the ceremonies, which, however, contains little that is not familiar to those who have made such subjects their study. Two customs of the House of Taimur may be noted, evidently survivals from their old life in Central Asia. One was that the bridegroom had to come to the house and carry off the young lady with a show of force. "It is an old Tartar custom," explained the Colonel, "for the bridegroom to fight for his bride, and carry her away by force of arms : this is still retained." And the pilgrim saw the scene, and describes how the young prince came at night with an armed retinue, and was refused admittance at the gateway, but carried off his bride after a mock fight. She adds : "The Begum would not have omitted a Timourian custom for the world." The other custom, to first sight less significant, was that the husband, after getting the young lady home, made her put her foot through the door of her palanquin, and touched the great toe with the



blood of a goat which he slew for the purpose with his own hands. This custom is also recorded to be "peculiar to the Timurians." Whether it was emblematical of the captor feeding his interesting prize, or only of his branding her as his property, is not explained by the pilgrim, and I must leave the interpretation to the learned in such matters.

Passing over a great deal that is well worth notice, let me mention that the pilgrim gives a full account of that mysterious disorder the *Dengue* (I. 45-47), though she does not seem to have known it by that name. It prevailed, in Lower Bengal at least, in July 1822. [The cholera she notices as raging violently about ten years later.] Calcutta suffered especially from this fever, the Courts of Justice, the Custom-house, the Lottery-office, and almost every public department "being closed on account of the sickness." It quitted Calcutta about September 1st and travelled up the country stage by stage... Its origin has been attributed to many causes, and it has been called by many names. There was an instance "in the time of Warren Hastings. Not a single case has been heard of its having proved mortal to adults."

Calcutta was—as is well-known—a most unhealthy place in those days; and the inhabitants had no drive by the river in which to inhale fresh air of an evening till the Strand Road was opened in 1825. The name "City of Palaces," borrowed from Genoa, was even then used, and Calcutta, according to the pilgrim, "well deserved its name." Houses in Chowringhee rented "very high"... "the larger ones from Rs. 4 to 500 a month." The *Charak Puja* used to take place in the suburbs. The pilgrim went to see a number of intoxicated wretches swinging by hooks fixed in their flesh, and showering sweetmeats on the crowd, "eight hooks being considered sufficient to support the body." *Sati* still took place under certain restrictions. The pilgrim did not go to see one, but her husband did, on hearing that a widow was to burn with the corpse of her husband. When the heat of the flames drove the frightened creature from the pyre, she ran towards the river in spite of a policeman who struck at her with a drawn sword, and a crowd of her relations and others, who rushed at her, crying, "cut her down, knock her on the head, tie her hand and foot, throw her in again." The Europeans rallied the police and charged the mob; the woman drank of the river and turned again to her agony; but the magistrate now interposed, laying his hands on her and saying, "you cannot do so, it is against your own law. The Government charges itself with your future maintenance." The people let her go in a palanquin, only remarking that it was hard that they should lose the *tamásha*. The poor thing had property, and it was to get hold of this that her

"friends" were so very anxious that she should go to Heaven in a chariot of fire.

This must have been the *nádír* of Anglo-Indian life. Reductions of income had begun, though economy had not yet been invented as a palliative. No fortunes were to be made "excepting by leeches," meaning mercantile men. Mr. Parkes was offered promotion on condition of his waiving the extra pay. Another lady, to be more fully mentioned presently, said in 1838 that the Europeans in the jungles lived so lonely that "their poor dear manners were quite gone...The gentlemen talk of Vizier Ali and Lord Cornwallis; the ladies do not talk at all; and I don't know which I like best...Towards the end of the rainy season, when the health generally gives way, the lowness of spirits that comes on is quite dreadful; every one fancies he is going to die and then he thinks that no one will bury him as there is no other European at hand. Moral:—Never send a son to India" (*Up the Country*, I. 3).

The author of this clever little passage was in many respects a contrast to Mrs. Parkes. The younger sister of the second Lord Auckland, she accompanied her bachelor-brother to India when he succeeded Lord W. Bentinck (or rather Sir C. Metcalfe) in 1836. In the following year they set off to march through the country during the cold season, and summer at Simla, which had been the occasional retreat of the Governor-General ever since the Burmese War about ten years earlier. An unmarried woman of the world, coming to India at the very head of society, she took the reverse view from that of the civilian's wife; and the comparison of the two pictures is curious and amusing. Miss Eden's book was published in 1866, and consists of a series of letters addressed to a lady in Europe. It is prefaced by a dedicatory epistle addressed to Lord William Osborne, who was her nephew and had been on Lord Auckland's staff when the lady was in India. She died three years after the publication (August 1869), and even when she wrote the dedication, Lord William and she were, she said, almost the sole survivors of the large party who set off together thirty years before to go "up the country."

The pilgrim met Miss Eden on the 7th of December 1837. Mr. Bushby—I suppose it was he—had objected to Lord Auckland visiting the widow of Daulat Rao, then residing at Allahabad; but Miss Eden had determined that she, at least, would visit the discrowned dowager. Mrs. Parkes undertook to accompany her and act as interpreter; the particulars are differently given by the two ladies (*Up the Country*, I, 63; *Wanderings*, II. 137). For the rest of the month Mrs. Parkes marched with the Viceregal camp (so far as Cawnpore at least, where they appear to have parted company to meet again for the last time in February at Meerut), Mrs. Parkes being also *en route* to the Hills, though only to the

nearer station of Landour. They both describe the gaieties that ensued, but the great lady's description is much the more pointed. Still more amusing is the account of a well-known civilian whom she met at Moradabad a few days before, and whom she calls "Mr. O."; the full name of the great tiger-hunter will be familiar to a few old Indians, especially as there are members of the family still in the country. "He was probably the good-looking stepson whose picture Mrs. O. used to carry about with her because he was such a beautiful creature. He is now a bald, grey, toothless man, perfectly ignorant on all points but that of tiger-hunting...When I look at either the youth or the worn out men, and think what India does for them all, I really, &c." In nothing do the two ladies agree; the pilgrim gets more and more attached to India, and pays ten times as much attention to the natives and all that concerns them, as to the European denizens who interest the "lady-sahib." The latter will not even learn how to spell a common name of a place she is encamped in, while Mrs. Parkes dedicates her book to a Hindu deity. Another salient point of difference—this time to the disadvantage of the woman of the world. She entirely believes in the policy of the Afghan War. The people of Candahar "*will have* Shah Soojah for king. There never was anything so satisfactory." Of course people in the Edens' position are told only what they want to hear—so long at least as that may be possible;—but it is worth while to compare Miss E.'s letter from Candahar of May 1839 (*Up the Country* II, 3.) with that addressed to the pilgrim from Jalálábád in October of the same year (*Wanderings*, II, 320).

A political to the G. G.'s sister.

A soldier to the Civilian's wife.

"The officers [said that the politicals] had deceived them, [the Shah] was opposed by his own countrymen...the army was starving in a land of milk and honey...and Shah Soojah's case was impossible. A little patience, and the fallacy of these sentiments would be proved...Every chief came out to meet the Shah and greeted him with every demonstration of joy; the poor crowded round him ...and strewed the road he was to pass with roses ..

"The populace are the finest

"Proceeding more like a beaten army than an advancing one, the cavalry not supplied with any grain and falling by tens and twenties daily, we reached Candahar...The heat was excessive (110° in our tents) and the men became unhealthy...[there is] an appearance of desolation in the country. It may be described, with a few excepted spots, as a howling wilderness. With the people I have been much disappointed. I should describe the Afghans as mean, avaricious, treacherous, cowardly, filthy,

race of Asiatics I have seen... It seems as if we had dropped into paradise...The people are all at their occupations as usual, and all agree that Dost Mohamad, upon hearing of his brother's having fled, will follow their example."

generally thieves, invariably liars, and withal extremely religious. ...It is a pity Dost Mohamad was not selected as our puppet king, for Shah Soojah is neither a soldier nor a gentleman and highly unpopular with his subjects, who but for our support would soon knock him off his perch."

When it is remembered that the soldier's letter was written five months later than the "political's," it will be seen that, in point of prescience and grasp of the situation, arms did not yield to the toga in that instance.

But it is almost time to draw these desultory notes to a close. A few more may be jotted down. The Viceregal party was much troubled with the convivial habits of the military officers of the period. At a dinner in camp "one or two of them got *particular-ly* drunk. They say some of them are always so, more or less, but it happened to be more this evening." As a corollary, she saw in the graveyard of Meerut no tomb of a man over thirty-six. Lord W. (then Captain) Osborne shot twenty-six tigers and ten cubs near Mozafarnagar in a few days. At Karnal they found forty-five grass-widows, whose lords, many of them never to return, had gone to the Cabul campaign. At Simla the number was still larger, and the staff had much flirtation, "which they like, bless their little hearts". The Viceregal party kept the Queen's birthday by a picnic-dinner in Anandale. They gave balls and theatrical entertainments, and the people liked them, "which is lucky; for I believe half the ailments in India come from the solitary lives people lead." They had their "Fuller cases," and the Governor-General twice had to fulminate at the courts for what he considered failures of justice towards his own servants. "It is horrible to think how this class of Europeans (the magistracy) oppress the natives; the great object of the Government being to teach them reliance on English justice."

Necessarily, there is a good deal about the beautiful Mrs. James, whose subsequent history as "Lola Montes" was such a brief, dazzling romance. "A merry, unaffected girl of seventeen, married to a junior lieutenant, and they have Rs. 160 a month and are to *pass their whole lives in India.*" What a prospect, and how strangely it was changed! In another place, indeed, the writer shows prophetic insight into the poor lady's character and fortunes. "She is a good little thing apparently, *but they are very poor*, and she is very young and lively, and if she falls into bad hands she would soon laugh herself into foolish scrapes." Yes, there were plenty of scrape



in store for the poor creature, but the laughing grew less and less and it soon ceased altogether.

Here is a glimpse of rather rapid progress in less than forty years :—

“The August overland arrived ..letters of August 12th here on October 3rd, quicker than ever !” Now-a-days we should grumble, if letters written on St. Grouse’s reached us much later than St. Partridge’s day. And they only heard every now and then, quite irregularly.

Here is a hint of coming grief under Feb. 6, 1840. “General E. [lphinstone] passed through camp to-day and stopped for two hours, and came to see us. I recollect him so well. .and never had made out it was the same man till a sudden recollection came over me a week ago. He is in a shocking state of gout, poor man, one arm in a sling and very lame...he hates being here. He is wretched because no one understands his London topics...*He went off with a heavy heart*...he cannot of course speak a word of Hindustani... he said, I have a *negro* who speaks English”. This is all, but it is sad enough; the poor broken London dandy with his English-speaking *negro* going off with a heavy heart to anguish, defeat, captivity, and death-in-exile.

It is not part of my programme to review Miss Eden’s book and the extracts that I have made have been for historical uses only. But it has an irresistible charm, this picture of a dull, miserable life of discomfort drawn by a witty, accomplished, middle-aged spinster. It closes before the catastrophe, the great disaster which darkened Anglo-Indian life more than anything except the great rebellion of seventeen years later. And now it is all over, hopes, fears and horrors; and India is a land of railways and telegraphs, where residents go to Europe and back on three months’ leave, and tourists come out “personally conducted by Mr. Cook,” and I suppose the only Anglo-Indian of those days still in harness among us must be General Cunningham, C. S. I., and very likely he has by no means made up his mind that these days are so very much better than those were.

How this may really be must be decided by each for himself. The comparison of one time with another by those who have not personally known both must always be a matter of some uncertainty. But one or two things stand out clearly; there can be no mistake about all that relates to travelling, for instance. The difficulties and delays that attended the removal of the sick to a better climate in the days of which we have been enquiring were something more than merely inconvenient. They affected the duration and the very enjoyment of life; take the journey from Meerut to Mussoorie, for example, now performed by rail and omnibus in fourteen hours, and see how it was then performed. Mrs



Parkes (then stricken with fever) left Meerut in the evening and drove, as far as the road was metalled, in a buggy. Then, by dint of travelling in a palanquin all night, she reached Saharanpore at 8 A. M. next morning, the bridge over the Hindan being in good order. [The writer of these pages once had to climb up a broken arch by torchlight]. At 4 P. M., she went on through the Mohan pass, the way being over the dry bed of a river for some miles. In one place they passed within six feet of a sleeping tiger, wild elephants being in the neighbourhood. In the morning they arrived at Rajpore and went to the staging bungalow, having, with advantages, done the journey in about forty hours. When the time came to return she had to wait three days for the streams to run down in the pass...“during part of the year it is impassable, but the water having subsided it has been open three days....I became ill at times from the chill that fell upon my chest... At first I was unwilling to attribute it to the effect of the air in the pass, but having arrived at the end of it these uncomfortable feelings instantly disappeared...Mrs. T was detained at the entrance for want of bearers; she took a fever and died. The wife of our *bihishti* was detained; she took the fever and it killed her. To sleep in the pass one night is to run the pretty certain chance of fever, perhaps death...We did not arrive at Deoban, where we were to take shelter, until noon the next day...I felt sick and faint” (*Wanderings*, II, 277)

With longer journies it was worse. Sick officers had to get to Calcutta, an affair of weeks. Lord Auckland, being called down suddenly to his council during the Afghan War, travelled, with viceregal advantages, four miles an hour. Passages had to be engaged to the Cape or to Egypt, for you must not go to Europe, and your cabin had to be fitted up: and then you set out in a “fine” sailing tub of 700 to 1,000 tons, and would stay away on a very small allowance till you got better, or died.

Everything was in the same state. “The Company’s officers” were styled “the refuse” and they all envied and hated the “civilians.” The “Queen’s officers” abused the country and drank hard. The sepoy were privileged ruffians who were paraded to see British soldiers flogged, but whom no one dared touch; and who could get the sentence of a courtmartial reversed by going to Simla. If you dined at mess you were expected to get drunk before you could leave. If you were insulted, you had to kill the offender or be killed by him. There was scarcely any ice; there were scarcely any books, newspapers, or metalled roads. Whatever ailed you, the first thing was a blue-pill or two, then a black-dose, and finally bleeding, after which you certainly seldom required any other treatment, and were near the end of your troubles.

Having tried both, I give my humble voice for the India of

to-day, a land of law and order, of European artillery and a native army on the irregular system, of railways and telegraphs and free leave to Europe; of well-managed clubs, and cheap ice, and station libraries; with the *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* every morning, and the *Pall Mall Budget* and English letters every week. And I am glad to think that those whose tastes lie in the other direction are not likely to have an opportunity for their indulgence.

There is, indeed, one respect in which it may be thought that our predecessors had the advantage of us. In all the records that have been here consulted there are only two "Tourists of distinction" spoken of as visiting India, the Prince of Orange and Lord Jocelyn. Now-a-days, as we know to our cost, every winter brings a flight of these birds of passage, artists and still more artistic ladies, "in search (as the pilgrim has it) of the picturesque;" old noblemen in quest of an economical tour, and young "swells" in pursuit of big game; and a precious nuisance they often are. To ladies, of course, everything is permitted; and "it is very difficult (as the *Athenæum* lately said) for a lord to be a gentleman." It is no doubt hard for an earnest worker "to be so pestered by a popinjay," a man who perhaps walks into your house on the strength of a letter of introduction to some one else, uses it like a hotel, asks all sorts of absurd questions, and then goes home and abuses you for a snob who lives in luxury at the expense of the community whom he oppresses. They do not always do as they would be done by. If a retired Lieutenant-Governor or Major-General of Division were to drive up to Lord Newtitle's in Champignon Place, S. W., and ask him for a bed and the loan of his carriage to visit the Tower of London in, he would possibly find that noble lord somewhat oblivious of similar entertainment at Dustypore.

But this country is given over to "earnestness" and grim dullness; and a really well-bred man or woman, properly treated, should be a welcome visitor. When such an one arrives, therefore, do not shut your door in his face from fear lest he should be of the general pattern. There is such a thing as entertaining angels unawares. Only, whatever you do for any of the class, remember to do it without expectation of return.

H. G. KEENE.

## JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

**T**HE *Confessions of Rousseau* is a book comparatively little read by Englishmen. Those who have read it are generally rather shy of admitting the fact, and speak of the book as being immoral. Still less is it perused by Englishwomen, though most of them are ready enough to denounce it as a horrid production. Foreign ladies are less prudish and candidly avow their admiration of the *Confessions* without a suspicion that there is any thing strange or improper in the admission.

In truth there is not much harm in the *Confessions*. They never inculcate vice, nor do they attempt to make it attractive. Such immorality as the book contains, consists chiefly in the boldness and honesty with which Rousseau approaches certain subjects. He is plain-spoken and sometimes disgusting in his revelations, and undoubtedly the book is not fit to be put into the hands of young men and maidens, any more than are certain medical works. But for those who are old and experienced enough to understand the book and the spirit in which it is written, it contains much precious instruction. Indeed, there perhaps never ~~was~~ a book more calculated to produce a distinct shock and to open up new or forgotten trains of thought. It owes this power to its intense reality and to the minuteness of its analysis. It is probably the only autobiography in the world which is at once veracious and thorough-going. It not only tells the truth, but the whole truth, and it amply fulfils the promise of the opening sentence. "I design," he says, "an undertaking which has never had an example and will have no imitator. I intend to show my fellow-men a man in all the truth of nature, and this man is—myself; myself only. I feel my heart and I know men. I am not like any of those I have seen. I venture to think I am not made like any of those who now exist. If I am not better, I am at least different. Whether Nature did well or ill in breaking the mould in which she cast me, is a matter that can only be judged of after I have been read. Let the last trump sound when it will, I shall come with this book in my hand and present myself before the Sovereign Judge. I shall say boldly, 'Here is what I have done, what I have thought, what I have been. I have told the good and the evil with equal frankness. I have concealed nothing bad, added nothing good, and if I have occasionally used some unimportant ornament it has been only to fill up a void caused by lack of memory. I have ventured to suppose true what I knew could be so, never what I knew to be false. I have shown myself just as I was, vile and contemptible, when I have been so; good, generous, sublime when I was so. I have revealed

myself such, O Eternal Being, as thou thyself hast seen me. Gather round me the innumerable crowd of my fellows, let them listen to my confessions, grieve over my affronts, blush at my miseries; let each in his turn uncover his heart at the foot of Thy throne with the same sincerity, and then let a single one of them, if he dare, say to Thee: I was better than this man."

Mr. Morley remarks, with apparent surprise, that there is no complete life of Rousseau either in French or English. But the reason of the seeming neglect is not far to seek. No one liked to take up ground already occupied. Rousseau has written his own life as no other person, whether friend or foe, could have described it, and he would be a presumptuous man who should try to supplant the autobiography by a work of his own. The *Confessions*, however, only go as far as 1765, while Rousseau's life extended to 1778, and for this sad and comparatively unimportant part of his career a biographer is required.

In spite of the fulness and manifest truth of Rousseau's account of himself men's minds are not yet made up about him. To some he is only a self-torturing sophist; to Sir Henry Maine he is a man with few virtues and no strength of character, but redeemed by a burning love for his fellow-men, while hard and unimaginative persons, such as Lord Brougham, overcome all difficulties of interpretation by setting him down as insane.

Even Mr. Morley is not quite just to him. His essay contains much beautiful writing, but he is occasionally led astray by a desire to say something new and striking, and perhaps too, by his being an English Radical, of a somewhat pedantic type. Among other things Mr. Morley is scandalised by the self-assertion of the opening sentence of the *Confessions*. Its exaltation, he says, is shocking. "No monk or saint ever wrote anything more revolting in its blasphemous self-feeling." Here Mr. Morley has a shot at two birds—Rousseau and Christianity—and though Rousseau be the first struck, yet the bullet lodges, as it is intended it should, in the quarry which the *Fortnightly* sportsmen are always lying in wait for. I cannot call to mind any parallel passage in monkish writings, but I venture to hold that Mr. Morley is too severe upon Rousseau. In the language used I do not so much see pride, or arrogance, as the cry for justice, of a man who has been misunderstood and wronged. It is the echo of the exclamation, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." However much Rousseau's morbid imagination may have exaggerated his injuries, there is no doubt that he was an ill-used man. His *Emile*, a work full of thought and lofty morality, had been burned by the common hangman in the mother-city which he loved so well, and he himself had been successively driven out of France and Switzerland, and been made the subject of ridicule and insult by the opposing schools of the Encyclo-



pædia and the Sorbonne. It does not seem strange or unnatural that under such circumstances he should break forth into a bitter cry, or should indulge in some self-assertion.

With these introductory remarks I proceed to the object of this essay, which is to give Indian readers some account of Rousseau and his works, and to offer some observations on his character and genius.

Rousseau was born at Geneva, in June 1712. His family was of French extraction by the father's side, but it had been settled in Switzerland for several generations. It is perhaps not an uncommon error to regard Rousseau as a Frenchman, and to credit him with all the virtues and faults of that nationality. In point of fact he was French neither by birth nor by disposition. He never saw France till he was twenty years old, and did not make any stay in it till ten years later. Nor had he any of the quickness and dexterity of thought which mark the Frenchman. His genius was of the slow, brooding type, which runs its course unseen for years and then suddenly breaks forth. He was nearly forty years of age before even his intimate friends suspected his genius, and to the end of his life he never acquired a Frenchman's readiness in the expression of his ideas. In time he became warmly attached to France and he always wrote in French, but he never spoke of himself as a Frenchman, and was all his life proud of his Swiss origin. He had good reason to be so, for he owed it to Switzerland that he was born a Protestant and a Republican. He thus started in life with an inheritance of liberal ideas, and we may therefore apply to him the remark which J. S. Mill makes about his own education, and say that Rousseau was born a quarter of a century in advance of his brilliant contemporaries the Encyclopædists.

His father, Isaac Rousseau, was a watchmaker and a man who had seen something of the world, for he had at one time been settled at Constantinople, where he was watchmaker to the séraglio. His mother was Susannah Bernard, the daughter of a Swiss minister. She was beautiful and virtuous, and had been carefully educated by her father. It was therefore a great calamity for Rousseau that she died a few days after his birth. "I cost my mother her life," he says, "and my birth was the first of my misfortunes." What made the loss greater is, that apparently she did not transmit her qualities to her son by inheritance. She was right-thinking and right-principled, and possibly her character was just what was required to balance that of his father. But, as far as we can judge, Rousseau's character was essentially the same as his father's. There was in both father and son the same sensibility, the same dreamy contemptuousness, the same public spirit and patriotism, and, we are afraid, the same tendency to act on



the spur of the moment and the same dislike of restraint and reluctance for the performance of disagreeable duties.

Rousseau was born almost dying, and he brought with him into the world "the germ of an ailment, which years have increased and which now occasionally releases me only to let me suffer more cruelly in another way." Thus his life was to some extent one long disease, and this accounts in part for the listlessness and self-absorption in which he spent so many of his waking hours. His face, as represented in his likenesses, has the worn and anxious look of one who is endeavouring to bear up under pain, though perhaps this impression is due in part to his shortsightedness.

The place of his mother was to some extent taken by a maiden aunt, a sister of his father. Indeed it was to her careful nursing that he owed his life, and it is pleasant to know that he always felt grateful to her and assisted her with money even in the midst of his own distresses. It is to her influence that he ascribes the passion for music which distinguished him throughout life.

In describing his early years, Rousseau says: "I do not know what I did before I was five or six. I do not know how I learnt to read. I only remember my first readings and their effect upon me. My mother had left some novels, and my father and I set to reading them after supper. At first the only idea was to exercise me in reading by means of amusing books, but soon the interest became so vivid that we read in turns without leaving off and spent the nights in this occupation. We never could leave off before the end of the volume. Sometimes my father would hear the swallows in the morning and say with shame: 'Come, let us to bed, I am more childish than you.' In a little while I acquired in this dangerous way not only an extreme facility in reading and in apprehension, but also a knowledge of the passions which was unique for my age. I had no idea of things till after all the sentiments had been known by me. I had understood nothing but had felt everything. These confused emotions which I felt one after the other, did not affect the understanding which I had not yet got, but they caused it to be one of a different stamp, and gave me eccentric and romantic notions of life of which experience and reflection have never been able to thoroughly cure me." Luckily the stock of novels was exhausted by the end of his seventh year; and their place was supplied by more solid literature, derived from the library of his maternal grandfather. Among his books were *Bossuet*, *Le Bruyère*, *Fontenelle* and *Plutarch*. Rousseau took an especial delight in the last of these authors, and soon came to prefer Brutus and Aristides to the heroes of his romances.

"From these interesting readings and the conversations with my father to which they led, there was formed in me that free

and republican spirit, that proud and indomitable character, impatient of the yoke and of servitude, which has tormented me all my life in situations the least apt to give it scope. Incessantly taken up with Rome and Athens, living, so to speak, with their great men, myself the citizen of a republic and the son of a father whose strongest passion was the love of country, I became inflamed by his example. I fancied myself a Greek or a Roman. I became the character that I was reading about ; the-recital of acts of constancy or intrepidity which had struck me, made my eyes sparkle and my voice strong. One day, as I was relating at table the story of Scævola, they were terrified by seeing me step forward and hold my hand over a chafing-dish in order to represent his act." After some more details of his early training, Rousseau thus sums up the result, in words which show that he had studied himself very closely. "Thus then began to form or to show itself in me that heart at once so proud and so tender, that effeminate and yet indomitable character which, always fluctuating between weakness and courage, self-indulgence and virtue, has to the last placed me in contradiction with myself and made me equally miss abstemiousness and enjoyment, pleasure and wisdom." A change now took place in his education, which was henceforth uninfluenced by his father. The latter had a quarrel with a Frenchman, and, conceiving that the magistrates did not treat him fairly in the matter, he determined to revenge himself by going into voluntary exile. He carried out this pettish resolution without a thought apparently of his duty to his son, whom he left in Geneva under the care of his brother-in-law. The latter put him and his own son to board with a clergyman named Lambercier in the village of Bossey, and there Rousseau spent two happy years.

His happiness came to an end in a singular fashion, and, though the story is rather long, it is too interesting to be passed over.

"I was learning my lesson one day in the room next to the kitchen. The servant had put Mademoiselle Lambercier's combs to dry on the hob. When she came back for them, one comb was found to have the teeth at one of the ends all broken. Who had done this mischief? Nobody but I had been into the room. I was questioned, and I denied that I had touched the comb. M. and Mademoiselle Lambercier (his sister) come and exhort me, press me, threaten me. I obstinately adhere to my statement ; but the conviction was too strong and it overbore all my protestations, although this was the first time that they had found me so hardy in lying. The thing was taken serious notice of, as it deserved to be. The mischievousness, the lying and the obstinacy, appeared equally worthy of punishment, but this time it was not inflicted by Mademoiselle Lambercier. They wrote to uncle Bernard and he

came. My poor cousin was charged with another offence of not less gravity, and we were both included in the same sentence. It was terrible... They could not extract from me the confession that they wanted. Seized several times and put into the most frightful state, I was immovable. I would have suffered death and was resolved to do so. Force even had to yield to the diabolical obstinacy of a child, for such they termed my constancy. At last I emerged from this cruel trial, shattered but triumphant. It is now nearly fifty years since this adventure, and I am not afraid of being punished over again for the same act. Well, I declare before heaven that I was innocent, that I had neither broken nor touched the comb, that I had not been near the hob, and that I had not even thought of it. Do not ask how the mischief was done : I know nothing about that and cannot comprehend it ; what I know very positively is that I was innocent.

"Imagine a character, timid and docile in ordinary life, but ardent, proud, with indomitable passions ; a child always governed by the voice of reason, always treated with gentleness, equity and consideration, who had not even the notion of injustice, and who for the first time experiences such a terrible instance of it from the very persons whom he most loves and respects. What an overturning of ideas ; what a disorder of feelings, what a revolution in his heart, in his brain, in all his little intelligent and moral being. I say, imagine all this, if it be possible, for as for me I do not feel capable of unravelling it or of tracing what was then going on in me.

"I had not sufficient understanding to feel how much appearances condemned me, or to put myself in their place. I kept to my own, and all I felt was the hardship of a frightful punishment for a crime which I had not committed. The bodily pain, though severe, I did not feel much. I only felt indignation, rage and despair. My cousin, in a case similar to mine and whom they had punished for an involuntary fault as for a premeditated act, set himself in a fury by my example and showed himself, so to speak, in unison with me. We embraced one another with convulsive transports as we lay in the same bed, we choked with wrath, and when our young hearts were soothed a little and we could vent our rage, we rose up and set ourselves to cry a hundred times with all our strength, ' Carnifex, Carnifex, Carnifex.'

"I feel my pulse beat higher as I write ; those moments will always be present to me, even if I should live a hundred thousand years. The first consciousness of violence and injustice has remained so deeply engraved on my soul that every idea which is connected with it brings back my original emotion ; and this sentiment, which was self-regarding in its origin, has taken such a consistency and has become so detached from personal interests, that my

heart is set on fire by the sight or the description of an act of injustice, whatever its object or wherever it be committed, just as if the injury fell upon myself. When I read of the cruelties of a ferocious tyrant, or the villanies of a scoundrelly priest, I would willingly set off to stab the wretches though I should die for it a hundred times."

Rousseau and his cousin remained at Bossey for some months after this occurrence, but the charm of their life was gone. Eventually they were removed by his uncle to his own house, and there Rousseau spent two or three years until they could settle what trade or profession he should be bred to. He would have liked to have become a minister, but the education was too expensive. So he was put into a notary's office, but was found so stupid that he was turned out in disgrace. Next he was apprenticed to an engraver, but was unfortunate in his master, who was violent and cruel. It was the first time that Rousseau had been subjected to rough usage, and he felt the change deeply.

M. Ducommun he says, soon succeeded in brutalising me. My latin, my antiquities, my history, all was for a long time forgotten; I did not even remember that there had ever been Romans in the world. My father, when I went to see him, no longer found in me his idol.....The vilest tastes, the lowest rascality succeeded to my former refined amusements without even leaving me the least idea of them. In spite of an excellent education, I must have had a great tendency to degenerate, for the change occurred very rapidly and without the least trouble." His mental activity, however, did not slumber during this evil time. On the contrary, his misery drove him to his studies, and he used to barter even his clothes in order to get books.

His apprenticeship came to an end by his own act. On Sundays, he and his companions used to take walks into the country, and on two occasions they came back late and found the city-gates shut against them. Rousseau's master beat him severely for this and threatened him with a still worse punishment if he offended again. Rousseau made good resolutions, but in spite of them he was once more too late in coming back. As he approached the city he heard the retreat sounded, and, though he ran as hard as he could, he only arrived in time to see the wings of the drawbridge rise up twenty paces ahead of him.

In the first transport of grief he flung himself upon the glacis and bit the earth, and then recovering himself he vowed that he would never return to his master. He carried out this resolution next morning and bade adieu to his comrades for ever. No doubt this escapade was suggested in part by his father's expatriation some years before, and it is singular that he does not seem to have thought of flying to his father who was then at Niyon.



Probably his dislike for his stepmother and dread that he might be sent back to his master kept him away. He lived among the peasantry for a while and then called on the priest of Confignon. The latter welcomed him as if he were a lost sheep returning to the fold, and sent him with a letter of introduction to Madame de Warens. God calls you, he said, go to Annecy, there you will find a good and very charitable lady who has been enabled by the favor of the king to withdraw other souls from the errors out of which she has herself emerged. Rousseau was now sixteen years old, and his flight from Geneva closes the history of his childhood. He concludes the chapter by the following reflections, which no doubt are sincere enough, though it is very doubtful if he could ever have lived a serene and obscure life.

"Let me turn my eyes for a moment to what would naturally have been my lot had I fallen into the hands of a better master. Nothing was more suitable to my humour, nor more fitted to make me happy, than the tranquil and obscure condition of a good artisan, especially in certain trades such as is that of the engravers at Geneva. That condition, sufficiently lucrative to yield an easy subsistence, and not enough so to lead to fortune, would have limited my ambition for the rest of my days, and while, leaving me an honourable leisure for cultivating moderate tastes, would have confined me in my sphere, and not given me any means of going out of it. Possessing an imagination rich enough to adorn every condition with its chimeras and powerful enough to transport me, so to speak, at my pleasure, from one to the other, it mattered little in what condition I was in point of fact. It never could be so far from it to the first castle-in-the-air, that I could not easily establish myself there. For this very reason the simplest condition and the one which gave the least trouble and the fewest cares, and which left the spirit freest, was the one best suited to me, and this was exactly what I had. I should have spent a quiet and pleasant life in the bosom of my religion, my country, and my friends, such as my character required, in the uniformity of a toil suited to my taste and a society according to my heart. I should have been a good Christian, a good citizen, a good father of a family, a good friend, a good workman, and a good man in every respect. I should have loved my condition, perhaps I should have honoured it, and, after passing a simple and obscure, but sweet and equable, life, I should have died peaceably in the bosom of my own people, soon forgotten, doubtless, but at least I should have been regretted as long as I was remembered. In place of this what a picture I am about to make. Ah! let us not anticipate the miseries of my life, I should occupy my readers only too much with this sad subject."

Rousseau went to Annecy and saw Madame de Warens—an inter-



view which, he says, decided his character. By her he was sent to Turin to be instructed in the Catholic religion, and there he was, in a very short time, received into the Church. He remained for some years at Turin. At first he was in great distress, for the priests did nothing for him; but afterwards he got employment as a domestic servant. It was at this time of his life that the terrible crime of the stolen ribbon and the false accusation against a fellow-servant occurred; a tragedy which was justly followed by a life-long remorse. He was more lucky at Turin than he deserved to be, and was in a fair way to advancement when he ruined his prospects by his own caprice, was turned away for insolence and went back to Madame deWarens. He made one valuable friend at Turin in an Abbé Gaime who gave him much sound advice, and who along with M. Gâtrier, a young Abbé of Chambery, were the originals of the Savoy Vicar of the *Emile*.

Rousseau lived with Madame deWarens for eight or nine years, and led a quiet and apparently happy life, though certainly not a moral one. During most of the time he was more or less dependent on her bounty, though he earned something by working as a surveyor and by teaching music. It was in these years of leisure that Rousseau did most of his reading. "It was during this precious interval" he says, "that my mixed, inconsecutive education acquired consistence and made me what I have never ceased to be, in spite of the storms which were awaiting me." Whatever else Madame deWarens was, there can be no doubt that she was extremely kind to Rousseau, and that she deserved his grateful remembrance of her. She was at pains to develop his talents and tried to interest a relation of her own and M. D'Aubonne in him. M. D'Aubonne, however, examined Rousseau and came to the conclusion that he was "stupid, and that the highest position he could aspire to was that of a village-priest. "This was the second or third time that I had been so judged, and it was not the last; the decision of M. Masseron" (the notary to whom he was sent in Geneva) "has been often confirmed. The cause of these judgments has too much to do with my character not to require an explanation in this place; for in conscience I cannot sincerely subscribe to them, and with all the impartiality possible, whatever Messrs. Masseron, D'Aubonne and many others may have said, I cannot take them at their word.

"Two things almost irreconcilable are united in me without my knowing how: a very ardent temperament, lively, impetuous passions, and ideas slow to be born, embarrassed, and which never present themselves till after the occasion. One would say that my heart and intellect did not belong to the same person. Feeling, quicker than lightning, comes and fills my soul; but instead of enlightening me, it burns and confuses me. I feel everything and

see nothing. I am carried away, but stupid ; I must be cool in order to think. What is astonishing is that I have tolerably sure tact, penetration, finesse even, provided that I am given time. I make excellent impromptus at my leisure, but on the spur of the moment I have never said or done anything valuable. I could hold an excellent conversation by post, as they say the Spaniards play at chess. . . . .

"It is not only in conversation that I have this slowness of thought and vivacity of feeling ; I have it even when I am alone and at work. My ideas get arranged in my head with the most incredible difficulty. They circulate there indistinctly, they ferment there even to exciting me, heating me and giving me palpitations ; and in the midst of all this emotion, I see nothing clearly, I cannot write a single word. It is necessary for me to wait. Insensibly this great movement is pacified, this chaos becomes disentangled, everything comes and puts itself in its place, but slowly and after a long and confused agitation. . . . .

"Hence arises the extreme difficulty which I find in writing. My manuscripts, erased, blotted, confused, illegible, show the labor they have cost me. There is not one which I have not had to write four or five times over before giving it to the press. I have never been able to do anything with my pen in my hand and in front of a table and my paper. It is while walking in the midst of woods and rocks, it is at night in my bed and during my sleepless hours, that I write in my brain ; with what slowness it may be judged, especially for a man absolutely without a verbal memory and who in all his life has never been able to retain six verses of poetry in his head. There are some of my sentences which I have turned and re-turned for five or six nights in my head before they were fit to be put on paper. Hence it comes that I succeed better in works which demand labour than in those which require to be made with a certain lightness, such as letters, a kind of composition of which I have never been able to catch the tone, and working at which is a punishment to me. I do not write letters on the most trifling topics which do not cost me hours of fatigue, or if I write straight off what occurs to me I do not know how to begin or end. My letter is a long and confused verbiage ; when it is read, it is scarcely intelligible.

"Not only is it hard for me to express my ideas, it is also difficult for me to take them in. I have studied men and I think I am a pretty good observer ; yet I do not know how to see anything that I am seeing. I only see well what I recal, and it is only in my recollections that I have my apprehension. I feel nothing, I penetrate nothing, of what is being said to me, of what is being done, or of whatever takes place in my presence. The external sign is all that strikes me. But afterwards it all comes back to

me. I remember the place, the time, the tone, the look, the gesture, the circumstance—nothing escapes me. Then from what has been said or done, I find what has been thought, and I am rarely deceived”

There is much that is interesting and charming in Rousseau's account of this period of his life, but it should be read in the original. The first part of his *Confessions* ends with his departure for Paris and is by far the most interesting and delightful. The second part is much less attractive. It is very long and full of unhappinesses and suspicions. The writing of it seems to have been an afterthought, and it is perhaps a pity that Rousseau ever undertook the task, for, except in the matter of his relations to Therése, it does not add greatly to our knowledge of him, and much of it is wearisome and querulous.

He left Chambery for Paris in 1741, taking with him a scheme of musical notation with which he hoped to acquire fame. On a former occasion he had relied on a mechanical toy for his support on a journey from Turin to Chambery, and now he relied with equal credulity on his musical scheme. It came to nothing, and he might have starved had he not become acquainted with some ladies, through whose influence he was appointed secretary to the French ambassador at Venice. He resided at Venice for eighteen months and might have established his footing in political circles, if his chief had not been an impracticable fool. As it was, they quarrelled, and Rousseau returned to Paris.

Here it was (in 1743-4) that he fell in with Therése Le Vasseur. She was from Orleans, but was, when Rousseau met her, serving as washerwoman in a hotel near the Luxembourg. The company there was rude and debauched, and Therése, who dined at the same table, was made the butt of their coarse jokes. This naturally aroused Rousseau's pity for her, and he tried to protect her. The result in one so susceptible might easily be foreseen, and was all the more certain because the girl's mistress got angry and tried to prevent the intimacy. Henceforth they lived together as man and wife till Rousseau's death, though the connection was for five-and-twenty years nothing more than concubinage, and was never apparently cemented by a legal marriage.

Therése was not only of small origin, she was grossly ignorant and was not even of unblemished character. She could never read well, could not tell the hours on a sundial, or do the simplest sum in addition, or remember the order of the months. Yet she had, according to Rousseau, much practical wisdom, and for many years he delighted in her society. According to him, indeed, she was the only real consolation which heaven had given him in his misery, and the only thing which made his life endurable. Elsewhere he says, that the day which united him to Therése fixed his

moral being and possibly this is true though we think it was in a different sense from that meant by Rousseau. Most writers on Rousseau have taken a very different view of the connection and have regarded it as a great misfortune and disgrace ; this also was the opinion of his contemporaries, who knew them both and were of course in a much better position to judge than we are. Mr. Morley, however, from a desire I suppose to say something new, maintains that *Thérèse* was in many respects well suited to Rousseau, and implies that he was incapable of appreciating a higher type of woman. He finds no degradation in the alliance, and thinks that Rousseau had, by serving as a footman at Turin, unclassed himself and sunk to *Thérèse's* level. This seems to us the mere perversity of paradox. Surely Mr. Morley forgets that Rousseau was a poet, and that, however coarse his own manners might be, he had a keen appreciative sense of the elegancies. Surely *Madame de Warens* and his young and fondly-remembered friends *Mademoiselles Galley* and *Graffenried* were higher and more loveable types of women.

Rousseau has told us what were his tastes in such matters, in the charming episode in which these two young ladies are described. "Seamstresses, chambermaids, grisettes do not tempt me. I must have young ladies, every one has his fancies ; this has always been mine and I do not agree with Horace on this point. However, it is not at all the vanity of the condition and rank which attracts me, it is a better preserved complexion, more beautiful hands, more graceful ornaments, an air of delicacy and cleanliness about the whole person, more taste in the art of dress and of speaking, a finer and better made gown, a daintier chaussure, ribbons, lace, better arranged hair. I would always prefer the less pretty one who had more of this. I myself find this preference very ridiculous, but my heart accords it in spite of me."

*Thérèse* had none of these attractions, and therefore it is not surprising to find Rousseau avow that he never had a spark of love for her person. This was enough of itself to make the union unadvisable, and we are reminded of George Elliot's gloss on the prohibition against marrying one's grandmother.

The connection was, we think, begun in pity and desire to be logical, and protracted by obstinacy. For the reasons which made Rousseau think that *Thérèse* was the best companion for him lay very deep in his character. The quotation we have given above shows that he felt ashamed of what was surely a very natural and laudable preference for lady-like manners.

This arose from his theory of the goodness of nature. He was persuaded that civilisation had injured men, and therefore he was bound in logic to prefer those who were least civilised and had consequently least diverged from the original natural type. Therefore



the coarse-minded and coarse-mannered kitchen wench, who could not read or express herself intelligibly, was the proper companion for him ; and the ridicule of his contemporaries only acted on him as the wind on the traveller and made him cling to her all the more closely.

It was not long, indeed, before they were joined together by the bond of a common crime of no ordinary character. I refer to the giving over of their children to the Foundling hospital. *Thérèse* was no doubt in some measure responsible for this, though of course *Rousseau* was by far the most guilty. Some have endeavoured to exculpate him in this matter at the expense of *Thérèse*, by the entirely gratuitous hypothesis that *Rousseau* was not the father of the children.

But there is no ground whatever for this, and we agree with *Mr. Morley*, that even if it had been true, it does not much mend the position. Perhaps it makes it worse, for it took away *Rousseau's* right to interfere (be it remembered he was not *Thérèse's* husband), and it is evident that whether they were his children or not, *Thérèse* and her mother wanted to take charge of them. *Madame Sand* is one of those who have adopted the hypothesis and gives some ladies' reasons for thinking it sound. Womanlike, too, she has endeavoured to idolize *Rousseau* at the expense of *Thérèse*. This we think is very unjust. The poor ignorant girl did not seek out *Rousseau*, and would probably have been happier if she had never met him. I think, therefore, that the world should have nothing for her but pity and silence.

Not the less, however, was the connection the irreparable fault of *Rousseau's* life. He might have got out of his other troubles, and indeed he did in a most marvellous manner get out of his earlier scrapes, but this fixed his destiny for life.

It is not always, nor perhaps even often, that marriage is the decisive act of a man's life. His choice of a profession is generally much the more important and draws the marriage and many other consequences after it, but sometimes it decides a man's character and still oftener does it decide his happiness or unhappiness. Certainly the connection with *Thérèse* did the latter, and we are inclined also to think that it greatly affected his character. *Rousseau* made his first mark in literature in 1749. In the summer of that year he often walked from Paris to Vincennes, to see *Diderot*, who was interned there. The road was a very hot one and he used to walk so fast that he made himself ill. In order to put a drag on himself he took to putting a book into his pocket and reading it as he went along. One day he took a copy of a newspaper and read in it that the Academy of Dijon had offered a prize for an essay on the effect of the progress of the arts and sciences on morality. "Immediately I read this, I saw



another universe and became a different man.....On arriving at Vincennes I was in an agitation bordering on delirium, Diderot perceived it. I told him the cause and showed him the invocation of Fabricius which I had written in pencil under an oak. He exhorted me to give the reins to my ideas and to compete for the prize. I did so, and from that moment I was lost. All the rest of my life and of my misfortunes were the inevitable result of this moment of error. My feelings rose with the most inconceivable rapidity to the level of my ideas. All my petty passions were extinguished by enthusiasm for truth, liberty and virtue ; and what is more astonishing is that the effervescence continued in my heart for more than four or five years in as high a degree, perhaps, as it has ever been in the heart of any man. I worked at this discourse in a singular fashion which I have almost always followed in my other works. I dedicated to it the sleepless parts of my nights ; I meditated in my bed with my eyes shut, and turned my sentences over and over again in my head with incredible labour. Then, when I became satisfied with them, I deposited them in my memory until I could put them on paper. But the time of rising and dressing made me lose everything, and when I set myself to my paper hardly any of my composition came back to me. I bethought myself of employing Madame Le Vasseur as my secretary. I had lodged her with her husband and her daughter near me, and to spare me a servant, she came every morning and lighted my fire, and did for me what little I required. When she came I dictated to her from my bed the result of my nocturnal toil, and this practice I have long followed, and it has saved much that would otherwise have been forgotten.\* When the discourse was finished I showed it to Diderot, who was pleased with it and suggested some corrections. Yet the work, though full of fervour and strength, is altogether wanting in logic and order. Of all which have proceeded from my pen it is the feeblest in point of reasoning and the poorest in number and harmony ; but, however talented one may be naturally, the art of writing is not learned at once." In 1750, he heard that his essay had obtained the prize.

"This news reawakened all the ideas which had dictated it to me, animated them with new forces, and finished by fermenting in my heart that first leaven of heroism and virtue, which my father, my country and Plutarch had put there in my childhood. I no longer found anything great or beautiful except to be free and virtuous, superior to fortune and to opinion, and to be self-contained. Although bashfulness and the fear of being hissed prevented me from conducting myself at first on these principles and from rudely breaking with

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\* It is pleasant to find that Therèse's mother was after all of some use to him.

the maxims of my age, yet I had thenceforward a decided will, and I delayed action only just as long as was necessary to irritate it (my will) by contradiction and so make it triumphant."

His friend Diderot found a publisher for the essay. It had an immense sale, and this favour of the public, Rousseau says, gave him the first real assurance of his talents which he had always been doubtful of in spite of his internal feelings. Fame, however, was all that it brought him, for the booksellers did not give him a farthing.

The essay is a short and sketchy production, and to modern readers it seems a little strange that it should have caused so much sensation. It is not fair, however, to judge of its merits by the impression which it makes after the lapse of more than 120 years. Its views were novel and striking when it appeared, and, as Mr. Mill observes, it fell like a bombshell among the philosophers of the day. The view which Rousseau took was that the progress of the arts and sciences had been injurious to morality, and he defended this extraordinary thesis with much fervour and eloquence. A similar idea was expressed by Shelley when he maintained that the hermit in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* was a true philosopher and that the knight of art and industry was an impostor.

It is a common remark that authors feel towards their books like parents to their children, but there is this difference, that authors do not generally have a superior affection for their first-born.

We have seen Rousseau's disparaging remarks on his essay, and we remember how Lord Byron spoke slightly of his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (the first work of his manhood), and how severely Lord Macaulay criticised his own essay on Milton.

About this time Rousseau fell ill and was told by the doctors that he had not long to live. This made him resolve to give up all thoughts of making a figure in the world and to spend the remainder of his days in living according to nature. He therefore gave up the secretaryship which he held in M. Frauceuil's family, and proceeded to earn his daily bread by copying music. No doubt the desire to be logical which always beset poor Rousseau, and the honest and praiseworthy wish to live up to his precepts, were what chiefly induced this step, but there was also in it some leaven of Bohemianism and dislike to restraint and steady work. It is amusing and very characteristic of him to find that one of his first reforms was to sell his watch, as he said to himself, "avec une joie encroyable," "Thank Heaven I shan't have any more need of knowing what o'clock it is." At the same time he laid aside personal ornaments, such as a sword, white stockings, &c. He clung for a time to his fine linen, of which he had a large supply.

This was part of his Venetian outfit when he went to the ambassador there, and included among other things forty-two very fine shirts. However, a brother of Therése relieved him of this servitude, as he calls it, by stealing the whole of his wardrobe one Christmas eve.

In 1754 he wrote his second work, entitled *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men*. It also was written for the Academy of Dijon and is a much longer and abler work than his first essay. It did not, however, get the prize.

In the same year he paid a visit to his native city and on the way passed through Savoy and saw Madame de Warens. He found her sadly changed and sunk in misery and indigence. Was this, he said to himself, the Madame de Warens, formerly so brilliant, to whom the Curé Pontverre sent me. He tried to induce her to come and live with him, but she declined; and he seems to have seen her only once afterwards, when she paid him a visit at Geneva. Afterwards he bitterly reproached himself for not attaching himself to her at any cost and making his home with her. And no doubt she deserved everything that he could do for her, and he might have done more than he did. It was perhaps, however, just as well that he did not share her home, for it is impossible to suppose that she and Therése would have lived happily together.

He remained in Geneva for four months, and while there took the singular step of returning to Protestantism. His real views were anything but orthodox, but he was certainly more a Protestant than a Roman Catholic, and he had a theory that one should always profess the religion of one's country. Moreover, he had dedicated his last discourse to the republic of Geneva, and was anxious to be made a citizen, which could not be done unless he became a Protestant. At this time he had thoughts of permanently settling in Geneva, but was deterred from doing so by various circumstances, and especially by Voltaire having established himself in the neighbourhood. He returned to France and took up his abode in a cottage which Madame d'Epinaï fitted up for him near the forest of Montmorency, and which was called 'The Hermitage.' He lived there for about eighteen months, but afterwards quarrelled with her and took up his quarters in another house in the same neighbourhood. Altogether he lived in Montmorency for about six years, and this was the time of his greatest literary activity. His powers were now in full bloom, and the leisure and solitude which he enjoyed enabled him to do full justice to them, so that he was in a far better position for work than his literary brethren who were struggling in the vortex of Parisian society. Montmorency is about fourteen miles north of Paris. The country round about is very beautiful, and the forest

was a source of continual delight to Rousseau. All would have gone well probably, if he had had an intelligent and accomplished woman for his wife. But now was the time when he found what a fatal mistake he had committed in mating himself with the dull and stupid Therése.

Therése was tired of their solitary walks, and she and her mother seem to have made common cause and left Rousseau pretty much to himself. The want of female society drove him to his old resource of day-dreaming, and he soon peopled the forest glades with the creatures of his fancy. In the midst of his erotic fervours, the Countess of Houdetot appeared on the scene and completed his destruction. She was the daughter of a farmer-general, M. de Bellegarde, and half-sister of Madame d'Epinau. She came to the hermitage to pay Rousseau a visit (she had met him before) and to talk to him about her lover M. de Saint Lambert. Rousseau at once fell violently in love with her, why, it is rather difficult to say, except because she was a countess and different from Therése. Beautiful or clever she certainly was not, and was even marked with the small-pox. She was little disposed to return his affection, but was well enough pleased, apparently, to flirt with him and to amuse herself by talking to him while her lover was absent on service. The consequences of Rousseau's passion were most deplorable for him, both bodily and mentally, and it perhaps added to his misery that he was sensible of the ridiculousness and degradation of his position and of the terrible handle for scorn that he was giving to his quondam Parisian friends. From this time his mind lost its balance and there can be no doubt that he was thenceforward more or less insane, and laboured under the monomania that everybody was his secret enemy. Still this did not affect his literary power, and his *Nouvelle Heloise*, which at one time was so popular, was written under the inspiration of his passion for the countess of Houdetot. It appears to be very little read now-a-days, and certainly the love which inspired it was not likely to produce a work destined to immortality. In 1762 he published another novel, the *Julie*, which also had a great run. In connection with this work Rousseau tells us a curious story about the censorship of books. It seems that he had said in the *Julie* that the wife of a charcoal-burner was more worthy of respect than the mistress of a king. The censor thought this might offend Madame de Pompadour and wished Rousseau to expunge it. He however declined, on the ground that he had not really meant any allusion to the king's mistress, and contented himself with substituting the word 'prince' for that of king. This did not satisfy the censor, who actually had the page taken out of the copy to be sent to Madame de Pompadour and another printed and inserted in its stead.



Rousseau adds that this ruse did not deceive the lady, and that he afterwards felt the effects of her resentment. In 1762, he published the *Contrat Social* and the *Emile*. The former has long become obsolete, and the *Emile* is now chiefly read on account of some interesting autobiographical details given in it and of its containing the famous "profession of faith of a Savoy-vicar." This last is perhaps the most eloquent piece of writing that ever flowed from Rousseau's pen. It is a rushing torrent of noble ideas and vigorous language, and though much of it has now become the common property of the world, it is still impossible to read it without emotion. In it we find the well-known observation, that a man's religion depends on his birth-place, and that we should all have been Mohamedans if we had been born in Constantinople. It appears, however, that this remark had been made before by Montaigne.

The *Emile* had a great vogue at the time, and according to Mr. Morley it is the most influential educational work ever written. The morality is good throughout, and it is evidently the result of many years of observation and thought. But, curiously enough, this book, which was the soundest and most praiseworthy that he ever wrote, was the one which brought him into trouble. It was published at Amsterdam in order to avoid the censorship, but this did not save him. The Archbishop of Paris issued a charge prohibiting any person in his diocese from reading or possessing the book, and the Parliament of Paris issued a warrant against Rousseau's person. He took fright and fled to Switzerland. There he lived for some months on an island in the lake of Bienné, but the Bernese Government forced him to leave this refuge, and the town of Geneva burnt his book by the common hangman. Eventually he was obliged to go to England for safety, and there occurred his unfortunate quarrel with Hume. The only person in Switzerland who seems to have understood him and to have behaved kindly and properly to him, was Marshal Keith, a simple-minded old Scotchman, who was Governor of Neuchâtel and brother of the General Keith who was killed at the battle of Hohenkirchen.

It seems unnecessary to dwell on the few and sad years which remained to Rousseau. He died in 1778 near Paris, doubtless from natural causes, though a groundless rumour was current for a time that he had shot himself on discovering Thérèse's infidelity.

We have now completed the survey of Rousseau's life, and it remains to give some account of his writings and of his character and genius. At the present day what he has written about himself is by far the most interesting of his works. His *Emile* cost him much labour, and was considered by him to be his best work, but, as we have already mentioned, it is now almost obsolete. A similar oblivion has fallen upon his other works, but the *Confes-*



sions retains its place as one of the most striking productions of French literature. It is quite sufficient to keep his name alive, and must continue to be read and studied as long as the contemplation of their own nature is interesting to mankind. It is a work which stands alone in the literature, not only of France, but of all the world. What is the pathos or tragedy of all the novels that ever were written compared with this revelation of what somebody has termed "that awful spectacle, a naked human heart?" It may seem rather sad to find that only one of the many books written by our author is destined to enduring fame, but the circumstance is a very common one.

Cervante's *Don Quixot*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and perhaps Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* are instances in point. Attempts are made sometimes to arrest the natural process of decay by publishing collected editions of a great author's works, but the attempt is a failure and generally injurious to the writer. Such editions resemble the binding together of the living and the dead. It is sickening for example to find some wretched plays bound up with *Tom Jones* and *Amelia*.

The decay of Rousseau's philosophical writings is not altogether due to the errors which they contain. It proceeds in part from the best ideas in them having now become the common property of the world. Some principles for which he contended have been exploded, but others have been accepted, and both results have been equally injurious to the vitality of his writings. Few people now-a-days read Luther's works, or the whole of Locke's *Essay*, or Wolff's *Prolegomena*, and it is probable that Darwin's *Origin of Species* will in no long time share the same fate. These books have done their work and we may say of them and their authors *stant nominum umbræ*.

The present age does not require to read Rousseau and does not do so, but it recognises him as one of the leading figures of the eighteenth century, and as an important factor of the French Revolution. Even Mr. Carlyle, hostile as he seems to be to Frenchmen, and little disposed to admire volubility of utterance, classes Rousseau among the heroes. And there can be no doubt that this is just. As Mr. Carlyle says, Rousseau was terribly in earnest. He was weak in many ways and had received a vicious education, but he had a bright spark of genius and a warm love for his fellow-men. His admirers have described him on the pedestal of his statue as the man of truth and nature, and the words are not ill-chosen, but he might also have received the inscription which Leigh Hunt chose for himself, "Write me as one who loved his fellow-men."

It must always be remembered to Rousseau's honour that he rejected the shallow flippancy and mere negativism of Voltaire and

the Encyclopædists and laboured hard to construct, and was not contented with simple destruction.

His endeavour was premature and imperfect, but it is much praise to him that he made the attempt, and the very fact of his shipwreck has lightened the labours of future discoverers.

The great fault of Rousseau's philosophical writings seems to me to be his conviction of what Paley has called "The Goodness of the Deity," and his consequent belief that whatever was natural must be right. This is the fundamental error of all his speculations, and we have seen how grievously it misled him in practice by making him think *Thérèse* a proper type of womanhood. Rousseau has often been described as an irreligious writer, and of course he was altogether heterodox, but I think that his religion of Deism did him far more harm than his heterodoxy. His beliefs were stronger and more detrimental than his scepticism. If he could only have grasped the truth indicated by Butler and followed out by Mill, that nature is full of evil, and rejected the doctrine of final causes, he would have been a far happier man and a safer guide in politics.

This false principle put him in continual contradiction with himself. Born a poet, and hence loving all things noble and refined, he yet tied himself for life to a vulgar and common-minded woman, thereby ruining both himself and her. For when the brass and the earthen pots float down the stream together, the latter are not the only ones which are injured. They are broken and destroyed, but the fine brass of the others is made dim.

He loved his fellow men and struggled to help them, but at the same time he felt that it was his duty to despise and abhor them for their deviations from the natural state, and so a gentle and affectionate nature became infected by the poison of misanthropy.

Oh that he could have recognised more clearly the might and majesty of man, and have thrilled with delight at his achievements, as Sophocles did in one of the most splendid choruses of his greatest drama.\*

One great merit of Rousseau is the beauty of his style. We have already quoted a most interesting description of how the style was acquired, which reminds one of the old remark, that genius is only an infinite capacity for taking trouble.

It is impossible to think of Rousseau without being reminded of Voltaire, who was the other great star of the French sky. Voltaire was the older man of the two, and his light burnt longer and with a less flickering radiancy than that of Rousseau. Both, however, died in the same year (1778), and hence it was proposed to celebrate their centenaries together on the occasion of the present Paris exhibition. There was very little in common between the two men, and it was inevitable that they should dislike one

another. Voltaire habitually sneered at Rousseau and had a hand in the burning of the *Emile*, and Rousseau never deigned to read the *Candide*.

As regards their merits and their influence on the world, I think it would be idle to attempt to place Rousseau on a level with Voltaire. The vigour and industry of the latter and his admirable common-sense, must place him above a man who was destitute of practical ability and who spent so much of his time in day-dreaming. Still we think Rousseau is much the more interesting character of the two. His faults and misfortunes enlist our sympathies in his behalf, whereas we feel that Voltaire was a strong man who did not need pity (whatever he himself may have said on the subject), and that his long life was an almost unbroken course of prosperity. He had his good things in abundance, and after all a prosperous man can never be so interesting as a poor wretch, who is always in danger of being a castaway. If prosperous men are allowed to enjoy their comforts and are not unjustly disparaged, or envied over and above measure, they get, we think, all that they have a right to expect from the world.

Somehow in thinking of the two men we are reminded of George Eliot's characters, Adam and Seth Bede. Voltaire, with his clear intellect and practical talents, reminds us of Adam, while the dreaminess and religiosity of Rousseau approach him to Seth Bede. And while we acknowledge that Adam Bede was the more useful member of society and the better man of the two, and that he even deserved to win the prizes of life, yet we feel that poor, disappointed Seth was in some respects the higher character of the two, and that Dinah must have had occasional doubts and compunctions about her preference of Adam.

We have already indicated our conception of Rousseau's character. He was emphatically not a strong man. On the contrary, he was throughout life weak and unstable and continually liable to be thrown off his balance by an impulse of the moment. His worst faults were cowardice and sensuality. Grave faults certainly, and perhaps some of my readers will say they were enough to condemn him. But there are other faults at least as grave and prejudicial to society as the two we have named, and from which Rousseau was free. We refer to cruelty and envy, from both of which Rousseau was, I think, singularly free. He also seems to have been very deficient in literary vanity. Then it must be remembered that his cowardice was in great measure the result of causes beyond his control. He was born with a feeble and nervous constitution, and the life which he was forced to lead for many years was not calculated to improve his character. The brutality of his master, M. Ducommun, was enough to permanently injure him and to break his spirit for

life. Then birth and rank were affairs of much more consequence in the 18th century than they are now-a-days, and Rousseau, who was the son of a watchmaker and had been at one period of his life a common lacquey, must have had many an affront to endure, and have found it often difficult to preserve his self-respect. He was, however, much better off in regard to admission to society than he would have been had he been an Englishman. Nothing is more astonishing in his *Confessions* than the apparent ease with which he was received into fashionable society, and this even before he had made a name in literature. Some one has commended English society for the readiness with which it admitted Dr. Johnson, but certainly Rousseau seems to have been admitted into circles in France which in England were altogether closed against Johnson, and, moreover, Rousseau had the drawback of being a very bad converser, so that he had not Dr. Johnson's accomplishment to help him.

It was cowardice which lead Rousseau to commit two of the worst crimes recorded in his *Confessions*. And here, we think, it is but bare justice to remember that it is Rousseau himself who has furnished us with the most damning instances of his weakness. But for his own candour the world would probably have never heard of anything of them. The two instances which we refer to are his false accusation against poor Marion that she had stolen the ribbon, and his running away when his friend and fellow-traveller, Le Maître, was seized with epilepsy.

As regards the first of these, I think nothing can be said in defence or excuse of it, except that he was only a boy, and that the instinct of self-preservation carried it over every other consideration.

Nor is there much to be said in excuse of his conduct to Le Maître, and it is to the credit of Rousseau, that though he tried to salve his conscience at the time, he thought more justly in his old age and condemned himself unreservedly. The only possible excuse for his abandoning Le Maître is that the fit was in a great measure the result of drunken habits. How deeply Rousseau felt the enormity of his conduct is shown by a passage in his *Emile*, where the Savoy vicar is made to say, that the most wicked men do not lose all their morality. The robber who strips wayfarers, covers the nakedness of the poor man, and the most ferocious assassin supports a man when he is falling in a swoon.

As regards his sensuality, it was the fault of the age, and it would be hard to expect virtue from a young man, brought up in the house of Madame de Warens and subjected by her to a heroic remedy. His vice was after all chiefly a sin of the imagination, and he never had the awful guilt of a seduction upon his soul.



As regards indulgence in wine, Rousseau appears to have been singularly correct, and he tells us that he never was drunk in his life.

As we have already said, his great and distinguishing merit was his love for his fellow men. From this flowed his hatred of oppression and the constant and active interest which he took in all who were poor or oppressed. A man, of the people himself and one who had held servile positions, and who honorably supported himself by the labour of his hands in copying music, he knew the feelings of the common people and sympathised with them. There is a striking and often-quoted passage in his *Confessions*, where he tells us of his meeting with a peasant who lived in constant fear of the tax-gatherers and excise-men, and who, as he says, "could only avoid ruin by exhibiting the same misery as prevailed around him."

When at Montmorency, he had been struck with indignation at seeing the devastations committed by the wild boars and other game in the fields of the peasantry. In a description which reminds one of scenes in Eastern Bengal, he says: "At the Hermitage and at Montmorency, I had seen near at hand and with indignation the vexations which a jealous care of the pleasures of princes inflicts on the unhappy peasantry, forced to submit to the injury done to their fields by the game, without daring to defend themselves except by making noises, and who are obliged to spend the nights among their peas and beans with kettles, drums, and bells, in order to scare away the boars." See also his sketch of a country-life in the fourth book of the *Emile*.

It would have been long probably before the courtly Voltaire would have ventured to denounce the pleasures of the noblesse.

H. BEVERIDGE.



## ART. VI.—THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUDIAN \* LANGUAGES.

*Note.*—In this article the black antique letters in the text, and the thick letters in the notes indicate the cerebrals and the anusvāra.

SEVEN languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz., Sindhī, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Hindī, Bengālī, Orīyā, Marāṭhī. Of these, Hindī is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248,000 square miles, and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions, or fully one-quarter of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true, if by Hindī we understand the literary or High Hindī (including under this term Hindústānī or Urdú); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting this area. It is, *a priori*, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindī area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this paper Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindī are merely two different dialects of the same (Hindī) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another as Bangālī in the east and Panjābī in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindī. Indeed, the likeness between Eastern Hindī and Bangālī is much closer than between Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī; and, on the other hand, the affinity between Western Hindī and Panjābī is much greater than between Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī. In short, Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as Panjābī, Hindī and Bangālī.

It is impossible at present accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the

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\* I have adopted the term Gaudian for want of a better word; not as to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.





centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map, which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which Hindí (commonly so-called, *i.e.*, Eastern Hindí and Western Hindí) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extends in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the Gulf of Kachchh, in a north-easterly direction, to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhya range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The Hindí area is bounded on the north by those of Garhwálí, Kumaoní, and Naipálí; on the west by Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujarátí; on the south by the Maráthí area; and on the east by Oríyá and Bangálí.

The Garhwálí, Kumaoní and Naipálí are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwálí is spoken between the Satlaj and Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gaudian*.

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language, *viz.*, the Multání, spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. Panjábí is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60,000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haidarábád; the Lárí, or dialect of the lower Sindh, spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea coast; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh. It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90,000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kachchh and Gujarát, or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kachchhí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí

or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50,000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráthí area is bounded by the Vindhya mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects, the Konkaní and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkan or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea; the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety.\* Maráthí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113,000 square miles. It should be observed that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráthí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that Eastern Hindí is spoken about Jabalpúr. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráthí has the Dráviḍian languages, the Kannarese and Telugu.

The Oríyá area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river, and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east coast of India. According to Beames† it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary line and the eastern limits of the Maráthí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66,000 square miles.

The Bangálí area is nearly conterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the west. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (‡); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara; another in Northern Bangál about Dinájpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90,000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the west; *first*, the dialects of Western Rajpútáná as far as the Aravalli mountains

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\* Beames' Comparative Grammar, Vol. I, page 104.

† Beames' Comparative Grammar, Vol. I, page 118, 106.

‡ Beames' Comparative Grammar, Vol. I, page 106.



The principal one is the *Márwáří* or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájput tribe, spoken about Jodhpúr and Bickaner. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájputáná, spoken about Jaypur and Kotah, on the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwa. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from *vraj*, "cow-pen," the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaújí, spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswáří or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájput tribe; spoken to the north of Alláhábád. Its district is nearly conterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Alláhábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, another Rájput tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the north and to about Jabalpúr in the south, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpur, now a small village near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges\*. *Seventhly*, the Máithikí or the dialect of the district of Tirhut; spoken about Muzafarpúr and Darbhanga. It is called so after the ancient city of Mithila, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhút (*Tirabhukti*). *Eighthly*, the Magadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gaya, Patna and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Mágadha, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronuncia-

\* "It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots, whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief, Kunwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining "Sair-ul Mutakherin" will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent zemindars of Bhojpur and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is

remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpúrí language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate together with a caste called Bábhans or Bhuinhárs, who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told." Beames' Journal Royal Asiat. Soc., III, page 484 (New Series).

tion and inflexion, etc, which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects, *viz.*, those of Western and Eastern Rajpútáná, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (*e.g.*, in having the Western Hindí past participle in *a* or *ya*); but as in most others (*e.g.*, the Eastern Hindí future in *ab*)\* it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes what I have called the Eastern Hindí language, the Western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwáří; afterwards Urdú was changed into High Hindí. The High Hindí, as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústání, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century † in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammadan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Marwáří and Panjábí; and there, among the great camps (Urdú) of the Muhammadan soldiery in their intercourse with the surrounding populations, a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is in the main Braj, though intermixed with Panjábí and Marwáří forms, while, as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindí, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic.) For example, the final long *á* of strong ‡ masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Marwáří *o*, is a bit of Panjábí §; again the suffix *ne* of the active case is a con-

\* Thus past part. Bais. *mára* or *márá* "killed," W. H. *máro* or *márau* or *máryo* or *máryau*; but E. H. *máral* or *máril*. Again fut. 1, pers. sing. Bais. *márabúm* or *márabým*.

† The great battle of Pánípat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1193. It put an end to the Hindú and estab-

‡ Gaudian nouns may have three different forms, *e.g.*, Eastern Hindí has masc. *bhér* or *bherá* or *bheravá* "ram" and fem. *bher* or *bherí* or *bher-iyá* "ewe." The third form, ending in *avá* (or Western Hindí *ayá*) and *iyá*

§ Thus Urdu *bhúkhá* "hungry," Panj. *bhukkhá*; but Braj *bhúkhau*,

"I shall kill", E. H. *márabom* or *márabým*, or *máribom*; but W. H. *márahúm* or *márasúm* or *márihúm* or *márihaum*.

lished the Muhammadan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú emperor (Prithiráj) fell in the battle.

I call *long*, the second, ending in *á* (W. H. *o*, or *au*), *strong*, and the first, ending in a consonant (or mute *a*), *weak*. The strong and the weak forms together I call the *short*.

Marw. *bhúkho*.

tribution from *Mārwarī*.\* Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdú. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihauṁ* or in *auṁgaṁ* (1st pers. sing.); Urdú has retained only the latter in the form *úṁgá*, on account, no doubt, of its similarity to the Panjábí *úṁgá*.† It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, that Urdú was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammadan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindí area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that Power, either in the army or the court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High Hindí dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindú revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough Urdú, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised*, or turned into High Hindí, by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdú and High Hindí are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ only in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few, as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindí area, viz., the High Hindí or Urdú, the Western Hindí and the Eastern Hindí. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of the towns and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammadans and of Hindí among Hindús, though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouths of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80th degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line, and containing about 1,50,000 square miles, Western Hindí is spoken by about 40 millions of people in some one or other of the above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself

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\* The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in *Mārwarī* *ne*, in Braj *kaṁ*. By "active" or "active case" I understand what is by others called the "case of the agent" or the "instrumental case."

† Thus, Urdú *kahúṁgá* "I shall say," Panj. *kaháṁgá*; but Braj *kahauṁgaṁ* or *kahihaṁ*.

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received some measure of literary cultivation \* In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies a unique position not only in the Western Hindí, but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever Western Hindí is simply spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The Eastern Hindí area, lying to the east of the 80th degree, contains about 100,000 square miles, and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various Eastern Hindí dialects, spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district, or the Bhojpúrí, is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this paper by the term Eastern Hindí. It must be considered the typical dialect of the Eastern Hindí, for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other Eastern Hindí dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswárí, in some not unimportant points, shows the distinctive marks of the Western Hindí (see page 756.) On the other hand, the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakeable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an Eastern Hindí one. Thus, in the formation of the past tense, Maithilí agrees more closely with Bangálí than with Eastern Hindí †.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpúrí as the two typical dialects of the two great Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others, a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindí (*i. e.*, other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall mention only the most important. They are arranged under the following heads: (1) pronunciation, (2) derivation, (3) inflexion, (4) construction, (5) vocables.

*Firstly*; as to pronunciation; Eastern Hindí has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semi-vowels; thus Eastern Hindí often has *r* and *rh* for Western Hindí *ṛ* or *ṛh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for Western Hindí *l* ‡. While sometimes Western

\* The poetical works of *Kabir*, *Súr Dás*, *Nabháji*, *Keshava Dás*, *Behárí Lal*, *Lál Kavi*, and others are written in the Braj dialect.

† Thus, E. H. *parai*, "he falls," *gárhái* "he forms;" but W. H. *parai*, *qárhái*; E. H. *phar* "fruit," but

‡ Thus, Maith. *delchhe*, "he has given," Bang. *diyáchhe*; but E. H. *Dihale váte*.

W. H. *phal*; E. H. *nangot* "waist-cloth," but W. H. *langot*.



Hindí omits medial *h*, Eastern Hindí inserts an euphonic *h*.<sup>\*</sup> While Eastern Hindí never tolerates, Western Hindí sometimes adds euphonica, an initial *y*†. Eastern Hindí has the short vowels *ě*, *ǎ*, *ǫ*, *ǎǎ*, which are unknown to Western Hindí‡. Eastern Hindí generally prefers to retain the hiatus *ai* and *aii*, while Western Hindí always contracts them to *ai* and *au*§.

*Secondly*, as to derivation. (1) The strong form of masculine nouns of the *a* base has in Eastern Hindí a final *á* and the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in Western Hindí a final *au* or *o*.|| (2) The singular possessive pronoun has in Eastern Hindí a medial *o*, but in Western Hindí *e* or *a*¶. (3) Eastern Hindí prefers the weak form in quiescent *a* of masculine nouns with an *a* base, Western Hindí the strong form in *au* or *o* (*a*). (4) Eastern Hindí prefers the long form (of substantives) in *ava* or *au*, Western Hindí that in *aya* or *ai* (*b*). While Western Hindí uses as a rule only the short form of the pronouns, Eastern Hindí has generally also a long form in *na* (*c*).

*Thirdly*, as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. As to *declension*, (1) Eastern Hindí does not possess the active case of the Western Hindí formed with the affix *ne* (*d*); (2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in Eastern Hindí a final *á* but in Western Hindí *e* (*e*).

Next as to *conjugation*. (1) The present tense is made in Eastern Hindí by adding the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient Sanskrit present; in Western Hindí by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (*f*.) (2) The past tense is formed in E. Hindí by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in Western Hindí by the suffix *yau* or *ya(g)*. The future tense is made in Eastern Hindí by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in Western

\* e.g., E. H. *dihál* "he gave," but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

† e.g., E. H. *e me* "in this", *o me* "in that", but W. H. *yá mem*, *vú mem*.

‡ Thus E. H. *bětiyá* "daughter," (c) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* "he," *lōtiyá* "brass vessel," but W. H. *W. H. only so.*  
*bītiyá*, *lutiya*; again E. H. *parhlaṁ*.  
§ e. g., E. H. *baithai* "he sits,"  
"they read." W. H. *baithē*; E. W. *aur* and W. H. *aur*.

|| e. g. E. H. *bhalá* "good," W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* "which,"  
W. H. *ja* or *jo*.  
(d) e. g., E. H. *ú kailes* "he did,"  
W. H. *vá nē kiya*.

¶ Thus E. H. *morí* (fem) "mine" but W. H. *merí* or *márl*.  
(e) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghorá kai*, W. H. *ghore kau*, of nom. *ghorá* "horse". By "oblique form" I understand that form of the noun, which it takes in the oblique cases, generally in conjunction with postpositions.

(f) e. g., E. G. *holá* "he becomes," W. H. *haiyá* or *hvaihai* or *hvaichhai*.

(g) e. g., E. H. *rahal* "he remained," W. H. *rahyau*.

(b) e. g. E. H. *ramavá* or *ramau* "Rám," W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.



Hindí by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gau* or *go* to the ancient present.)\* (4) While Eastern Hindí possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with Western Hindí, it does not share with it that in *an* †

*Fourthly*, as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, Eastern Hindí possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas Western Hindí uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject.‡

*Fifthly*, as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in Eastern Hindí, 3. singular present *bátai* "he is," past *rahal* "he was;" in Western Hindí present *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again, the prohibitive particle is in Eastern Hindí *jie* "do not," in Western Hindí *mat*; again the causative post-position is in Eastern Hindí *badē* or *bare* "for the sake of," in Western Hindí *ligē*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves to establish the claim of the Eastern Hindí to be considered a distinct language from Western Hindí. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the Eastern and Western Gaudian languages, setting aside, for the present, those of the North (Naipálí) and South (Maráthí). To the east of the combined Eastern Hindí and Western Hindí areas are Bangálí and Oríyá; to the west Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí. On comparing these languages with Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí, it appears that Bangálí and Oríyá have, in common with the latter, all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí share with the former all or nearly all those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (*i.e.*, Eastern Hindí, Bangálí and Oríyá) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *ai* and *au* over *ai* and *au*); they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ē* and *ō*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a* base, generally, the weak form in *a*; they have no active case; their oblique form

\* *e. g.*, E. H. *karabom* "I shall do," W. H. *karihaum* or *karasim* (or *karauingau*).

† *e. g.*, E. H. *karab* "doing," W. H. *karabaum* or *kuranaum*.

‡ *e. g.*, E. H. *ū patar parhales* "he

read the letter," or *ū pothí parhales* "he read the book;" but W. H. *vā ne patar parhyau* (masc.), lit., "by him the letter was read," or *v ne pothí parhí* (fem.) lit., "by him the book was read."

singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á* ; their past tense is made with *il* and their future tense and infinitive with *ib* ; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do Bangálí and Oríyá differ from Eastern Hindí in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense ; a form which they have, in common not only with Eastern Hindí, but, as will be shown further on, with all Gaudian languages.

The case of Western Hindí in respect to Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí is precisely similar. They all prefer *r*, *l*, to *r* and *n* ; and *ai* and *au* to *ai* and *ai* ; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *r*, but have no short *ē* and *ō* ; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*\* ; their pronouns have no long form in *na*† ; and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au* ; they have an active case made with *ne* ‡ and an oblique form singular in *e* § of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or Panjábí *á*) ; they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia* and an infinitive with *au* ; lastly, they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, Gujarátí and Panjábí, like Western Hindí, form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as* ; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in Western Hindí, a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points Sindhí follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups ‖, yet it is complete in the most important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical ; viz., (1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a* base, whether weak or strong ; (2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o* ; (3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e* ; (4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya* ; (5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*) ; (6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even, in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to Sindhí, which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

\* Exc., Panjábí strong masc. nouns end in ; Gujarátí short pronouns end in *e*, except *so* " who."

† Exc. relat pron. *kon* in W. H., Panj., Guj., but not in Sindhi.

‡ Exc., Sindhí and Marwáí use no affix with the active case.

§ Exc., Gujarátí and Marwáí and partially Braj and Kumaoní in *á*.

¶ This agreement is much more complete in the eastern, than in the western group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration and occupation of North India.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by this agreement. In the first place, Eastern Hindí has evidently a much closer resemblance to Bangálí and Oríyá, than to Western Hindí, and, on the other hand, Western Hindí is much more nearly allied to Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí than to Eastern Hindí, whence it follows that since Bangálí and Oríyá are accounted separate languages from Eastern Hindí, and Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí from Western Hindí; *a fortiori* Eastern Hindí and Western Hindí must be considered as distinct languages and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance in which Eastern Hindí agrees with Western Hindí rather than with Bangálí and Oríyá are (1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* \*, which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and (2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia*, which they form a little differently, † ~~but~~ which strictly belongs not so much to Eastern Hindí as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswárí.

The second conclusion is that the languages, the affinities of which have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech, the one extending over the eastern half of North India and comprising Eastern Hindí, Bangálí and Oríyá, the other covering its western half and including Western Hindí, Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí. These two great forms of speech I designate in this paper the *Eastern Gauḍian* and the *Western Gauḍian* speeches or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we know as separate languages were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gauḍian languages, *viz.*, Maráthí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the Eastern and Western Gauḍian. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráthí is rather more nearly allied to Eastern Gauḍian, and Naipálí to Western Gauḍian. Their position as forms of speech, and distinct from both Eastern and Western Gauḍian, is founded chiefly on these two facts, (1) that with respect to some of the points, in which Eastern and Western Gauḍian differ from one another, Maráthí and Naipálí sometimes agree with one, sometimes

\* e.g., E. H. *bhale kai*, W. H. *bhale ká* "of good," from *bhalá*.

† e.g., E. H. *parhyom* "I read," Bang. *parhiyáchhi*, Oríyá *parhiachhum*, but W. H. *parhyau*.

with the other, and (2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus, as regards Maráthí, it agrees with Eastern Hindí in the following points ; (1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a* base\* ; (2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular† ; (3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* ‡ ; (4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present. This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered that this compound form, which serves in Maráthí as a future, is used in Eastern Hindí as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in Western Hindí as a present tense, and in Panjábí (and High Hindí) as a future.§ Now, these circumstances show that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gaudian and the other in *la* Eastern Gaudian.

On the other hand, Maráthí agrees with Western Gaudian in the following points ; (1) the pronunciation generally || ; (2) the termination of the short pronouns ¶ ; (3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*, except the interrogative pronoun *kon* " who ;" (4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a* base (*a*) ; (5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (*b*) ; (6) the active case formed with *ne* (*c*) ; (7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (*d*) ; and lastly the passive construction of the past tense. It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the Eastern and Western Gaudian, Maráthí agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, Maráthí must be considered to rank with the Eastern Gaudian rather than with the Western Gaudian group. Moreover, of the two points in which Maráthí agrees with Western Gaudian, one is syntactical, while all four points which it

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\* e.g., Mar. *ghodá* "horse," E. H. *ghorá*; Mar. *uchchá* "high," E. H. *umchá*.

† e.g., Mar. gen. *ghodýá chá*, of *ghodá* "horse" *vichvá chá*, of *vichú* "scorpion," *pányáchá*, of *pání* "water."

‡ e.g., Mar. *rahalá* or *rahilá* "he remained," E. H. *rahal* or *rahil*.

§ e.g., Mar. *hoil* "it will become"; E. H. *holá* it becomes; but W. H. *haigá* "it becomes," Panj. *howegá* "it will become."

|| Mar. *ghodá* or *ghora* "horse," W. Gd. *ghorá* or *ghoro*; but E. H. *ghorá*; Mar. *phal* "fruit," W. Gd. *phal*, but E. H. *phar*; Mar. *tambem* "cop-der" W. Gd. *támhá* or *támbo*; but

E. Gd. *támhá*; etc.

¶ Mar. *jo* "which," W. Gd. *jo*; but E. Gd. *je* or (long form) *javan* or *jaun* or *jena* or *jini*.

(a) Mar. *umchá* "high," W. Gd. *úmch'au* or *úmcho* or *úmchá*, but E. Gd. *úmch* or *úmcha*.

(b) Mar. *rámayá* "Rám," W. H. *ramayá*, but E. H. *ramavá*.

(c) Mar. *tyá nem tyálá márilem* "he beat him" (lit. by him it was beaten with reference to him), W. H. *tá ne tá kaum máryau*; but E. H. *te te ke márales*.

(d) Mar. *karanem* "to do," W. H. *karanaum*, but E. H. *karab*.



has in common with Eastern Gaudian are morphological. This shows still more clearly the Eastern Gaudian character of Maráthí; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics. \*

Further, the points, which are peculiar to Maráthí are the following; (1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. †; and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate ‡ (2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun §, (3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns||, (4) of a peculiar present, resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gaudian languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive ¶; and (5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *ún* (α). For these reasons, as well as because with respect to the points before referred to, Maráthí is neither decidedly E. nor W. Gaudian, it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called in this paper the *Southern Gaudian* speech.

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumaoní) very much resembles that of Maráthí. It agrees with Western Gaudian in the following points: the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (b); (2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (c); (3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (d); (4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a*-base; (5) the possession of an active case made by the affix *le* (*ne* of the W. Gaudian) (e); (6) the

\* This is illustrated by an observation, which Beames (Comp. gramm. I, page 102) quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarátí language, page 50); "If a native from the north (speaking W. Hindí) comes into Gujarát, the Gujarátí people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the south (speaking Maráthí) come to Gujarát, the Gujarátí people do not in the least comprehend what they say." The reason simply is, that although syntactically Gujarátí does not differ either from W. Hindí or Maráthí, yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from Maráthí, while it agrees very closely with W. Hindí.

† e.g., Mar. *rádzá* King; but E. and W. Gd. *rájá*.

‡ e.g., Mar. *vimchú* "scorpion", but E. and W. Gd. *vichchú*; or Mar. *hátí* "elephant"; E. and W. Gd. *háthí* or *hatthí*.

§ e.g., Mar. *májhá* "mine," but E. Gd. *mor*, W. Gd. *merau* or *máro*.

|| Mars *ghará*, obl form of *ghar* "house"; *kaví* of *kavi* "poet," *gurí* of *guru* "teacher," *ghodýá*, of *ghodá* "horse;" *vimchvá* of *vimchú* "scorpion"; *pányá*, of *pání* "water." In the other Gaudian languages (exc. Sindhí) only *ghodá* has an obl. form.

¶ e.g., Mar. *márito* "he beats," but W. H. *máratáu*, E. H. *maratai* (if) "he beat."

(a) e.g., Mar *sodún* "having loosed," but E. and W. Hindí *chhorke*, etc.

(b) e.g., Naip. *bhalo* "good," *púro* "full;" also W. Gd.; but E. H. *bhalá*, *púrá*.

(c) e.g., Naip. *jo* "which," also W, Gd.; but E. Gd. *je*.

(d) e.g., Naip. *mero* "mine"; W. H. *meio* or *máro*, E. H. *mor*.

(e) e.g., Naip. *ja le*, lit., "by which" W. H. *já ne*.



formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense\*, (7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iya* †, and (8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an*.‡

On the other hand, Naipálí agrees with E. Gaudian in the following points ;(1) the pronunciation generally§ ; (2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a* base || ; (3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the Maráthí and the Eastern Hindí present) ¶ ; and (4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (a). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned Naipálí agrees with the Western Gaudian in *three* and with the Eastern Gaudian in *three* ; but while of the former all three, of the latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that Naipálí is more closely allied to the Western Gaudian than to the Eastern Gaudian group of languages.

Further, Naipálí stands by itself in the following points ; (1) the aspiration in certain cases of a medial consonant (b) ; (2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant (c) ; (3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters ; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points Naipálí is divided in its affinity between the Western and Eastern Gaudian, they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call the *Northern Gaudian Speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both Maráthí and Naipálí are really separate forms of speech as well as the Western and Eastern Gaudian, is this, that as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, Maráthí agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with Eastern Gaudian, but syntactically (passive construction) with Western Gaudian, while on the other hand Naipálí morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) agrees with Western Gaudian, but syntactically (act. construction) with Eastern Gaudian.

The result then so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great

\* e.g., Naip. *garachhai* "he does," W. H. *karaichhai*, but E. H. *karailá*.

† e.g., Naip. *máryo* or *máriyo* "beaten," dto W. Gd.; but E. H. *máral*.

‡ e.g. Naip. *garanu* "to do," W. H. *karanaum*, but E. H. *karab*.

§ often *n* for *l*; short *e* and *o*.

|| e. g. *kurá*, obl. form of *kuro* "word."

(¶) e. g., Naip. *hol* "he will become", E. H. *holá* "becomes". Mar. *hoil*.

(a) e. g., Naip. *strí ne pranám suní* "the woman heard the salutation"; E. H. *strí pranam sunales*, but W. H. *strí ne pranám sunyau*.

(b) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant ; e. g. Naipálí *áphu* self, for Hindí *áp*, Prákrit *appá*; N. *aghi* "before", for H. *áge*, Prákrit *agge*; N. *bálakh* "obild", for H. *bálak*, Prákrit *válakho*; N. *májhad*, for H. *májat*, Prákrit *majjanto*, etc.

(c) e. g. root *gar* "to do", for *kar*.

forms of speech occupying the whole of North India (*viz.* N. G $\ddot{u}$ ., W. G $\ddot{u}$ ., E. G $\ddot{u}$ ., S. G $\ddot{u}$ .) At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in E. and W. Gauḍian have already become distinct languages, while in N. and S. Gauḍian they are as yet no more the dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great form, of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups one comprising the N. Gauḍian and W. Gauḍian, the other the S. Gauḍian and E. Gauḍian. This circumstance then points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them, the one occupying the North-Western, the other the South-Eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Saurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhī Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit, *viz.*, the Prākṛit proper, the *Saurasenī*, the *Māgadhī* and the *Paishāchī*. The first of these is commonly called the *Mahārāshtrī* (now *Marāṭhi*); the *Saurasenī* (now *Braj*) and *Māgadhī* (now *Bihārī*) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. G $\ddot{u}$ . and E. G $\ddot{u}$ . areas respectively; the *Paishāchī* is ascribed by some later Prākṛit grammarians\* to *Nepāl* among other places. Hence it might be thought that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are co-ordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gauḍian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gauḍians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy of phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gauḍians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit; one includes the *Saurasenī* and the (so-called) *Mahārāshtrī*. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is probably artificial. The other is the *Māgadhī*. The relation of *Paishāchī* to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of low or vulgar, to high Prākṛit. The

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\* e.g., by Lakshmīdhara in his *Shad-bhashā Chandrikā*, see Lassen *Inst*, Prāk, page 13.

latter was used in literature and never strictly a spoken language ; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand the low Prákrit, (or. Paisáchí) was the spoken language of the people ; that is probably, in the beginning, of those aborigines who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisáchí. For that name is a term of contempt, the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by native grammarians to the tribes bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himálaya, Nepál) and south (Pandya, Dakhan).<sup>\*</sup> Again the most striking feature of the Paisáchí is its change of the Aryan *n*, *l* and the sonants into *n*, *l* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drávidian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. pages 102-105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drávidians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually, as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisáchí speech would naturally die out<sup>†</sup>, and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drávidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Prákrit grammarians the *Apabhramsa* Prákrit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the literary Prákrit (*i.e.*, the Mahārāshtrī-Saurasenī and the Māgadhī.) In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people, spoken by the side of the literary Saurasenī and Māgadhī and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāshtrī.<sup>‡</sup> It follows then that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the *Apabhramsa*, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisáchí.

<sup>\*</sup> e.g., Lakshmīdhara in the *Shad-bhāshā Chandrikā* says, *pisáchadesās tu vrddhair uktāh, pandya kekaya váhlīka sahya nepála kuntalāh, sude-sha bhota gāndhāra haiva kanojanās tathā* Lassen *Inst. Prak.* page 13.

<sup>†</sup> None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisáchí change of sonants into surds, though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of paisáchí found in the Prákrit plays (Lassen,

page 388); the ancient *Brhatkathā* of *Gunādhyā* is supposed to have been written in a Paisáchí dialect (see Pischel, *Dissert. inaug.* 32, 33). Paisáchí clearly died out at a very early period.

<sup>‡</sup> Compare, e.g., the past part. pass. Saur and Apabh. *kaḥhido* or *kahido*, Māg. *kadhido* or *kahide*, Mah. *kahio* and later Apabh. *kahiu* "said."

The Apabhramsa, however, of the Prákrit grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisáchí in the mouth of the aborigines. \* Of the oldest Aryan vernacular, (the *Ancient Apabhramsa*, as I may call it), which was the contemporary of Paisáchí and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless it be the Pálí. In order of descent, therefore, the series is : Ancient Prákrit (or Pálí), Apabh. Prákrit, Gaudían,† the Ancient Prákrit being also known in the corrupted form of Paisáchí.

I have spoken of the Apabhramsa or Aryan vernacular; but it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single speech. Accordingly the term Apabhramsa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North-India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of *the Abhíras and other similar people*,‡ i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Apabh. each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhírí (Sindhí, Marwárí), Avantí (E. Rájputání), Gaurjari (Gujarátí), Bahlíká (Panjábí), Saurasení (Western Hindí), Mágadhí or Práchyá (Eastern Hindí), Odrí (Oríya), Gaudí (Bangálí) Dákshinatya or Vaidarbhihá (Maráthí) and Saippalí (Naipálí).§

\* In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pais. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pais., yet when they treat of its relation to the Apabh., they are constantly confounding the two and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pais., making it equivalent to certain (more or less purely Sansk.) styles of Apabh. (e. g., R. T. in Lassen 23 and Exc. 6).—The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pischel, Diss. in.) but Hemachandra, in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest gramm. who mentions the Apabh., while the first who notices the Pais. is Vararuchi in the 1st century B. C. (see Cowell VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Apabh. existed in the time of Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Apabh. was probably, that he intended to treat

merely of the high or literary Práekrit varieties; and of course, there would be a literary Pais. Prák. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High Prákrit.

† Pais. or Pálí or Anc. Apabh. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gd. *kahio* or *kahyo* "said;" Pais. *rutito* or Anc. Apabh. *rudito*, Apabh. *roido* W. Gd. *roio* or *royo* "wept;" Pálí or Anc. Ap. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Sr. *gamido*, E. Gd. *gail* or *gelá* or W. Gd. *gaio* or *gayo* "gone."

‡ Thus Lakshmídhara in the Sh. Ch.: *Apabhramsas tu bháshá syád abhírádigirám chayah*, (Lassen Inst. Prat. pg. 12.) The Abhírs, or Ahírs as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a good (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rájput.

§ See the lists of Kramadísvara and Rámatarakavágísa in Lassen's Inst. Prat. pg. 18 and Exc. pg. 5. 7.



It will be noticed that in the above list the same Saurasenī and Māgadhī Prākritis are enumerated by the Prākrit grammarians as Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākritis. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshtrī Prākrit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Māhār.-Prākrit was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of the people and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshtra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Prākrit which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once incidentally at the end of the chapter on Saurasenī.\* Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Subhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Marāṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prākrit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the east, Kramadīvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lakshmīdhara, Rāmātarkavāgīsa, etc., that the name Mahārāshtrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahārāshtra country.† This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is, that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning, the Prākrit of the great kingdom (*i. e.*, of the famed country of the Doāb and Rājputānā, see note§ on page 20) and, therefore, the principal Prākrit. According to this view the term Mahārāstrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindī. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so-called is Western Hindī and has no one point in common with Marāṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindī (or Western Gaudian generally). Thus the Māh. Pr. past participle is made with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, as in Western Hindī, not with *al* as in Marāṭhī; the future is made with *iha* as in Western Hindī, not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in Mār.; and the same is true, as will be shown after-

\* After finishing his remarks on the Saur. he says, "the rest of that dialect is like the Mahārāshtrī" (*sesham Mahārāshtrīvat*, Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mahārāshtrī he refers to the Pr. dialect, which he had be-

fore treated of as simply *the* Prākrit  
† Thus Kramadīvara or rather his commentator: "the Prākrit of the Mahārāshtra country is the principal Prākrit" (*prākṛtam Mahārāshtradesīyam Prākṛshtabhāshanam*); in Lassen's *Inst. prac.* pg. 17.



wards (pg. 22) in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in four out of the five important morphological points Māh. Pr. agrees with Western Hindī and not with Marāthī; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base), being common to both Western Hindī and Marāthī, is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Māhārāshtrī Prākṛit is merely a particular form of ancient Western Hindī, or rather (since Western Hindī has become a distinct language in more recent times) of Western Gaudīan. And Saur. Prākṛit, as its name indicates (Surasena being nearly the name as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old Western Gaudīan speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Prākṛit plays; for they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Māhārāshtrī for poetry, Sauraseni for prose.\*

It has been already remarked, that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhramsa or vernaculars a Māgadhī and a Sauraseni Apabhramsa. The two great Pr. varieties the Māgadhī and the Sauraseni-Māhārāshtrī are simply the high or literary forms of these two lower Apabhramsa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt (as the following comparison will show) that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Apabh. and the Saur. Apabh., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great high Prākṛits varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Prākṛit as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhī, Arddhamāgadhī, Dākshinātyā, Utkalī and Śābarī†. Māgadhī is the speech of modern Bihār and Western Bangāl and corresponds generally to the present Bangālī (incl. of the Eastern Hindī dialects, the Māgadh and Maithilī.) Arddhamāgadhī is described as a mixture of Māgadhī and Sauraseni (or

\* Thus Visvanātha Kavirāja in the *Sahityadarpana* says: "noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Sauraseni, but Māhārāshtrī in speaking in verse." † So Rama Tarkavāgīsa in the *Prākṛit Kalpataru*; in Lassen Inst. Prac. pg. 21.

**Máháráshtrí.\*)** It follows that it must have been spoken to the West of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district. It corresponds therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the Eastern Hindí *proper*. **Dákshinátyá** is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berar† and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráthí, and thus to this language generally‡. Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. **Sábarí** is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátyá on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mahal mountains.) It will be seen, then, that the Mágadhí group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráthí languages; at a time when probably they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or in other words, the old Mágadhí group includes both (what I call) the Eastern and Southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prá-krit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Saurasení-Máháráshtrí Prá-krit as their type. The most important members of this group are the Máháráshtri, Saurasení, Avantí, Práchyá and Sakki. The Máháráshtri and Saurasení together represent Western Hindí, but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Máh. and the future in *is* to Saurasení (see Lassen Inst. Prac. page 353,4), and on the other hand the Braj and Kanaují have the future in *ih*, but Marwárí the future in *as* (or *is*), it appears, that Máháráshtrí corresponds to Braj and Kanaují, to which may be added Eastern Panjábí, while Saurasení corresponds to Marwárí, and also to Gujarátí as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)§. Avantí is the speech of Ujjain and

\* Márkandeya quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Saurasení (*Sauraseniyá aduratvād iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharatah*, 12th pada,) and Kramadísvara 12 (see Lassen Inst. Prac. 17. 393) connects it with the Máb. (*Máháráshtrimisrárdha Mágadhí*). The description of E. Hindí as Arddhamágadhí, i.e., half Mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (Mágadhí) and W. Hindí (Máháráshtrí. Saurasení).

† So in the Sahityadarpana *dákshinátyá vaidarbhi* (see Lassen Inst. Prac. pg. 36. 20).

‡ Dákshinátyá is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráthí; e. g., Maráthí Bráhmans are generally only known as Dákshinátyá Bráhmans.

§ Súrassená is the name of the country about Mathurá or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Saur. and Máh. are with the Pr. gramm. not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kátyáyana, the author of the Vartikas on Páliní, see Pischel Diss. inaug. 12) in whose Pr. grammar the term Máháráshtrí first occurs, lived accord-

Eastern Rájpútáná. Práchyá, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswáří\*. Sakki is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjáb†. Thus it appears, that the Máháráshtrí-Saurasení group consists of what we now call Western Hindí, Gujarátí, Panjábí and Sindhí. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipálí must be added. In other words, the Máh.-Saur. group represents the Northern and Western Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Saurasení Prá-krit tongue*.

Mágadhí Prákrit, then, coincides with South-Eastern Gaudian and Saurasení Prákrit with North-Western Gaudian in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown, that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, (1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. gramm., with respect to the various Apabhramṣas, are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded (what, indeed, is probable *a priori*) that the Apabh. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; (2) that the silence of the Prákrit gramm. as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Prákrit, which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Sanskrit origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being *desya* or "aboriginal"; (3) that the dialect, which is treated of by Prákrit grammarians (such as Hemachandra) simply as Apabhramṣa, probably occupied in the Western division a position analogous to that of the other dialect which is spoken of simply as Prákrit; i. e., one

ing to Hindú tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the "great king" Vikramáditya (see Cowell Prák. grammar VI), whose dominions extended over the whole of North-West India. The principal speech of that great country or Máháráshtrí, as Vararuchi calls it, was taken by him, and, after him, by all Pr. gramm. as the standard Prákrit.

\* Práchyá is explained in the *Sahityadarpana* as being equivalent to Gaudí (*práchyá gaudíya* in Lassen Inst. Prao. 36.) or apparently Bangálí. But on the other hand, Márkandeya makes Práchyá to be an offshoot of Saurasení (*práchyásiddhí Saurasen-yáh*, 10th páda), while according to Dandí (see Lassen 33) the Gaudí

follows the Mágadhí type. Besides, in another place in a list of Apabhramṣas, both Márkandeya, and Rama Tarkavagísa (see Lassen Exc. 7) distinguish the Práchyá from the Gaudí. If, then, the Práchyá is of the Saurasení type, it can hardly be anything else than Baiswáří, the intermediate dialect between E. Gaudian and W. Gaudian.

† Sakki is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. *sacae*, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramáditya. In Sindh many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

is *the* Apabhramsa as the other is *the* Prákrit.\* But, as in the case of *the* Prákrit, so also in the case of *the* Apabhramsa, it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Apabhramsas also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Prákrit gramm. never refer to this point at all; and from Prákrit writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject; though what little there is, makes in favour of my theory. There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Prákrit grammars and plays on the one hand and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mágadhí and Saurasení on the other. Thus, *firstly*, Prákrit grammars state that nouns with an *a*-base end in *a* in Saurasení Prákrit; but in *e* in Mágadhí; our enquiry shows that in Western Gaudian and Northern Gaudian they end in *o* (or *au*), but in Southern Gaudian and Eastern Gaudian in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mágadhí *e* †. *Secondly*, according to the Prákrit grammar, the Western Apabhramsa Prákrit\* has a genitive singular (or oblique form) in *ahe*, the Mágadhí Prákrit in *áha*; according to our enquiry Western Gaudian has an oblique form in *e*, the Southern and Eastern Gaudian in *a*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *á* of *áha* ‡. *Thirdly*, from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gaudian use almost exclusive

\* By Márkandeya this chief Apabhramsa is called Nágara-pbhramsa; he expressly connects it with the Mäháráshtrí Saurasení, the Prákrit of the Western division (*ná-garam tu mäháráshtrísaurasenyoḥ pratishthitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation he says, *atra cha kareḥ dhareḥ ityádau tasya svaraseshatvam mähá-ráshtryáśrayena kareḍi dhareḍi ityádau datvam saurasenýáśrayena mantavyam* 17th páda); its identity with Western Gd. is shown by the fact, that Márkandeya gives the characteristic Western Gd. possessive pronouns *merá, terá* to the Nág. Apabh. (*tvadiye teram madiye meram*, 17th pda).

† The Saurasení termination *aó* becomes in the Apabhramsa *ai*, which contracts in North-Western Gaudian to *o*; the Mágadhí term.

*ae* becomes in the Apabhramsa *ai* or *aa*, which contracts in South-Eastern Gaudian to *á*; e. g., Skr. *ghotakah* "horse," Saur. *ghodao*, Ap. *ghodai*, North Western Gd. *ghodo* or *ghoro*; but Mág. *ghodae*, Ap. *ghodai* or *ghodaa*, South Eastern Gd. *ghodá* or *ghorá* or *ghorá*.

‡ The Western (or Saurasení) Apabh. termin. *ahe*, becomes in old Gd. *ahi*, in modern Gd. *e* (contracted for *ai*); the Eastern (or Mágadhí) Apabh. term. *áha* becomes in South Eastern Gd. *á* (contracted for *áa*); e. g., Skr. *ghotakasya* "of a horse," Saur. Ap. *ghotaahe*, old Gd. *ghodaaahi* or *ghodáhi*, Western Gd. *ghode* or *ghore*; Mag. Ap. *ghodaaáha*, South. Gd. *ghodayá* or *ghod'yá* (with euph. *y*), Eastern Gd. *ghorá* (contracted for *ghoraáa* or *ghoráa*.)



ly the strong form (in *o*) for *a*-bases, while, as to S. and E. Gauḍian, it is used almost exclusively in Marāṭhī, much less in E. Hindī and very little in Bangālī and Oriyā. Now the existence of special rules in Pr. grammars about the use of the strong form (in *ao*=Skr. *akāḥ*) in the Māhārāshṭrī and Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Lassen Inst. Prac. pg. 288, 460, 475 Weber's Saptasatka 69) proves its extreme frequency in the great Māhārāshṭrī-Saurasenī vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Māgadhī, there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the Southern Māgadhī vernaculars, the Śākari, Śabari and, by analogy, Dākshinātyā (see Lassen Inst. Prac. pg. 431), but rare in the Northern, the Arddhamāgadhī (ibidem pg. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*, in Gauḍian the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry the N. and W. Gḍ. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gḍ. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit (see Vararuchi 7,32 in Cowell's edit., and Lassen's Inst. Prac. pg. 363). As to the Māgadhī Pr., they give no general rule; but in the few cases, where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *ḍa* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Lassen's Inst. Prac. pg. 390, 4. 6. 400, 3 and Hemachandra 4, 260, 302 in Pischel's edit.) From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Māgadhīs *ḍ* and *ṭ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Lassen 412, 423.) There again considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking.\* *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gauḍian use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gauḍian in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the part. past passive to form an active past tense. The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. Hindī; and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future.

\* It is quite possible that while the High Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *ida*), the Low-Māg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Pandits (supposing that the change of *ḍ* or *ṭ* to *l* had already taken place in their

time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kade* "done." Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.



Now according to the Pr. gramm. the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Māhārāshtrī-Śaurasenī Prākṛit (Hemachandra 3, 166-170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Māhārāshtrī form in *ih* was used in Māgadhī also (see Lassen Inst. Prac. pg. 413, 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Māgadhī (Lassen 422; *devva* "you will give"). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question.\*

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gaudian together correspond to the old Māgadhī Pr. and W. and N. Gaudian together to the old Śaurasenī Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Prākṛit grammarians, distinguish the Māgadhī Prākṛit from the Śaurasenī-Māhārāshtrī. Of these the following four are the most important. Māgadhī changes (1) *s* into palatal *ṣ* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288), (2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288), (3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292), and (4) *ksh* into *śk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s* to *ṣ* the Eastern Gaudian languages, Bangālī and Oriyā, still change every *s* into *ṣ* †. The Eastern Hindī and Mārāthī, indeed, do not, as a rule, exhibit this change; but neither does it occur in their ancestors, the Ardh magadhī and Dakshinātya, as proved by Prākṛit literature. It is noticeable, however, that both in Eastern Hindī and Marāthī *ṣ* is not unfrequently used in *writing*, where *s* is or ought to be *pronounced*. As regards the change of *j* to *y*, the Bangālī and Oriyā and, to some extent, the Eastern Hindī still use *y* in *writing* in the place of every *j*, though the latter is *pronounced* ‡. The fact, that *y* is *written*, shows that at some previous period, *y* must have been *pronounced*. It is probable that the *y*, of which the Prākṛit grammarians speak and which was formerly sounded, was not the well-known semi-vowel *y*, but a *semi-consonant* or a sort of spirant

\* The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the Mārāthī future) which constitute another morphological character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. Gramm. nor in Pr. literature. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably they did not exist at all at that time; i. e., 6 or 7 centu-

ries ago. It appears, that the verb as "to be" was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* "to be" and the participles *gā* "gone" and *lā* "come" in this manner is of later date.

† E. g., Bang. and Or. *sakal* "whole," Māg. *sakkale*, Skr. *sakalah*

‡ E. g., Bang. and Or. write *yog*, but speak *jog* "worthy".

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sounded like to what *g* is in many parts of Germany \*. Originally this sound must have been universal in North India; but the Sauraseni speaking people soon hardened it into the full consonant *j*, while the Mágadhí speakers continued to use it. This, apparently, was the state of things, when the Prákrit grammarians formulated their rule; but long since, as proved by the present practice, the Mágadhí speakers also have proceeded to harden the spirant *y* into *j* †. As regards the change of *r* to *l*, it should be observed that the modern Eastern Hindí *r* is a *dental* sound, whereas the old Prákrit (and Sanskrit) *r* was cerebral or semi-cerebral. On the other hand, the sound of *l* is dental, both in Prákrit and in Eastern Hindí. The affinity between the two sounds, the dental *l* and dental *r*, is so close and the transition from one to the other so easy, that Eastern Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying *r* instead of *l*. The fact, therefore, of the Eastern Hindí *r* being dental, bears out the Prákrit grammarians' statement, that the Mágadhí changes every Prákrit *r* into *l*. For it appears, that at a former period the Mágadhí speaking people dentalised every semi-cerebral *r* into *l*, and afterwards they proceeded to change dental *l* into dental *r*. ‡ The same dentalising tendency of the Mágadhí speakers is shown in the fact that the full cerebral *r* or *ṛ* of the Western Gaudians appears in Eastern Hindí as dental *r* §. In a few rare cases the old Mágadhí *l* has been preserved||.

As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Prákrit grammarians *ksh* changes in Máháráshtrí-Sauraseni Prákrit into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *itt* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *sch*. It follows, of necessity, that at some period of the Indo-Aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *sch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *sch* is *ṣk*; for the Mágadhí speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ṣ*, would pronounce *sk* as *ṣk*, and the palatal *ṣ* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *sch*; finally *sch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh*, there are two steps, (1) *ksh* into *sk*, and (2) *sk* into *kkh*; but

\* E. g., in *koenig* "king."

† Thus originally *yoyana* "league" with two spirant *y*; Skr. *yojanah* changing one *y* to *j*; Saur. Pr. *jojano*, changing both *y* to *j*; Mág. Pr. *yoyane*, retaining both *y*; Eastern Gd. *jojan*, changing both *y*.

‡ E. g., *rattí* "night" (with semi-cerebral *r*) is in Mág. *lattí*, and in Eastern Hindí *rátí* (with dental *r*).

§ E. g., Western Gd. *parai* (or *padai*) "he falls", but Eastern Hindí *parai*.

|| E. g., Eastern Hindí *lejuri* "rope," Mág. *lanjudiyá*, Skr. *ranjú*.

in the change of *ksh* into *chchh*, there are four steps, (1) *ksh* into *sk*, (2) *sk* into *ṣk*, (3) *ṣk* into *sch*, (4) *sch* into *chchh*. It is plain, that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mágadhí speaking people would only have got as far as *ṣk*, when the Máhárashtrí-Saurasení speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states to have been the case in his time; *viz.*, Máhárashtrí-Saurasení had *kkh*, but Mágadhí had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk*, by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mágadhí \* (see Lassen 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now, for some centuries already, *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh*. As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in Bangálí, partial in Maráthí, and rare in E. Hindí, it is accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words Bangálí and Maráthí have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. Hindí has *kh* or even *h†*. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so, for many instances exhibiting the Mágadhí change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Máhárashtrí-Saurasení Prákrit (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that at some former period of its history North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Saurasení* and the *Mágadhí tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the north-western, the other the south-eastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that, which now divides the areas of the Northern and Western Gaudian from those of the Southern and Eastern Gaudian speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mágadhí area extended further towards the North-West. For the following morphological characters of the Mágadhí tongue are found in different parts of the Saurasení area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a*-base in the Panjábí and, to certain extent

\* Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Lassen 408.428); but has numerous examples of *st*, where Hemachandra gives *st* (see Cowell Pr. Gr. 181). Hmachandra and Trivikrama have the conjunct *hk* with the *jihvámulíya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh* 'to see' where, curiously enough all the steps are actually given; *viz.* *prekshate* and *peskadi* (or *peskadi*) in

T. V. 3,2.34 and *peschadi* or *pechchhai* in T. V. 3,2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4,295,297.)

† e. g., Bang. *kachhe* "near," "at" E. H. *káhi* (Skr. *kakshe*); or Bang. *máchhi*, Mar. *mási*, E. H. *mákhí* (or *máchhi*) "fly" (Skr. *makshiká*); or Bang. *dachhin*, Mar. *dasin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) "south," or *dáhin* "right" (Skr. *dakshina*).

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in Braj and Kanaujī; b) the termination *ā* of the oblique form singular in Gujarātī, Marāthī, Eastern Rājputānī and, again to some extent, in Braj and Kanaujī; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in Eastern Gaudīan (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Braj and Kanaujī (*kau*) and probably in Marāthī (*chā* or old *Mar. chiyā*) a modification of the Prākṛit *karīa* "done" (Skr. *kṛtān*), while Gujarātī, Panjābī, Sindhī and, probably, Marwārī use one of a different origin \*; d) the compound future in *lā* (or *lo*) which is possessed by Naipālī and Eastern Rājputānī by the side of the Saurasenī future in *iḥ*; e) the past participle in *āl* which is found in E. Rājput., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lā* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailā* "come." Again there occur in the Saurasenī area the following phonological characters of the Māgadhī; a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in Naipālī (in the compound future†) and in Gujarātī and Panjābī (in the active affix *nem, num*‡; b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in Sindhī§. It is also worth noting that the Prākṛit writers themselves supply indications of the partially Māgadhī character of E. Rājputānī and Gujarātī. The latter (called Abhīrī), though generally classed with the Saurasenī group, is once included by Ramatarkavagīsa in the Māgadhī (see Lassen Exc. 3); and as to E. Rājputānī or Avantī, see Lassen Inst Prac. pg. 417, 419. ||

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Māgadhī characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last, at the present frontier of the Eastern and Southern Gaudīan areas, they predominate so as to constitute the Māgadhī tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that some time in the remote past the Māgadhī must have reached up to the extreme western frontier and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East before the advancing tide of the Saurasenī tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the Eastern and

\* Namely an affix probably derived from the part. *diyo* "given" (Skr. *datta*).

† e.g. Naip. *garanān* or *garalan* "they will do;" corresponding to E. H. *karailen*, Mar. *karatīl*.

‡ They are connected with the root *lah* "take" or *lag* "apply."

§ e.g., Sindhī *siāru* "jáckal", E. H. *siyār*, but W. H. *siāl*; Sin. *dubiro*, "weak," E. H. *dubarā*, but W. H. *du-*

*bala*; etc.

|| Still the general character of the Avantī or East. Rājputānī is Saurasenī; thus Mā. calls it expressly a mixture of Mb. and Sr. (*āvantī syān mahārāshtrīsaurseniyos tu samkarāt, ananyoh samkarād āvantī bhāshā siddhā syāt*, 11st pāda, fol. 47b); and afterwards he says that Bāhlikī is allied to it (*āvantīyam eva vāhlikī*, *ibid.* fol. 48a); see also Lassen 43, 436.



Southern frontiers of the *Mágadhí* may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the *Saurasení*, it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The head-quarters of the *Saurasení* tongue, whence it gradually spread towards the North-East and East, appear to have been in western *Rájpútáná*. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus (a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in *Bangálí* and *Oriya* \*, but not in *Maráthí*; (b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the *Bangálí* and *Maráthí*; (c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in *Bhojpurí*. It would be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in *Sindh*, the *Panjáb* and *Western Rájpútáná*), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the *Ganges* and working itself like a wedge into the *Mágadhí* area, which overlaps it on its Southern and Northern banks, in the *Eastern Rájpútání*, *Gujarátí* and *Naipálí*, in which the *Mágadhí* relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the *Mágadhí* tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the development and extension of the *Saurasení*. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the *Mágadhí* and the *Saurasení*, whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the *Sanskrit* variety, being its literary or high form, preserves, on the whole, the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient *Sanskrit* present tense active, which is preserved to the present day in all *Gaudian* languages of North-India alike.† Even in those cases where the outward shape or the grammatical use of a particular form afterwards widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the *Easterns Gaudian* future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back‡ to

\* E. g., in the past tense, *Bang. kariyáchhi*, *Or. kariachhum* "I have done"; *E. H. kariyaum*. habitual past; but old *Maráthí* retains it as a present tense.

† Modern *Maráthí* is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a read", *Apabh. padhivvo'mhi*, *Prák. padhiarvo'mhi*, *Skr. pathitavyo'smi*.



the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the Eastern and Southern Gaudian past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in another direction, has given rise to the Northern and Western Gaudian participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gaudian the two participles which had originally a passive sense and, indeed, have it still in Southern and W. Gaudian are used to form active tenses; viz., the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past tense active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the "passive" of which naturally becomes a "middle voice," afford the connecting link.

We have traced the Mágadhí tongue back to the extreme Western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages\* has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gaudian, the N. W. Gd. or Saurasení and the S. E. Gd. or Mágadhí. But what is perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they (and more especially the Pashtú) exhibit decided Mágadhí characteristics. Thus (a) the masculine strong form of the *a*-bases ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gaudian *á*, Mágadhí Pr. *ae*; (b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form), corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in Maráthí and (weak form) *al* in E. Hindí †; (c) the Káfirí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la* just like the Maráthí future and the E. Hindí present ‡; (d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *ṣ*, like the initial *ṣ* of Maráthí, which is a modification of the E. Gaudian *chh* §;

\* See Journal German Oriental Soc., vol. 20. pg. 377 and vol. 21. pp. 10 ff. 23.

† E. g., weak form, Pashtú *kral*, E. H. *kayal*, Ban. *karil*, Ap. Mg. *\*karide*, Skr. *krtah*; and strong form, Pash. *karalar*, M. *kelá* (for *kailá* = *karilá*), Ap. Mg. *\*karidae*, Skr. *krtakah*. The other, i. e., the Saurasení form of the past part., also occurs in Pash. It ends in *a* quiescent (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in Western and Northern Gd; e. g., weak form, Pash. *kar* or

*krah* "done," old H. *kar* or *kari*, Ap. Pr. *kariā*, Mh. Pr. *\*kario*, Skr. *krtah*; strong form, Pash. *karai*, Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau*, Ap. Pr. *kariaā*, Mh. Pr. *\*kario*, Skr. *krtakah*. But it should be remembered that the Eastern Gd. too has both part. to make the first and second preterites; thus E. H. *kayal* or *kayale* "he did," and *kari* in *karis* "he did."

‡ E. g., Káf. 3. sg. *balále* "he will say", M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolailá*.

§ E. g., Káf. *si* "he is", M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

(e) Pashtú, like Maráthí, has a double set of palatals, *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz* ; lastly (f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah* like the Maráthí *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah* like the E. Hindí *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mágadhí Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfirí were once in close connection, perhaps one language ; and that, at some time in the remote past, they become separated by the Saurasení Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mágadhí farther and farther away towards the East.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. Firstly, when the Mágadhí tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Saurasení tongue existed there beside the Mágadhí. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the Western and Northern Gaudian and the Eastern and Southern Gaudian. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gaudian languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great divisions of the Saurasení and Mágadhí in occupation of North India. The earliest Gaudian literature exhibits the third period already existing ; for in the Western Gaudian poet Chand (end of the 12th cent. A. D.) Western Hindí, Panjábí and Gujarátí are indistinguishable, in the S. Gaudian poets Ramdeva and Duándeva (end of the 13th century A. D.) Maráthí is seemingly separate ; in the E. Gaudian poet Bidyapati (middle of the 14th century A. D. \*) Bangálí and Eastern Hindí are as yet one language. The later Gaudian writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries (as the Western Hindí Kabír, the Eastern Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oríyá Upendra Bhanj, the Maráthí Sukarín, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta ; see Beames Comp. Gramm. I 82-96) show the modern division of the Gaudian languages already existing.

*Note.*—I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the Western Hindí that its two dialects, the Marwárí and Braj, must in reality be classed as two different languages of the Western Gaudian group, in the same sense as Panjábí and Gujarátí. For Marwárí and Braj differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from Panjábí and Gujarátí. Thus in declension, (1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masculine nouns of the

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\* Or according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary February 1873), middle of the 15th century.

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*a-base* is *á* in Marwáří, but *e* in Braj ; here Marwáří agrees with Gujarátí, but Braj with Panjábí ; e.g., Marwáří *ghorá ro*, Gujarátí *ghodá no* “of a horse ;” Braj. *ghore karu*, Panj. *ghore da* ; (2) Marwáří, like Sindhí, uses no active case affix, but Braj has *nem*, corresponding to Panj. *naí* ; e. g., Marwáří *ghoraí*, Gujarátí *ghodai* “by a horse ;” Braj *ghore nem*, Panj. *ghore naí*. In conjugation (1) Marw., like Gujarátí, forms the fut.indic. with the suffix *as*, but Braj with *ih* ; e. g., Marwáří *karasí*, Guj. *karase*, but Braj. *karihai* “he will do ;” (2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Marw. and Guj., but *h* in Braj and Panj. ; e. g., Marwáří *chhai*, Guj. *chhe* “he is” ; Braj and Panj. *hai*, etc.

TABLE OF AFFINITIES.

Literary	High	Vernaculars Ancient Sanskrit	Low	Semi- aryan
Classic Skr.	Páli	Ancient Apabh.		Paisúchí
	Mh.-Sr., Mg.	Ap. Mg.	Ap. Sr.	
	E. Gd.	S. Gd.	W. Gd.	N. Gd.
H. B., H. H., etc.	O., B., E. H.	M.	W. H., P., G., S.	N.
				Urdú.

A. F. RUDOLF HERNLE.

## ART. VII.—FOOD-TAXES IN CEYLON.

**T**HIRTY-TWO years ago, when the Anti-Corn Law League agitation culminated in the splendid apostacy of Sir Robert Peel, and the sweeping away of unjust food-taxes, the island of Ceylon responded to the great movement in England, and echoed back her desire to participate in what Mr. Cobden finely described in the House of Commons, when he said Great Britain was setting “the example of making industry free,” and thereby carrying out to the fullest extent the Christian duty of “doing to all men as ye would they should do to you.” Public meetings were held in Colombo and in Kandy, in September 1846, and assuredly it was a strange sign of the times that in the capital of the Kandyan kings a free-trade meeting should be held, and the surrounding hills echo back the cheers which greeted the peroration of the speech of Dr. Elliott, a Colombo newspaper editor, when he committed the meeting to the fullest principles of free-trade. Exactly a generation has passed away, as generations are counted in Europe—three generations according to the principle of Ceylon-English residence, where ten years on an average suffices to see the European population entirely changed—and yet the evils then earnestly fulminated against still exist in full vigour and force. The need for reform in the matter of freeing the staple food of a people was great in England: it was greater in Ceylon, and to it in the colony was added an infamous system of farming the food-revenue, which for corruption and demoralization has been very powerful. Food-tax and farming of revenue flourishes in 1876 in Ceylon as it did in 1846, and no one amongst her highly-paid officials has lifted his hand to change the procedure and initiate a better order of things. It is to the lasting disgrace of the Colonial Office in London, whose archives contain many exposures of the evil alluded to, that no attempt at change has been made. No revenueal considerations forbidding a remission of this particular tax and the introduction of an improved system of taxation exist. Three months’ rule of a practised European State-financier as colonial secretary of Ceylon would suffice to remodel the taxation of the island, impose on all classes their fair share of the cost of Government, and cast aside the present cumbersome old-world practice. It is even worse than the Dutch Colonial style of collecting the revenue, for the Dutch did not farm the tax on the food of the people. The pages of this paper, it is to be hoped, will show how simple is the path by which a change, great and mighty in its effects upon the people, might be effected.

First, however, to state the evil:

Rice is the staple food of the people of Ceylon. In centuries gone by, it is alleged on good data, the island not only grew food enough for its own inhabitants, but also exported large quantities. Now half the quantity consumed, between three and four million bags, is imported from India. Rice is more completely and solely the food of an Eastern people than bread is of the English labourer or artisan. It is the one thing he partakes of at every meal: ordinarily it is flavoured with curries, and deficiencies in the constituent elements of the cereal are supplied by small quantities of salt-fish. But there are classes of the people who are confined to boiled rice as their one kind of food, year in and year out. A tax of ten per cent. upon such an article as this to the low-waged labourer of the tropics, must therefore be a burden not easily to be borne. Indeed, the cooly in Colombo or other towns, who earns ten pence or less a day, pays annually on an average for himself alone nearly six shillings as tax on his food, while if he has a wife and others dependent upon him, that sum must at least be doubled. In addition he pays a direct money sum for up-keep of roads, representing six days' labour. Leaving municipal and other taxes out of consideration, a common cooly in Colombo has to contribute annually nearly a twelfth of his income to the State, which is as if a highly-paid official like the Chief Justice or Colonial Secretary contributed nearly Rs. 3,000 per year as direct taxation.

Upon the rice imported into Ceylon a tax of 7*d.* per bushel is imposed, yielding annually, on an average of ten years, a sum of Rs. 1,300,000. All paddy-lands are taxed, and they form the only cultivated area in the island upon which an impost is levied. Coffee and cinnamon estates, many-fold more valuable, contribute nothing in the shape of direct taxation, while much of their profits goes to support absentee landlords. Paddy-fields, the property of private parties, are taxed at the rate of one-tenth of the produce. Crown lands, which may be cultivated without previous permission having been obtained, have to give up one-half of the yield of the whole crop reaped. There are two harvests in the year, the *yalla* in September and the *maha* (or great) in April. The same lands, unless exceptionally fertile, are not cultivated for both harvests. The tax is collected by that most pernicious of all systems ever adopted in raising revenue, viz., by farmers of revenue, or "renters" as they are termed in Ceylon. Under this system, for the practice has become thoroughly systematized in Ceylon, the grossest evils prevail, and individuals suffer in the manner described by Adam Smith, when he says: "Those subject to such a tax are put more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer, who can either aggravate the tax upon any obnoxious contributor, or extort by the terror of such aggra-



vation some present or perquisite to himself. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence, and favors the corruption of an order of men who are naturally unpopular even when they are neither insolent nor corrupt." As, however, it is in the nature of corruption of this kind to make the food it feeds upon, evils of the greatest magnitude and demoralization result.

At stated periods in the year, the Government Agent of a province, or an Assistant Agent, proceeds to a central village, and, after due advertisement and beat of *tom tom*, puts up for sale the rents of different tracts of cultivated land according to certain registers or schedules previously prepared by the headmen and countersigned by the mudaliyars of the different districts and korales. The highest bidder becomes the purchaser, that purchase having been made on the basis of a calculation prepared by the headmen, two or three months before harvest, as to the probable yield of the fields in the tract under consideration. Before the cultivator is allowed to put on a sickle in his standing corn, however threatening the weather may be, or whatever other cause may operate to counsel urgency, five days' notice has to be given to the renter, and reaping may proceed only in his presence. The Government share is collected in kind by the renter, who, by various nefarious means, generally manages to exact several-fold more than is rightly due. Sometimes, and not unfrequently, after the assessment of the coming harvest has been made by the headmen, the "skies above become as brass and the ground beneath as iron" and the crop is withered; or the sluice-gates of heaven are opened, the floods descend, and the standing corn is swept away, or rots. All the same, the demand of the renter must be met. The crop that is left, is insufficient to meet this demand, and the cultivator, having little or no capital, the rapacious system of collecting the revenue eating up all the profits and encroaching upon the capital, is taken into Court. The renter easily obtains judgment under the present system of legal procedure, and sells the land, the produce of which was to have satisfied the renter, and then have yielded what was left of its increase to the cultivator. Of course utter ruin follows.

Not the least baneful of the evils wrought is the litigation of which the practice proves to be the fruitful source, broken heads and assaults leading to criminal cases, as well as civil suits, which are instituted by the score during the months of September and December in out-station Courts, where the amounts in dispute range between Rs. 2 and Rs. 250. Cultivators, renters, proctors, and judges, are alike demoralised under this system, and gross miscarriage of justice often results. A typical case may be mentioned, which was pending in a district Court nineteen

years, *viz.*, from 1857 to 1876. A Mudaliyar in the Western Province bore a cultivator a grudge, and had his land taxed at half-duty, as if it were Crown land instead of being private property as it really was. The renter, with full knowledge of the dispute, brought the rent, instigated thereto by the Mudaliyar and headmen. When the day of reckoning came the cultivator tendered one-tenth of his crop: this was refused. Recourse was at once had to the Courts for the recovery of the remaining value of the half-duty. The cultivator filed his answer, claimed the land as his own, and paid into Court a one-tenth share. The judge, only too glad to clear his roll with a view to the monthly return, struck off the case with this remark: "Title to land being in dispute parties referred to a land case." By this course the dispute was rendered more bitter, friends and backers of the various parties appeared on the scene, the services of the best available proctors were engaged, and a land case commenced which lasted over 19 years, and before the final decision was given three out of the four parties concerned had died. There is no exaggeration in this typical case, which is one of many of every-day occurrence.

In the foregoing narration two things have been referred to, (a) a tax on food imported and home grown, and (b) a pernicious and false fiscal system; two things which under similar circumstances exist nowhere else than in Ceylon in the whole British dominions, and which need exist there not a single day longer alternative modes of taxation, fairer in every way, being available.

It will be the aim of the writer in the succeeding pages (1) to show that the evil in all its hideous deformity has been long recognised; (2) to indicate the greatness and extent of the wrong done; (3) to ask and endeavour to answer the question why the system was allowed to continue to this day; and (4) to point out the manner in which the food taxes and the farming system, combined with the essentially false practice of much of the civil administration of the country being conducted by unpaid officials, may be removed and the revenue not suffer, or suffer but slightly, whilst all ranks and conditions of men pay their due share of the cost of Government. In what is here proposed no claim is made to originality. Since the British have ruled Ceylon there have never been wanting men to point out the hardship to the people and the harm done to them socially and morally by this pernicious farming system. But the subject has never been brought forward on its own merits, apart from other and distracting matters. It has been merely subsidiary to so-called greater questions, such as in 1866-68, when it formed one count in the indictment presented to the House of Commons, which showed the great need in Ceylon of a worthy and fit representative Council, a boon which has yet

to be granted to the most peaceable, law-abiding, and, in many characteristics, most English-like people in the East, who from their insular position are capable of furnishing a solution of many problems of the first importance to the great continent and diverse peoples of India.

The story to be told will also add another to the many instances of the remarkable vitality of abuses, and the hard and repeated blows which have to be struck at a false system before it yields and gives place to a better state of things. The suffering and demoralization of the people, further, furnishes yet one instance more of the folly of a few almost irresponsible officials in an office in Westminster pretending to rule a colony, six thousand miles away, which none of them ever saw, and with the peculiar circumstances of whose people they havenot the slightest personal or practical acquaintance. There is great profession in Downing-street of conserving native interests in Ceylon, but with the fact of the food-taxes being unrepealed, and these same taxes being still farmed, it is seen with how little intelligence the colonies of a great dominion may be ruled. However, not to linger longer on the threshold of the subject, a description may be given of

#### I.—THE RECOGNITION OF THE EVIL.

No sooner had the English obtained possession of Ceylon, eighty years ago, than, in the new system of administration which was introduced, the farming of the tax on the produce of rice-fields, was imposed. It is almost impossible to conceive that such a practice was deliberately, and of matured forethought, introduced by the British, whose knowledge of the evils wrought by the farmer-general of taxes in France was not slight. English administrators further knew the greatness of the evil from its bad results in their own country. Nevertheless the fact remains that this was done by British officials. The circumstances of oriental life are held by British administrators in India and the East generally to justify a wide departure from civilized modes of action and just dealing. Only so recently as eighteen years ago, in the House of Commons, the late Lord Lytton protested against the affairs of India being brought too prominently before the English Legislature, lest the mind of the freeborn Briton should become corrupted by a knowledge of the many questionable acts of the Government of that great continent; as if unjust dealings could be justified anywhere or under any circumstances. It cannot, at any time during the fourscore years that Ceylon has been under the dominance of the British, be said that the authorities have been unacquainted with the tendency of the evil practices inseparable from the farming system. Very early in the present century, the first Auditor-General of Ceylon, Mr. Bertolacci, wrote a history of the

island, more particularly in regard to its internal administration, tenure of land, &c. He wrote : "The renters and sub-renters are the more eager and vexatious in exacting the *tithas*, when they have purchased them at a high price, and, in the villages situated at a considerable distance from the place where the collector resides, many are the means they use to extort more than their due share, but the most common method is by delaying to be present at the partition of the crop, under the pretext that they have already promised to attend in other fields for a similar purpose. In the meantime the crops cannot be removed, and must remain exposed to the depredations of wild animals, and often to the danger of being injured by the approaching rains, until the proprietors and cultivators are teased into a bribe, which seldom fails to bring the renter to the field on the following day... ..  
 ..... The mischiefs arising from the farming system are greatly augmented, if it happens, as is so often the case, that some of the headmen or public officers, either openly or underhand, become renters. The bad consequences, then, are evident."

Only a few years later, a French visitor to the island, then famed for its production of cinnamon, described the system as "not only the most vicious, but also the most disadvantageous to the Government, burdensome to the labourer and the inhabitants, impolitic in itself." "There are so few exceptions to these assertions," he continues, "that they might, were there occasion for it, serve as a text to a dissertation that would carry conviction with it. It is sufficient to say that it is a mode resorted to, to use the most moderate language, by those who are idle and indifferent to the public good."

Although the evil might thus be denounced in vigorous language and be recognised even by the British Authorities, even if there had been the disposition, there was scarcely the ability to grapple with the question. The first eighteen years of the century were occupied in tortuous wiles of diplomacy for the occupation of the interior of the island from the king of Kandy. Or, if diplomacy failed, the authorities were engaged in war, which finally led to the conquest and possession of the whole island.

Peace proclaimed, and order once more reigning through all the borders of the land, fiscal difficulties prevailed. Year after year, the expenditure of the island largely overtopped the revenue, sometimes to the extent of twenty-five per cent. Furthermore, the military Governor, for the greater part of the period now alluded to (1818-30), was bent upon opening up the interior with roads, and used every penny of revenue he could get hold of to supplement the 'forced labour,' similar to that by which the Pyramids were built and Egyptian canals constructed, which was used for the work of opening up the island.



Soon afterwards the state of affairs in a colony, which it was expected would yield a surplus of £100,000 to the home treasury chest every year, was so desperate that a commission of enquiry consisting of two Indian officials of experience, Lieut. Col. Colebrooke and Mr C. H. Cameron, was appointed. Their report, which led to great judicial and other changes, strongly urged not only that the farming system should be put an end to, but also that the tax on the paddy-grounds in the island should be remitted. Of the tax itself they said:—"This tax, which is collected only on the grain-crops throughout the island, and not upon other articles of colonial produce, is objectionable from its undue pressure on one branch of agriculture, and that of the first importance to encourage, also from the extensive establishments required for its collection, and from the vexatious interference of the revenue farmers and native headmen."

In spite of these representations no change was made; the tax on grain cultivation was continued, and the rents were twice a year put up for sale by auction. In 1840 legislation on the subject took place, but the ordinance passed went not in the direction of relief. Ordinance 14 of 1840 was devoted mainly to laying down restrictions on the renter on the one hand and the cultivator on the other. Of what little service this enactment was likely prove to the cultivator may be assumed from the fact that, amongst other things, the ryot had to give notice to the renter, *in writing*, when the crop was ready for reaping. This condition was imposed at a time when village schools were almost unknown and the people generally were unable to read or write.

Very soon afterwards, Mr. Gladstone, whose enlightened system of finance has within the last two decades done so much to relieve the burden of taxation in England, was Under-Secretary for the Colonies. He had not been in office long before he noticed that the system of revenue and taxation which prevailed in Ceylon was based upon that which obtained during the administration of the former Portuguese and Dutch\* possessors of the island, and that it presented a general character very much at variance with the more enlightened and liberal policy, financial and commercial, prevailing elsewhere in the British dominions. To see an evil, with the youthful Colonial Secretary, as with the matured statesman who reformed the land laws of Ireland and disestablished its alien Church, was to grapple with it, and Mr. Gladstone at once drew up a despatch, which was approved by Earl Grey, the chief of the department, in which it was stated that the time had arrived "for a

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\* An injustice was done to the Portuguese and Dutch in this truly "odious" comparison, for they did not "farm" the revenues they collected in Ceylon.



revision of the present system of taxation, with a view to its adaptation to the altered circumstances and prospects of the colony." The result was an elaborate report on "The Colonial Revenues of Ceylon," from the pen of the (then) Chief Secretary to the island Government, Sir J. Emerson Tennent, in which the abolition of the paddy-tax on home-grown produce and imported food-stuffs was proposed, and the farming system was to receive its death-blow.

Unfortunately, commercial depression followed, disturbances occurred in the island, the whirligigs of party in England removed Mr. Gladstone from the Colonial Office, and, with the exception of the export duty on cinnamon having been removed (in 1852) and the monopoly of that spice destroyed, the present financial and fiscal arrangements of the island are precisely what they were thirty years ago. The tide of progress has carried all other parts of the British dominions to greater perfection. Ceylon, thanks to the system of government with which it is hampered, seems to have been caught in an eddy, and its motion has been a monotonous and giddy circle rather than of progress with the course of events and in conformity with the enlightenment of the period.

To return, however, to the subject of this section of the present paper. In 1847 Sir Emerson Tennent wrote as follows, and be it borne in mind, his report was not only available to the island authorities, but was also transmitted to the Colonial Office in England, and was further reported upon by members of the office. Of the tax on paddy Sir Emerson Tennent wrote:—"In addition to these causes, there must likewise be included the vexatious nature of the tax levied in later times on the cultivation of rice, vexatious not so much from its amount, as from the incessant opportunities which it affords to the officers employed in its collection for oppressive extortion and annoyance of every kind—causes sufficient in themselves to discourage the cultivator, even if unaccompanied by any diminution of his return."

Further on, in this report, he remarks, of the farming system:—"There are many circumstances connected with the assessment and collection of the tax which render this branch of income the most vexatious and unsatisfactory item in the revenue system of Ceylon.....It would be difficult to devise a system more pregnant with oppression, extortion, and demoralization than the one detailed above. The cultivator is handed over helplessly to two successive sets of inquisitorial officers, the assessors and the renters and their underlings, who have so direct a control over his interests, that abuses are inevitable, and the intercourse of the two parties is characterised by rigour and extortion on the one side, and cunning and subterfuge of every description on the other. Every artifice and disingenuous device is put in practice to deceive the

headmen and Government assessors as to the extent and fertility of the land and the actual value of the crop, and they, in return, resort to the most inquisitorial and vexatious interference, either to protect the interest of the Government, or privately to further their own. Between these demoralizing influences the character and industry of the rural population are equally deteriorated and destroyed, and the extension of cultivation by the reclaiming of a portion of waste-land only exposes the harrassed proprietor to fresh visits from the headmen, and a new valuation by the Government assessors, and where annoyance is not the leading object, corruption is resorted to to keep down the valuation."

"But," Sir Emerson continues, "no sooner has the cultivator got rid of the assessors than he falls into the hands of the reuter, who, under the protection which the law properly (I admit) extends to a party who has the unpopular duty to perform of recovering the tax, finds himself vested with an unusual power of vexation and annoyance. He may be, designedly, out of the way when the cultivator sends him notice of his intention to cut, and if the latter, to save his harvest from perishing on the stalk, ventures to reap it in his absence, the penalties of the law are instantly enforced against him through the District Court. Under the pressure of this formidable control the agricultural proprietor, rather than lose his time or his crop in dancing attendance on the reuter, or submitting to the multiform annoyances of his subordinates, is driven to purchase forbearance by additional payments; and it is generally understood that the share of the tax which eventually reaches the treasury does not form one-half of the amount which is thus extorted by oppressive devices from the helpless proprietors."

The writer of the foregoing held the Commission of Lieut.-Governor of Ceylon, was reponsible for the administration of its finances, and may be considered a witness who would not overstate his case. Indeed the picture he draws admits of deeper shades being introduced without fidelity to truth being in any degree violated. Yet once more be it borne in mind *nothing* to remove this evil has been done. The reason why will be stated subsequently.

From 1847, when Sir Emerson Tennent's report was written, to 1876, when agitation was revived with partial success, the subject has ever and anon been prominently brought to the notice of the island authorities. In 1856 and subsequent years, when Sir Henry Ward introduced to the Legislative Council the Irrigation Ordinance for the restoration and repair of ruined tanks, that rice-lands out of cultivation might be restored to their wonted use, the subject of farming, not the land, but the revenue, as was inevitable, came up, but the authorities passed by on the other

side. The excuse that revenue could not be spared whilst such a large annual expenditure was being incurred to aid rice cultivation was not without some pertinency, though it was proof of short-sightedness and want of statesmanlike acumen on the part of the authorities not to have perceived the increased revenue which would have been derivable from a fairer and more just mode of tax-levying and tax-gathering.

In 1864 the Singhalese Member of Council warmly denounced the system, and by the energy of his demonstrations brought the evil into very great prominence. Two years later, in 1866, the year of the Orissa famine, owing to the great dependence of the people on imported food and the partial failure of supplies from India, great distress was experienced throughout the island. The Legislature appointed a special commission to consider the causes of the falling off of rice-cultivation in the island. The members took evidence, almost entirely from European officials, and carefully avoided dangerous questions respecting the mode of collecting the paddy-tax. Nevertheless, this commission of officials were compelled to insert the following paragraph in their report:—"Every effort should be made to check the exactions and annoyances practised by renters and headmen in [collecting the paddy-tax]. Looking to the different provisions contained in the Ordinance, which regulates the collection of the tax upon paddy and dry grain, No. 14 of 1840, which was very carefully prepared by experienced public servants, who studied as much the interests of the natives as those of the Governments, the Committee observe, that they are no more than are strictly necessary for the protection of the cultivators on the one hand, and the renters on the other,—possibly some of the minor restrictions may be somewhat relaxed, and the Committee would particularly point to the necessity for giving written notice, and the form of such notice, which must fall hard on people who cannot themselves read and write. It further appears to the Committee that it would be well if means could be devised to prevent all connection between renters and the headmen, as there is too much reason to believe that both share in the profits of the rents, which give them a common interest to exact as much as possible from the cultivators. The headman should always act as middleman between the renter and the cultivators. It is also very desirable that the divisions of the different farms should be made sufficiently small to enable the cultivators themselves to club together, and to purchase them; at present they are so large as to be within the reach only of such as are regarded as the monied men in the districts, frequently the rack-renter, division officer, notary or headmen, who, however useful their other avocations may be, are generally antagonistic to the poor cultivators, and

seek only to reduce them into a state of serfdom. In making these observations the Committee are quite sensible that many of the evils attendant upon the system are such as no legislation can effectually prevent : all that could be reasonably expected to check it, must be looked for in the watchful and unceasing care of the administrative officers of Government."

Meanwhile non-official members of the community were not fettered in their utterances regarding the evil. In the Legislative Council, unofficial members, notably the Tamil Member, Sir (then Mr.) Coomara Swamy indicated this source of mischief and demoralisation. The leading paper of the colony, the *Colombo Observer*, in its editorial and correspondence columns bore evidence of the wrong being done to the community, and urged a reform in the financial department of Government.

In a series of letters to the *Observer*, afterwards published in a separate form, and, later on in this paper, to be more fully alluded to, Mr. George Wall, a merchant of Colombo, in most scathing terms, exposed the iniquitous form of mis-government which prevailed. Another member of the community, Mr. Leopold Ludovici, in a work on 'Rice Cultivation,' described, with a minuteness which only one born in the island could command, the whole practice of Government towards the cultivator, and showed the many forms in which enterprise was checked, and worse, in which the people were ground down to the direst poverty, and so robbed of their substance that, but for the additional growth of 'ground vegetables,' life, to say nothing of prosperity, could not be sustained. Government made no signs of reform, and the agitation died out, the reference to food-taxes, &c., having been a subsidiary matter in the large question of a Reformed Legislature. From that time to 1876 no active steps were taken to lessen or remedy the evil, and, with its hands full of railway extensions, and other public works, which in the advanced state of the colony might fairly be left to private enterprise, with great consequent increase of prosperity, the island Government has shown no signs of doing anything towards putting its finances on a more righteous and less questionable footing. Neither has the Colonial Office done anything to stir up its subordinates and representatives to effort.

As has been shown, almost entirely from authoritative statements, the wrong is one which the Government knows to exist; like the poor, of which it has been the means of making so many by the very action alluded to, it has always been with them. The years have passed by with numberless opportunities for taking this skeleton out of the cupboard and clothing it with living and animated flesh; its existence has never been denied, though the vain attempt has been made to ignore it. To see how criminal the conduct of the authorities has been, we may pass on to observe



## II.—THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE EVIL.

IN a letter to the present writer, a leading man amongst the Singalese, the representative of that race in the Legislative Council, says:—"Paddy-farming is the rule in Ceylon; is largely resorted to in all the agricultural districts, and it is the bane of agriculture. From the Dutch period to the present, every respectable historian, and every man who has had at heart the interest of Ceylon, have written against the system. Moses Reamund (in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* of 1821); Bertolacci (in his *History*); Sir Emerson Tennant (in his *Ceylon*) are most vehement in their remarks. Extortion exists to a fearful extent. The poor agriculturist is handed over to the tax-gatherer, and he is fleeced, flayed alive. I cannot speak too strongly on the iniquity of the system."

The language just quoted is certainly forcible in its denunciation of the farming system of taxation now (in the latter half of the nineteenth century) existing in one of the Crown Colonies of the British Empire, a colony which is supposed to enjoy peculiar advantages because it is ruled direct from England.

Any student of history, however, who has become acquainted with the terrible power which can be wielded by the farmer of taxes, knows that there is so much that is inherently wrong in the practice, that extortion and oppression are as certain to be the result, as that night follows day. Such being the case it was only in the ordinary course of things that cultivation in Ceylon should be greatly hampered, and the character of the cultivator suffer whilst this practice had full sway. What inducement could there be to plough the soil deeply, or apply manure to the land, when the cultivator knew that though the Government share of his own property was but one-tenth of the produce he reaped, yet it was certain that the rapacious renter would take at least one-fifth, and that, if he was cultivating Crown land, nearly three-fourths of the whole field would be carried off? So seriously has this tax pressed upon native agriculture, that, as will be shown by the evidence of observers whose testimony has not been, and cannot be, impeached, cultivation has not extended but declined, except under peculiar circumstances, and capital has been eaten into to pay the tax unjustly and exorbitantly levied, whilst (as has been said) starvation would necessarily and speedily have resulted, had not the opportunity for growing vegetables and other fruits existed.

Again, too, it is not the grinding and ever-increasing poverty to which the agriculturist is exposed, that is the sole evil. A few years ago, Earl Derby, speaking in one of the northern towns of Britain, said that Englishmen had no business at all in the East unless they were there for the benefit of the people whom they ruled



and amongst whom they resided. That has certainly not proved to be the case in regard to English rulers and the cultivators of Ceylon, for, as has been shown on a foregoing page, whilst under native sovereigns or under the Dutch, the produce of the land paid taxes, such a direful system as 'farming revenue' was unknown. Not only does the poor cultivator suffer materially, but shipwreck is made of character among the petty officials (would it be believed in England that administration is almost solely carried on in the low country of Ceylon by *unpaid* headmen?) and even amongst English civil servants. If not actually made by the force of circumstances to wink at corruption, the British agent of the province, or his assistant, knows perfectly well that extortion is being practiced, but he cannot, or will not interfere. In August 1876, the Governor of the island expressed himself in strong terms of condemnation regarding the conduct of the leading official of one of the provinces. "Oh!" said, another official, by way of extenuation, "if your Excellency only knew the way in which the revenue was raised in that province it would make your hair stand on end." To this may be added a typical case of the corruption wrought by the system, the facts of the case being vouched for by a trustworthy witness who was on the spot at the time the events occurred. The Arachchi (petty official) of a certain Kachcherim, who is the auctioneer at the sales of the rents in a district, was himself allowed by the assistant agent to become the purchaser of a portion of the rents. There being no check on him, he being the right-hand man of the official, and too useful to have his transactions, closely enquired into, he failed for years to pay to the Government account the values of the rents he had purchased. He did not, however, fail to exact his share of the produce from the unfortunate cultivators over whose crops he had obtained a lien. The fraud was only detected when the Assistant Auditor General paid a surprise visit to the station, overhauled the books, and discovered this and other delinquencies. The result was that the European Assistant Agent was for a time in disgrace, but the matter soon passed over.

To trace, however, the cause of the evil from the beginning, in the drama of intensest interest which is enacted twice, and sometimes thrice, a year, in all the districts of the low countries of Ceylon. What is to be described is no fancy picture. Details are furnished by men who have, for years, been on-lookers at the evil; powerless, for want of the public opinion which the present mode of Government sits upon and stifles, to do anything to prevent the evil, save verbally protest against it. As the time for the gathering of the harvest draws near, a notice is placarded on the walls of the district kutcheries stating that the "rents" are to be sold on a certain day, which

is named. The same notification is also published by the Ganarachchi (village headman) or Vedalm (village officer) by beat of tom-tom in the villages. On the day appointed the Government Agent, or his Assistant, goes to the nearest rest-house, and sells the rents, a process of assessment already described having taken place. These tours on "revenue duty" as they are called, to an independent Englishman, afford most melancholy sights. So great and exaggerated is the respect in which the officer of Government is held, that the people literally "grovel" before him, and, instead of after eighty years of British occupation being taught to help themselves and walk as men, they are treated as children, with the consequence that cunning takes the place of sturdy and helpful independence. When one fairly considers all the capabilities for goodness and greatness enshrouded in the individual Sinhalese or Tamil man, it rouses a sense of indignation in his breast, when he thinks how far advanced in civilization these people might have become and have not.

A break in the narrative for the space of two or three sentences must be suffered here to prove the case. In the Legislative Council (such as it is) independence is almost entirely confined to the native members. When in the sessions of 1875, the Government wished to take away from the Legislature one of its dearest privileges, *i. e.*, the power of remitting taxation, and itself do this by proclamation, it was the Hon. James Alwis, a Sinhalese man, who has never been out of the island, and has not enjoyed the contact with English civilization which other natives have, who exhausted all the forms of the Council in opposing the measure, and finally recorded his protest in a firmly-worded and respectful document, of which, however, the Secretary of State took no notice, but allowed the ordinance to pass into law. \* Similarly it is the Tamil member of the same body who shames his English fellow-non-officials by his sturdy independence. A similar story may be told of the Municipal Council of Colombo.

To return, however, to the sale of the rents of a District. The Government Agent was offering the rents for sale when the narrative was broken off, but a purchaser had not been found. Offers have been plenty, but none good enough to be accepted. On no account can any one of the little kings of the seven provinces of Ceylon let it appear that his contribution to the general revenue is lower than it was in a previous year, unless some great catastrophe, such as unwonted floods, has happened. The devotion of a Government agent to the receipt of revenue would be admirable if the way in which he obtained it were more honorable and less cruel. Mr. Alwis shall supply us with the descrip-

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\* See debates on "An Ordinance to allow Poonac to pass toll-free."—*Ceylon Hansard*, 1876-76.

tion of how the sale is at length effected, and the agent retires happy at the thought of the enhanced sum at which it is concluded. The historian of his people says, in a work not yet published, but to which the writer has been kindly granted access: "If there is no bidder for a tract which contains three or four fields; or if the owner offer no more than 2s. the bushel on the estimated crop! 'Put up the whole village in one lot' says the official. The village Boutique (shop) keeper, who is a Moorman, knows that this is a welcome invitation to him. Omar Lebbe steps forward, and offers a bid. It now reaches 2s. 3d. 'Not enough' says the official putting on his blandest smiles. The cunning Moorman, however, knows that the poor villagers cannot compete with him; he is consequently silent. The official changes his tactics and his patronizing looks, and bids his crier 'put up the fields of several villages together. The servant obeys. It is too much for the Tamby. It is not so, however, for a rich capitalist who is more fond of money than honesty, or a headman of an adjoining Korle, who is as independent as he is unsuspected; and who levies his taxes in money at his Walanva (dwelling house) or the relation of a Mudaliyar (high official) whose influence protects him from exposure while he commits the greatest enormities. Away goes this millionaire and buys the rent for so much as would please the official. The consequence is that though this functionary pays a large sum, larger than the value of the Government share, yet he makes three or four times the amount he has paid to Government. The money is paid at once, or eight days' time is allowed. In any case the official gets the amount before ever the sickle is put in the standing corn, and is seen no more in that locality till the next harvest comes round, just before the September or April rains. The renter is left to levy his tax with no Governmental control, for the renters are often the headmen themselves,—the very persons who are appointed to see that justice is done between the tax-gatherer and the tax-payer."

In Sabaragamuwa, the region which lies in the shadow of the mountain sacred to Buddhist pilgrims, though it bears the name of Adam's peak, because, say the Moorman in this beautiful island was the garden of Eden, and on the top is the footprint of the "first of the human race," in Sabaragamuwa, a large grain-growing region, the evil is very great, "a crying one," says a resident in the district. The headmen of the Korales (*Anglice* small counties) and of the Kachchin combine together to exclude competition, and they buy the rents of several Korales themselves; afterwards they resell the rents to others and make a profit. One headman has made his fortune by this means; and, from a state of rags and care, he is now worth nearly a lakh of rupees, all obtained from rent frauds, for he does not receive *any* pay from Government, whose servant he is.

From the time of the sale of the rent all is agitation and trouble in the agricultural community. Five days' notice and piteous mockery, *in writing*, must be given to the renter before the grain can be cut. Clouds may gather overhead; from the North-East may come each afternoon the mutterings of thunder, and black heavy banks of clouds may presage the near burst of the monsoon, or dense nimbus rapidly passing in an upper stratum of the air, their lower base being as exactly and smoothly levelled off as though a plummet and line had been used, may tell of the heavy deluge which rain-bearers from over the Indian ocean bring on the wings of the South-West monsoon, but if the renter chooses not to come, the standing corn may be beaten down by the big drops of rain which soon give place to falling sheets of water, characteristic of the tropics. Messengers are sent in every direction for the renter, but he is not to be found. It may be he owes a grudge to the cultivator, or, Ahab-like, he covets a Naboth's terraced paddy-field, and if the crop is reaped without his permission or presence, he can institute a land case, buy testimony, weary out the poor cultivator, and add field to field. 'There is none to say to him, as Isaiah the prophet said to men of like character and disposition three thousand years ago, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field unto field till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." The renter and his confederate headmen are all-powerful; the native press has scarcely yet made itself felt in the small village; there is nothing for the poor cultivator to do but submit. Sometimes he and his neighbours, in sheer desperation because the farmer of taxes delayeth his coming, cut the corn at night, stack it in its green state, try to dispose of a portion of it, and in numberless ways cheat the man who they know will strive to take every advantage of them. In this, however, the cultivator seldom succeeds; he is generally so closely sheared that there is no more to be got out of him, and he has to borrow, often at *fifty per cent.* seed for the next sowing. Is it then any wonder that cultivators are discouraged, that the extent of rice lands should become smaller year by year, and that the people should seek employment elsewhere as cart-owners, cart-drivers and contractors on coffee-estates, &c?

A native gentleman, writing in September 1876, gives the following description of the evil: "The extent sowed of paddy fields in each village is ascertained by assessors appointed by Government, and a list is made for each village, and sold by public auction, where generally professional renters purchase them, who, in order to make as much profit as they can from the enterprise hinder the cultivators, by all possible stratagems, from reaping and threshing his crop and the poor cultivator who is never a match for the renter, ignorant of the law in that respect, and



sometimes driven to desperation by the prospect of starvation to himself and his family, by the crops being damaged by rain or entirely washed away by floods, or destroyed by wild animals and birds, takes the law into his own hands, by reaping, threshing and removing the whole crop. This is just the state of things the renter worked to bring about, for had he taken the actual quantity of paddy he was legally entitled to, he would not make up half the amount he really paid for the rent. The renter now knows that he can impose his own terms upon the cultivator, for where could the latter produce a permit signed by the renter to reap, and another permit to thresh the crop, as required in the Ordinance? He (the renter), who is generally supported by the headman of the village for a trifling consideration, the headman not being a paid functionary, puts the law into motion against the poor offender; he is dragged into Court, and after an expensive lawsuit, in which the cultivator has spent his all, the poor man is worsted and condemned to pay a certain amount, being value of the Government share of the crop, and a further amount as costs of case. And it not unfrequently happens that perhaps the only piece of paddy-field he owns, and the crops of which formed the subject of this ruinous litigation is sold in execution, and either the renter or the headman becomes the purchaser for a mere song."

A few witnesses may be cited to testify that in no respect are the foregoing pictures drawn in too dark colours, but that they give a bare, almost bald, representation of facts. The testimony of Sir Emerson Tennent, when he was Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, has been quoted already. It may be observed, in passing, that Sir Emerson says, "the share of the tax which eventually reaches the Treasury, does not form half the amount thus extorted by oppressive devices from helpless proprietors." The report of Sir Emerson Tennent was, it is stated, accompanied by separate reports from other officers of the local Government, and was submitted to a commission at home, consisting of Messrs. Howes, Tuffnell, Lefevre, and Bird, Members of Parliament, who accepted it as an accurate statement of the case, and 'had no doubt of the oppression and extortion committed under the system of farming out assessments of paddy-lands.' They believed in the 'alleged discouragement to cultivation, and the demoralization which tyranny and avarice on the one side, and cunning and deception on the other, necessarily create.' They pronounced the system 'most objectionable in principle and recommended its abolition.'\* It should also be borne in mind that Sir Emerson Tennent thought the evil so great that he recommended that it should at once be remedied; but riotous disturbances,

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\* "*Ceylon*:" Her present condition, &c., by "*Speculum*." (G. Wall).



wrongly called a rebellion, and a state of great commercial depression hindered the project from being then carried out. Of the half-dozen men who, in the intervening thirty years, have succeeded him as Colonial Secretary, not one has imitated Sir Emerson Tennent in an openly-avowed desire to grapple with the evil and overcome it by a more righteous system of finance. Men, however, have not been silent on the subject, nor could they be whilst a single idea of honour or sympathy remained in their breasts. In the remarks to be quoted only a very small portion of the evidence available on this subject is made use of.

The (then) Government Agent of the Eastern Province, in giving evidence before the Irrigation Commission in 1866, showed the crushing weight under which cultivation is carried on in that part of island. He showed that the cultivator of a piece of Crown land, one amunam in sowing extent, had to make good the following dues at the close of the harvest, independent of the pecuniary expenses incurred for levelling, constructing earthen ridges, &c., viz. :—

Seed paddy, including interest at 50 per cent.	1½ amunams
Subsistence paddy           do.                   do. ...	3       "
Government share at 1-5th if the yield be ten-fold	2       "
Hire for ploughing bullocks                   ...       ...	1       "
Hire for driving off birds and for reaping       ...	0½     "
Threshing hire	0½     "
	<hr/>
Total   ...	8½ amunams

If the yield be ten-fold, i. e., 10 amunams, there would remain but 1½ amunam for the cultivator, after all the above charges were deducted.

The enormous interest alluded to is still characteristic of the district. In the latter half of 1876, in one criminal and one civil case, £1,000 was expended in retaining fees for three Colombo advocates, one of them obtaining £600. The defendant in one of the cases was known by name of Fifty per cent Ramaswamy.

Mr. Leopold Ludovici, in a work on Rice Cultivation, its past history and present condition, published in 1867, thus refers to the tax and mode of collection.

\* The tax itself is one of the worst kind, being placed not on the consumer but on the producer. The strongest argument that the Government can advance for its continuance, is the willing submission of the cultivator to pay it. This is certainly an exceptional feature in the history of taxation. Originally imposed as a rent on the land, which under the native monarchy was considered the sole property of the Crown, the rent has been perpetuated as a tax after the Crown had alienated its title. The natives have been accustomed to it from time immemorial, incapable of

understanding nice distinctions of political science; and something like a moral conviction that it is a just due has got possession of their minds.

“The one-tenth of the crop that the native paddy-grower is called upon to pay is, as we shall prove, excessive in itself; but the legalized extortion, to which the cultivator is exposed at the hands of the Government renter, adds an extrinsic burden, and often raises the nominal one-tenth tax in reality to one-fourth. The passive and uncomplaining tameness of the native agriculturist has been turned against himself, and the native cultivator, instead of being encouraged and protected, is left to compete with the foreign grower at immense disadvantage. The duty on imported paddy is calculated at the same rate as the tax on the home-produced grain, that is, the import duty of 3*d.* on the bushel, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, is exactly equivalent to the one-tenth tax on the home-produced; but in proportion as the market price of paddy rises, so will the rate of duty fall, while under the same circumstances the tax rises relatively. The rise of price virtually lowers the duty on the imported grain, but the cultivator is not similarly benefited as regards the one-tenth tax. When paddy sells at 2*s.* 6*d.* the bushel, the native cultivator and the importer are on equal terms; but should paddy rise to 5*s.* the bushel, the duty falls to one-twentieth, while the value of the one-tenth tax rises to one-fifth. The disadvantages under which the native cultivator labours in this respect alone, without taking to account the other imposts to which he is liable, are therefore sufficient to disqualify him from competing in his own market with the Indian cultivator. \* \* \* We have gathered from actual experience, and all the people whom we have consulted—people largely interested in paddy-lands in all parts of the country—agree with us, that paddy-cultivation scarcely, if ever, gives more than six per cent. interest on the outlay. The price of the land depends altogether on the ascertained rate of yield, and whether the acre cost £5 or £50, the nett income will only cover 6 per cent interest; and unless production is stimulated under a more enlightened system of cultivation than at present, the returns are not likely to exceed the present minimum rate. Under these circumstances, therefore, it must be obvious that taxation is not exactly the means best adapted for encouraging paddy-cultivation. We always had our doubts that the one-tenth tax was got out of the profits, and were not at all startled to find from the statistics we have been able to collect, that it is entirely drawn from the agricultural capital of the country.”

Of the mode of the collection he says:—“But if the tax itself is vicious, its baneful effect on the great industry of

the native population is intensified by the system organized for collecting it. The stacks of reaped paddy often remain piled up for weeks and even months, until the renter gives the unfortunate cultivator permission to thresh out. The renter, who is only the proprietor of one-tenth crop, is invested by law with arbitrary power over all the operations of agriculture after the crop begins to boll, and the destruction of the proprietor's nine-tenths is risked, in order to protect the renter against fraud on the part of the producer. It has been pleaded that unless such power were conferred on the renter, it would be impossible for him to pay a fair price to Government, and that no other mode of collecting the tax which may be substituted for the farming system would be so cheap and convenient to Government as this. But it would be scarcely necessary to point out that higher considerations than those of mere cheapness and convenience should actuate the policy of the Government in dealing with this question. The public are too familiar with the extortion and oppression practised by the Government renter-on the cultivator, to render it necessary for us to enter into details descriptive of the system. We, however, offer the following extract from the Colombo Agricultural Society's report, as a truthful account of the manner in which the renter deals with the cultivator.

‘The law on this subject is laid down in the Ordinance 14 of 1840, and a more complicated system of notices and counter-notices could hardly have been invented.

‘The paddy-tax is generally sold by Government to the highest bidder, who goes by the name of the paddy-renter. This individual is always a very shrewd person, well read in the Ordinance and well versed in its intricacies. The headman of the village is generally in his interest, and the name of the Government paddy-renter has a magic influence on petty magistrates and commissioners, and very often on higher judicial officers. It may be well imagined with what odds against him the ignorant paddy-cultivator starts in this race. The Ordinance enables the renter to create a regular circle of pit-falls round his victim, and with a little extra impulse communicated by the headman (who, in the majority of cases is a secret partner of the renter) the ignorant paddy-grower will inevitably fall into one of these traps set for him by the renter. The renter having now the cultivator completely in his power is able to impose his own terms, and if nearly three or four times as much as the legitimate share due to him is not paid down at once, he generally resorts to the police-court in the first instance, as the criminal nature of its proceedings is better calculated to serve his purpose than the dilatory process of a civil suit. A false return of the service

of the summons, skilfully arranged between the renter and his secret partner, leads to a criminal warrant with all its terrors of arrest and imprisonment, and this necessarily leads to a settlement of the renter's demand in full, either by an immediate money-payment or the granting of a bond, mortgaging, perhaps, the very field which in process of time is seized and sold in execution. Instead of this private settlement we will suppose that the matter is publicly investigated in court. We believe in the last case the cultivator's prospects will not be found to be any brighter. Perhaps he finds himself for the first time in a court of justice, which in ordinary cases, would be sufficient to confuse him, but when to that is superadded the contempt of the court-peon and the angry address of the secretary and the interpreter (all personal friends of the paddy-renter), the few collected thoughts which accompanied him from the village are fairly taken out of him, and thenceforth he is altogether in the hands of the renter and his friends, who will find no difficulty in securing his conviction. We will suppose further that by some accident, or by the interposition of the Appellate Court, the cultivator is eventually the successful party. Will that, in the slightest degree, improve his position? The delays attendant on a suit, instituted, perhaps, in a court some 10 or 15 miles away from his village, will give him occupation for months which ought to be devoted to his crop; thus his field would be deprived of his care and attention, at the very time when such attention would be most needed, and the inevitable consequence of this would be the total ruin of his crop. This is not an exaggerated picture, but what really takes place in our courts, principally in the out-stations. It often happens that whole crops are abandoned to avoid collision with the paddy-renter."

But apart from the extortion and impositions practised by the renter on the field, his position and influence as the great capitalist of the village, enables him to bind down the cultivators around him under a system of social serfdom. It is seldom that he sends the grain, which he collects as the farmer of the Government tax, to market. It pays him better to reserve it to be lent at usurious interest to the cultivators either for seed or maintenance. Mr. Birch, though not speaking directly of the renter, describes the system in vogue in the Batticaloa district as follows:—"A practice has got into vogue in the district, of lending paddy at the usual and customary rate of 50 per-cent. repayable at the end of the harvest. A crop fails, or nearly so, either from want of water in one district, or too much water in another, and the unfortunate cultivators, who bear all the losses, are not able to repay their seed or consumption paddy. They give debt-bonds then for the quantity. Say ten ammonams were originally borrowed,



they give a bond for 15 at the end of the harvest, repayable with 50 per cent, at the end of the next, and if not able then to pay it, from another failure, a fresh bond for 22½ with another 50 per cent. to run to next harvest is extorted from them.\*

The great pressure upon the cultivator was, however, even more forcibly put by a merchant of Colombo, Mr. George Wall, who in 1868, when the colony was much exercised about a reformed legislature, which reform being mainly in the interests of the European colonists did not deserve, and did not achieve, success, wrote a series of letters to the *Colombo Observer*, afterwards published under the title of "Ceylon : her present condition, revenue taxes, and expenditure." In the course of his enquiry he dealt fully with paddy-cultivation, and remarked as follows :—

"The renter wields a power with which no subject ought ever to be invested; and the people suffer a sort of bondage which no civilised government should permit.

"It is by no means a simple task to arrive at an accurate calculation of the results of the paddy-grower's enterprise; or to express in ordinary terms the exact amount of taxation he endures. Setting aside the extortion he suffers, of which no calculation whatever can be made, the task is beset with difficulties. The great diversity of local customs in different parts of the country, as to the mutual obligations of the people to render service to each other and the mode of settlement for such services, leads to various modes of calculating the cost of production; and the calculations from different places have sometimes so little in common, that they seem to refer to different matters, this is especially the case when they are expressed in sterling. The services rendered by labourers are rarely ever paid for in cash, but are either returned in similar services or paid for in kind, each particular service being entitled to its appropriate proportion of the crop. The return received by the land-owner, and the tax paid to Government, are always in kind. Hence the simplest calculation of cost and return is that which shows the various items in kind; and this reduced to its corresponding number of days' labour, or its proportion to gross earnings, affords the fairest and most convenient term for the comparison with other classes of the people. I propose, therefore, to show the relation between the gross earnings and the contribution to the revenue, in comparing the condition of all classes of the people.

"The following calculations are based on numerous detailed returns I have collected from time to time, and are, I believe, reliable as representative or typical cases.

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\* Mr. Birch's report on Batticaloa, 15th December, 1856.



(1.) Cost and return of the cultivation of one ammonam or 6 bushels sowing extent :—

		<i>Cost.</i>	
Seed 1 ammonam	...	...	6 bushels.
Tax, if a-tenth and no extortion		6	
Cattle, Tools, &c.	...	5	
Interest on seed, &c.	...	3	
Offerings and Sundries...		2½	
		22½	"
		<i>Return.</i>	
10-fold	...	60	"
Less cost	...	22½	
		<hr/>	
	Nett	...	37½ Paddy = 18¾ bushels Rice

"In this calculation I distinguish only between that part of the produce which accrues to the owner and cultivator; and that which passes away from them. Subsistence paddy, owner's share, &c., are not noticed because they accrue. My object is to ascertain the gross income, and the proportion it bears to the amount of taxes paid. 18¾ bushels of rice, therefore, represents all the remuneration accruing to the owner and labourer for the cultivation of say 2½ to 3 acres of land, including the tilling, sowing, fencing, watching, harvesting and husking operations.

"(2.) The taxes paid by a cultivator as expressed in sterling are very nearly as follows :—

		<i>s</i>		<i>d</i>
1 Road Tax	...	0	3	0
2 Rice 28 bushels at 7d.	...	0	16	4
3 Salt at 8d. per head	...	0	2	4
4 Customs duties on Cloth, Currystuff	...	0	1	6
5 Stamps	...	0	1	6
		<hr/>		
		£	1	4 8

"This does not include tax on spirits, which would add a very considerable sum, but it is a voluntary and not a compulsory contribution to the revenue, as spirits are not a necessary of life. The items rice, salt and customs, are computed on the assumption that each tax-payer has 2½ dependents in the shape of wife, children, aged parents, or infirm relatives, non-effectives, who earn little or nothing. In the directory the compiler estimates 3 dependents to each, and you have no doubt good authority for that figure; but I think it too high, and adopt 2½, in the belief that it is nearer the true average."

Continuing his enquiry, the writer proceeded.

"In my last letter, the cost and return of paddy growing were estimated in kind, and I now translate the same computation into

days' labour for the purpose of comparison :—

Filling, preparing and sowing	...	62 days' labour
Watching, fencing	...	20 do.
Reaping, stacking and threshing	...	50 do.
Husking (converting into rice)	...	45 do.

	Total	177 days' labour.
Return as before	10 fold=	60 bushels.
Less tax, if one-tenth	...	6
Seed	...	6
Interest and sundries		5½
Cattle and Tools	... 5=	22½

Nett return ... 37½=18¾ Bls. rice.

"Several of these items are subject to variation ; but the figures I believe are fair, both in regard to the separate items and the total results. Watching and fencing are in some places very onerous works, the former often necessitating the use of a gun, still on an average, and as applied to the cultivation, not of an ammonam singly, but of a large area, my figure is, I believe, near the mark. As regards the use of cattle and tools, when the cultivator is fortunate enough to be the owner of this stock, the return of course accrues to him as such ; still, this cannot be taken as a rule.

"Hence the result of 177 days' labour is 18¾ bushels of rice, on the liberal assumption of a ten-fold scale of production ; and on the low scale of a-tenth for the Government tax, and without any allowance for extortion ! The tax therefore equals 28½ days' labour to which, add

Road tax	...	6	"	"
Salt	...	4	"	"
Customs duties	...	2½	"	"
Stamps	...	1	"	"
Total	...	42 days' labour		

contributed to the revenue.

It will be observed that, so far as regards the tax on grain, it is contributed out of the return for 177 days' labour only, and that this return is equal to the consumption of only 2½ persons at the rate of 8 bushels per annum, and hence the remaining 9¼ bushels required for the cultivator and his dependents, must be obtained, either by a second crop of paddy, or, where that cannot be raised, by cultivation of fine grain, vegetables, or by other industry. If fine grain, this also is subject to tax, and would add about 9½ days' labour to the foregoing calculation. In such a state of things, it will be at once seen how valuable a resource it is to the paddy-cultivator to have a market for such untaxed produce as he may be able to raise during the rest of the year ; and it will be easily understood why the condition of the people in the vicinity of such markets

as Colombo, Galle, Kandy, and the coffee districts, is so very superior to that of the cultivators who have to depend almost exclusively on grain culture. In those localities, even the straw becomes a considerable item of additional income.

“The foregoing figures, representing the proportion of earnings paid to the revenue by the paddy-grower, are confirmed by the calculation in sterling, as given in my last.

“Assuming the value of a day's labour at 7*d.*, the amount contributed by the cultivator, viz. 2*4s.* 8*d.* is equal to  $42\frac{1}{3}$  days' labour. Perhaps it may be contended that 7*d.* is a low rate, and no doubt labour hired for short and uncertain periods of service will often command a higher rate; but taken as the rate for the whole year round, it is, I believe, a very favorable average. If, therefore, the labourer be fortunate enough to earn 7*d.* per day for the whole year, his contribution to the revenue is upwards of an eighth of his entire income, and the paddy-grower, as owner and cultivator, under favorable circumstances contributes very nearly a sixth.

“The only comment I shall for the present offer upon this scale of taxation imposed on the native labourer and paddy-grower, is that, whilst they contribute so large a proportion of their whole earnings, a civilian, receiving an income of a thousand a year, pays to the general revenue only a part of a single day's income! He commutes his road-tax at the same rate per diem as his cooly; and pays no more than he, except in the shape of customs duties on the luxuries in which he pleases to indulge. Even these luxuries pay a lower rate of duty than the necessary food of the poor. This pays 10 per cent. of its present value, whilst that pays only 5!”

It has been thought better that the foregoing extracts, although they are long, should be quoted in full rather than fresh statements brought forward, because they have been submitted to the people most concerned, and have practically passed unchallenged. Ten years have gone by since they were published, but no single statement has been controverted, and the evil exists in 1878 as rampant as it did in 1820, when it aroused the sympathies of a French visitor to the island. It is as great now as it was in 1830, when Indian administrators suggested a remedy. It is as baneful in its effects to-day as it was fifteen years later, when Mr. Gladstone suggested that a better system of finance should prevail. The cultivator is as unequally taxed now as he was when Mr. Ludovici in 1867, and Mr. George Wall in 1868, tore away the swathings of red tape and broke through the crust of irresponsible officialdom, and exhibited the nakedness of the land and the robbery of the people in the name of the law. To say more upon the nature or extent of the evil would be to darken knowledge with many

words. Facts such as have been described by competent authorities, a few of which have been quoted or alluded to, are loud-voiced in calling for a speedy remedy. We may therefore proceed to enquire

### III.—WHY THE EVIL WAS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

No one reason would suffice to explain why the wrong acknowledged on all hands has so long been suffered to continue. A complexity of causes has contributed to the result, in regard to some of which not a little guilt attaches to particular parties. The most guilty is undoubtedly the Colonial office. If there is one attitude more than another in which that office delights to *pose*, it is as a friend of the people of the country as against European colonists, who, it is assumed from their position as members of the ruling race, are likely to have favour shown them in any matters upon which their minds are set. So strongly is this feeling cherished that, at the time when agitation was renewed in 1876, about food-taxes and the farming system, Earl Carnarvon was delaying a work of urgent importance, viz., railway extension, by demanding from the planters a guarantee against loss, when the Commission appointed by the authorities themselves had demonstrably proved that the projected line of railway would pay interest on construction and contribution towards a sinking fund. In a matter of this kind, where there is apparent (but not real) conflict of European and native interests, the Colonial office may obtain great *kudos* from unthinking and unreflecting persons. But where unostentatiously good work may be done for the natives, their hand is withheld. In nothing has this been more marked than in the supineness with which food-taxes and revenue farming have been regarded. In the island, with the Governor changing every five years; with the second official (the Colonial Secretary) a new man chosen from among the clerks of the Colonial office; with the members of the civil service moved from place to place and hampered on every hand with routine duties, which absorb all their time, and frowned upon and passed over as regards promotion, if they venture to display any zeal whatever; with a total absence of representative Government and no means whatsoever existing for the people to express their grievances, the whole body of subordinate officials being bound hand and foot to the chariot wheels of the Government Agent, not one daring to call his soul his own or expose corruption under pain of ruin; with English colonists mere birds of passage, intent mainly upon making money so that they may return to their own land; with all these circumstances, there need be little cause for wonder that no special efforts have been made, spontaneously, to improve off the face of the earth the state of things described. With the

Colonial office it is vastly different. Standing outside the turmoil of local politics, their attention not distracted by the thousand-and-one events of every-day official life which occupy the administrators in Ceylon, with all the information requisite at their fingers' ends, knowing too, that their power is supreme and what they wish is regarded as law, it was for the Colonial office to have instructed one or other of the many administrators it has sent out to see that this blot on the escutcheon of Ceylon's fair fame was removed. This, however, has not been done. Sins of omission are as flagrant as sins of commission. Not to bestow a great boon upon a whole people, when the opportunity for bestowing that boon exists, is as great a crime as deliberately planning and carrying out an evil. If the Colonial office, as the mainspring of the government of Crown colonies, does not of set purpose deliberately enter upon the work of improving the administration of the lands it rules, its *raison d'être* is gone. In the matter which forms the burden of this paper the Colonial office cannot be acquitted of great and grievous *laches*. From the time when Mr. Gladstone wrote his despatch in 1845, nay, from the time of the report of Messrs. Colebrook & Cameron in 1832, the Colonial office have been aware of the injurious nature of a portion of the taxation of Ceylon, but have not set themselves to remedy the evil. Meanwhile the people who are exhorted to adore British rule for its supreme righteousness, have their land taken away from them by chicanery and fraud, practised in the name of the law, under the *ægis* of the English official, while, if the cultivator has managed to preserve his soil, he has seen himself once, perhaps twice, every year robbed of all his profits, his capital diminishing, and utter want and poverty rapidly approaching.

All this time, owing to causes altogether extraneous to the cultivating class of the people, the revenue has been rising. It has risen 250 per cent. in thirty years and the 'permanent persons' in Downing-street plume themselves upon the excellent administration which produces this result, administration the wires of which are pulled by themselves. That is one side of the shield. The other shows petty officials existing by bribery and corruption, as the payment of the headmen cannot be thought of for a moment, and a people who regard cultivation of the soil as an honorable pursuit are yearly sinking into greater poverty. Those who might have been immeasurably benefited under British rule, as administered in Great Britain, are positively sinking to a deeper depth than was known by their forefathers under native sovereigns, or even under Dutch governance. Evidently the chief portion of the blame for the existing state of things must be borne by the office now presided over by Sir Michael Hicks Beach.



Ceylon officials, however, cannot be allowed to pass uncondemned. Here and there it is true, to their honour be it recorded, individual members of the service have re-echoed the hot words of censure and blame recorded in Sir Emerson Tennent's report on the financial state of Ceylon. As we have seen, too, in the report of the Irrigation Commission of 1866, the commissioners could recommend that every care should be taken to check exaction, but no proposal was made for altering the system under which exaction was almost invited, and which, nowhere in the world, has been practised without bringing with it a long train of corruption and imposition. Agents of provinces have been too anxious for a balance sheet showing a surplus to risk any proposal which might for a time cause a deficit. But inefficiency in this respect has been nowhere more marked than when the annual budget has been submitted to the Legislative Council. The whole financial position of the colony, the expenditure of revenue, &c., is disposed of in a speech which would occupy about three quarters of a column of the *Times* newspaper. No interest attaches to this statement on the part of the general public, because no proposal is ever broached regarding a change in the incidence of taxation, nor is any comprehensive review of the financial position of the colony as a whole, or of certain districts, to show progress or the reverse, indulged in. There are nine officials present in council. Not one rises to suggest improved modes of finance. Of the six unofficials, those amongst them who are independent, perhaps one-half, sit in silence, or confine themselves to making a few remarks in the sub-committee's report, or asking for information when the details are considered in a committee of the whole House. If they think of this particular case at all it is to remember that two successive Singhalese members of the House have brought the subject forward to no purpose; and, where there are no constituents to prompt a legislator to action or to call him to account for remissness, there is not much to induce a man to bring forward a motion year after year to submit himself to crushing and successive defeats.

As things have occurred in Ceylon in recent years, there has always been a surplus to expend on public works, and a general purring of satisfaction, or a mild and subdued gleeful rubbing of hands, evinces the gratification that is felt by honorable members. Anything like a statesmanlike review of the financial position of the colony, with a view to remedying defects, is not so much as dreamed of. If an unofficial member should exhibit any activity, he is looked upon as interfering with the harmony with which colonial legislation should be carried on, and finds himself snubbed by the official spokesman amongst the contemptuous smiles of the official majority. It requires a thick skin

and much patience to be an unofficial member of the Ceylon legislature. The second portion of the blame, therefore, rests upon the chief administrators in the island, and their portion of guilt is not light.

The newspapers can hardly be expected to stir themselves very briskly upon a subject which is *caviare* to the general public. The wishes and tastes of readers have to be considered, and those wishes and tastes, in the English papers at least, are not devoted to a consideration of subjects peculiarly native.

Their own affairs occupy so much of their time as to leave English colonists little inclination to take an interest in matters which do not particularly affect them. The agent of the North-Western Province (Mr. Milford) writing in 1864, when alluding to the repair of tanks, which had engaged his attention for many years, as a subject vitally affecting the agriculture of the country, the supply of food, and the well-being of the people, very truly remarked: "Unfortunately measures for the benefit of the natives have not hitherto met with that consideration by the Legislative Council, to which they are entitled in return for the taxation they pay, and which is accorded to measures for the promotion of the interests of Europeans. It appears to be assumed, while the English residents and the European descendants are only about 4,000 and the natives 2,000,000, that the whole amount of revenue available for public works should be devoted to affording facilities to the plantations and promoting the interests of the minority. Witness the outcry against, and animadversions on, Sir H. Ward's irrigation works, the votes for which passed against much opposition, because for the benefit of the natives, who are totally unrepresented; while large sums of money were thrown away in an abortive attempt to supply the coffee estates with labour by Government regulations. Witness the eagerness with which measures for the apprehension of runaway coolies, and legal ordinances for binding and handing over the natives to the tender mercies of the proctors, and similar measures, were passed while measures for the relief of the cultivators from the oppression attendant on the system of levying the grain-tax in kind were allowed to fall stillborn; and other instances on which it is unnecessary further to dwell."

Not to lengthen these remarks unduly, it may be briefly pointed out that the causes conducing to the continuance of the injury inflicted on the poor by food-taxes and the harm to the people by the farming system, are due (a) to the culpable supineness of the Colonial office; (b) to the frequent changes of rulers of the island, and the chief officials, rendering a coherent and continued policy impossible; (c) the *dolce far niente* manner in which the budget is year by year introduced and the system of one period adopted *en bloc* for another; (d) the miserable apology for a legislature where

an overwhelming majority of officials sit, and where non-officials are nominated and have no responsibility towards the people they are supposed to represent ; (e) the subject believed to concern natives alone is not interesting enough for consideration in the English papers which, practically, represent the public opinion of the island ; (f) the backward state of the sufferers, being cultivators in the far interior, prevents their grievances being made known, their headmen being devoted to the official view of every question ; and (g) if the subject is ever mentioned, the cry is raised, 'the revenue that would thereby be lost cannot be spared in the present state of the colony, which is committed to public works of such magnitude that we dare not run the risk of having a deficit.'

It will be the aim of the writer, in the next division of this paper, to show that reform need result in no deficit, but that, on the contrary, righteousness and justice might be secured, the last vestige of farming iniquity removed, persons well-to-do, even wealthy, but now escaping taxation, made to pay a fair share towards the revenue, rice cultivation greatly relieved, but not altogether exempted, whilst the island Chancellor of the Exchequer would have as large a sum for annual disposal as now falls to his lot.

#### IV.—THE TAX TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE FOOD-TAX AND THE ABOLITION OF THE FARMING SYSTEM.

Fortunately this, which to the unthinking person who hears that it is proposed at one swoop to do away with one-sixth of the revenue may seem a task of great difficulty, has been made smooth and easy by two circumstances ; first, the experience gained in the great continent of India where similar circumstances exist ; and secondly, the labours of the one local Chancellor of the Exchequer who seems to have taken a broad and comprehensive view of the island's finance. No province in India is administered without a land-tax, and no impost could be more in consonance with native usages and the inherited tendency which still makes the people one with their forefathers. Ceylon has no such tax strictly speaking, though the revenue raised by paddy-taxes, rent of Government gardens, royalty on plumbago, &c., were all denominated land-revenue. An ordinary statement of revenue would lead the observer, familiar with Indian finance, to the belief that in India and Ceylon alike the land was uniformly made to bear a similar burden, but such is not the case. The committee of Colonial-office officials who, in London in 1847, reported upon Sir Emerson Tennent's report truly stated :

'A land-tax has ever been the foundation of Eastern finance, and is never objected to by the people, and the establishment of a fair and just land-tax upon sound principles would not only, in all probability, admit of the abandonment of many objectionable taxes, but

would conduce in other ways to the prosperity of the country, because a rightly-arranged land-tax would imply, as preliminary steps, the adjustment and demarcation of boundaries, the ascertainment and registry of actual possession, an accurate and detailed survey of all occupied land, and a record of the obligations imposed on and rights enjoyed by each person in actual possession of land together with an assessment of the tax leviable on each acre, the establishment of rules for the payment of the tax, and a system of accounts for preventing fraud and oppression ; precisely, in fact, what has been in British India.'

Sir Emerson Tennent himself had recorded his opinion on this subject in the following terms : "I propose that the land-tax in Ceylon should be acreable in its imposition, proportioned according to the recorded nature and valuation of the land, but so uniform in its character as to give the cultivator the best stimulus to exertion by securing to him the benefit of his own capital and improvements.

"So organized, and the payments restricted to a reasonable amount, proportionate to the wants of the Government, and its expense at the utmost never exceeding the limits of a moderate rent, I look upon a land-tax in the abstract as the most perfect of all means of revenue. In a poor country, especially, and where there are few sources of industry other than agriculture, I consider it to be of all others the most desirable, inasmuch as it possesses all the recommendations of a direct tax without its objectionable aspect. In reality it is only to the two extremes of society that direct taxation is appropriate, to the poorest and the richest, to the most illiterate and the most enlightened, to those who present no front for indirect taxation, and those who have the discrimination to perceive that direct taxation and indirect mean precisely the same thing.

"On this principle I recommend its entire applicability to Ceylon where the whole body of the community consists of these two divisions without interposition of a middle class. The more intelligent section will agree cheerfully to a tax upon land, when they are given to understand that it is to be expended for their advantage, and made the means of getting rid of duties and imposts of a more unsatisfactory kind ; and the cultivators and peasantry will readily submit to an arrangement which is to liberate them from the tyranny of the headmen and renters, and which they know to have obtained from time immemorial on the opposite coast of India."

The possibility and advisability of a land-tax being thus established out of the mouths of the parties most concerned in levying it, the Colonial office and the local Chancellor of the Exchequer, we may proceed to notice the applicability of the system to the present state of affairs.



A thoroughly trustworthy survey of the island has not yet been completed. The local authorities, hampered by the Colonial office, have never once taken up the work in earnest. Sufficient, however, is known of the acreage of the colony to enable a land-tax to be levied with comparative fairness, subject to subsequent correction when the long-talked-of Cadastral survey is completed. Indeed, thirty years ago, Sir Emerson Tennent considered that fairly good data were available to allow of the change in the system of taxation taking place. The extent of land in the island is over 12,000,000 acres, of which only about a-sixth is under cultivation, estimated as follows, in the case of coffee and kindred articles, the figures being almost absolutely exact, whilst there is doubt as to some of the others :—

	<i>Acres.</i>
Rice (paddy-cultivation) ...	700,000
Other grain (kurakkan, Indian-corn, &c.)	100,000
Coffee (European and native) ...	300,000
Tea ... ..	1,080
Cinchona ... ..	3,000
Cotton ... ..	500
Tobacco ... ..	17,000
Cocoanuts (European and native)	250,000
Arakanuts, Palmyra and Kitul Palms	70,000
Cinnamon ... ..	28,000
Cacao, cardamons and Edible roots	2,000
Other fruit-bearing trees ...	80,000
Pasturage, &c. ... ..	600,000
Total	<hr/> 2,151,580.

As has been already remarked, of the more than two million acres of cultivated land described above, only the seven hundred thousand under rice pay any direct tax to the Government. All the others are absolutely and entirely free of direct contribution to the revenue. In regard to the rice-lands, some slight element of doubt exists respecting a Government claim of ownership, inasmuch as it has never been sold out-and-out, as coffee-lands for instance have been. Private ownership, however, is recognised in rice-fields, as is evidenced in the varying proportions of produce claimed by Government, viz., one-tenth in some cases (private lands) one-half in others (Government property). At the most this is but a matter of detail, which is susceptible of easy arrangement by the island officials whose duty it is to consider and arrange these matters. Bearing this point of mixed and doubtful ownership in mind, the Colonial office committee in 1847 said : "In bringing forward this proposition, the Colonial Secretary has described with great clearness, and we have no doubt with perfect truth, the oppression and extortion committed under the system of farming out the annual assessment of rice and paddy-lands, the



discouragement which it causes to the cultivation of that description of produce, and the demoralization which tyranny and avarice on the one side, and cunning and deception on the other, necessarily create among all who are connected with it. It would be superfluous in us to repeat those objections, but we may state that we agree with him in thinking that the tax on rice and paddy-lands, so far as that tax depends on an annual assessment of the growing crop, is most objectionable in principle and ought to be abolished as soon as it may be possible, to substitute for it a general land-tax, based on a mixed calculation of the amount now paid for paddy and rice-lands, and the amount to be paid for other lands in the colony."

The loss to the revenue, based on the average of the past five years, by the abolition of the share of produce of rice-fields and of the tax on imported rice is

		Rupees *
Tax on Paddy (inland growth) average	...	8,00,000
„ Rice imported	...	13,00,000
Total	...	21,00,000

To meet this deficiency the following scale of taxation is suggested :

<i>Cultivation.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Rice (Paddy cultivation) ...	700,000	R 1.25=	875,000
Other grain (Kurakkan, Indian corn, &c.)	100,000	1.00=	100,000
Coffee (European and Native)	300,000	2.00=	600,000
Tea ...	1,080	2.00=	2,160
Cinchona ...	3,000	2.00=	6,000
Cotton ...	500	1.50=	750
Tobacco ...	17,000	1.25=	21,250
Cocoanuts (European and Native) ...	250,000	.50=	125,000
Arekanuts, Palmyra and Kitul Palms	70,000	.50=	35,000
Cinnamon ...	28,000	2.00=	56,000
Cacao, Cardamons and Edible roots	2,000	.50=	1,000
Other fruit-bearing trees ...	80,000	.25=	20,000
Pasturage, &c. ...	600,000	.50=	300,000
	2,151,580		Rs. 2,142,160

It will thus be seen that the change in form of taxation would leave no deficit, whilst it could not fail to be attended with great blessings. For instance, the monstrously evil system of farming taxes, which Mr. George Wall, in 1867, said would utterly break down after half-an-hour's debate in the House of Commons, would be altogether done away with, and the food of the people would be lightened of a great and pressing burden. In the case of a

\* A Rupee is locally valued at two shillings, and is divided into one hundred cents which gives 50 cents to represent eight annas ; 25 four-annas and so on.

cooly, such as has been cited in an early part of the paper, it would reduce his direct contribution to the revenue annually from nearly a month's wages to one week's. The rice-cultivator would find vexatious imposts at an end, and the possibility of cultivating his fields and reaping his produce without any extortion, and would thereby be stimulated to increase the productive power of his land, by deep ploughing and obtaining good seed. A stimulus would most certainly be given to cultivation.

At first sight it would seem as if an entirely new burden to the extent of Rs. 600,000, were to be laid upon coffee-estates, which stand on a slightly different footing from other lands, having been purchased outright from the Crown. Even if this were the case, it is submitted that such a tax would be in any sense only just. Undoubtedly, European coffee-cultivation has done great things in providing the people of the island with employment and bringing Ceylon into prominent notice. But Englishmen have reaped vast advantages therefrom, and there has been, and is, a steady drain of the wealth of the colony to England, where a large number of absentee landlords live in comfort, some in wealth. The wealth that is thus drawn from the island is in no way made to contribute to the revenue, there being no export-tax, and it has frequently been a subject of consideration among Ceylon publicists whether some means could not be devised to reach the income of the absentees. That, however, is a matter for future consideration. The proposal of this paper does not in any way deal with it. Under the change proposed, the coffee-planter would actually be in a better position than he is now. This will appear when it is explained that coffee-estate proprietors lay in stocks of rice from which they serve out weekly to their coolies, a certain quantity at a uniform price, irrespective of the fluctuations of prices in the local markets.

In times of scarcity, this leads very often to serious loss on the part of the proprietor. Upon him, rather than upon the estate cooly, does the import of 7*d.* per bushel on imported rice bear most heavily. Remove that, and he would have all the advantage under the present system of serving out that staple food, a system which seems likely to be perpetuated.

There are nearly 250,000 coolies employed in the estates, say, 230,000. The average supply of rice is three-quarters of a bushel per month. This gives as a result :—

230,000 coolies :	$\frac{3}{4}$ bushel of rice each per month,	
for 12 months	... ..	= 2,070,000
The tax of 30 cents per bushel upon the above		
would amount to	... ..	Rs. 621,000
Tax of Rs. 2 per acre as given above, yields	... ..	600,000
		<hr/>
Balance in favor of land tax over-tax on rice	... ..	Rs. 21,000

Coffee planters, therefore, could have no objection to the proposed change.

In this connection further reference may be made to one of the gross evils of civil administration in Ceylon, viz: the employment of unpaid headmen to perform revenue or other duties. A change in the mode of collecting the revenue under a new system would be necessary, and Sir Emerson Tennent's proposal is the best that can be devised. He remarks: "In the meantime it may be sufficient to say that I contemplate the collection of the land-tax, not by renters or middlemen, not by village authorities or local headmen, as on the continent of India, but through the direct instrumentality of the salaried officers of the government, removed from the temptation and stripped of the power of oppressing or defrauding the tax-payers. Taking the existing establishments of the government agencies and the officers under them as a basis, the number of assistant and tax-collectors may be so arranged as to insure the realization of the assessment at a moderate cost.

As matters at present exist, a premium is placed upon extortion and fraud. In the Kandyan provinces, the *Ratamahutneya* and other headmen are paid after a fashion thus described:—

Another consideration involved in a general land-tax has reference to the injudicious exemption which formerly prevailed generally, and is still partially maintained, by which the lands belonging to the native chiefs and headmen, *Modliars and Korales* are free from assessment. This was a feudal arrangement under the Kandian dynasty, perpetuated by their successors, in order to obtain the services of those officers without the direct payment of a salary. In the low country it has been to a great extent abolished, but in the Kandyan provinces it still obtains, and gives rise to much fraud and deception, as it is a general practice for the *Modliars and Korales* to claim exemption from taxes for the lands of their friends and dependents, under the pretence of their being their own. Besides, such a distinction is calculated to strengthen the pride of cast, and to perpetuate the ascendancy of a privileged class.

In the maritime province there is no payment whatever, or exemption from taxation. The very highest officials (*Mudaliyars*) only receive payment, and that on a miserably low scale. The consequence is, that wealthy men alone are selected to serve Government, and local rule is in the hands of a few families, with the result that the baneful influence of the Squire in the secluded English village is here exhibited to an extent that even the most backward district in great Britain cannot approach unto or conceive. No opportunity is given to merit, and a stereotyped state of society exists in a most lamentable degree.

This is recognised, but, as usual under the present form of Government in Ceylon, nothing is done to cope with it. Sir Charles Peter Layard, in 1867, wrote : "At the passing of the irrigation ordinance, I suggested the desirableness of making provision for the payment of headmen, and recommended that every headman appointed under that ordinance should be entitled to receive a remuneration equal to the value of one peck in each bushel of paddy produced, in the division to which he was appointed. I believed that this would not only have increased his interest in the cultivations he superintended, but also have precluded the necessity of his engaging in private business for subsistence, and all that I have seen and heard since has only confirmed me in the opinion, that for the prosperity of agriculture as well as of every other object of public concern the headmen should be paid."

Prompted by outside influences, and by questions asked in the House of Commons by Mr. T. B. Potter, M. P., Hon. Secretary of the Cobden Club, the subjects of revenue farming and food-taxes were brought forward in the Ceylon legislative council, in the session of 1876. The native members, the Hon. Sir Coomara Swamy (Tamil) and the Hon. James Alwis (Singhalese) bestirred themselves briskly, and a most stirring and interesting debate was the consequence. In the course of debate, the Queen's Advocate (the Hon. R. Cayley) made the significant remark that the food taxes were doomed. Government promised a commission of enquiry, which sat and took evidence in 1877. The commission reported most adversely against the continuance of the revenue farming system, and it is to be abolished; the question of food-taxes they avoided, beyond a passing condemnatory reference to a land-tax. It is probable that during the session of the Ceylon Legislature, commencing about the time that these pages go to press, the question of revenue farming will receive final treatment. At the last moment, a letter has reached me from Ceylon, in which the following fact is incidentally mentioned. "I had before me yesterday," says the writer, "a case which shows the facilities given by the ordinance to Government renters for the purpose of oppressing cultivators." A renter was entitled to only one-tenth of a dry grain crop on a paraveni land: he claimed one-half, contending that the land was a crown tenure. The cultivators refusing to give him more than one-tenth, he prosecuted them for breach of the ordinance. The ignorant cultivators were afraid to remove any portion of the crop from the field, pending the decision of the case, and the crop has been rotting in the field for the last five months. The cultivators were not only robbed of all the fruits of their labour, but they were subjected to the wrong and expense of defending themselves in a criminal case, simply because they resisted the extortionate demands of the renter.

Whatever may be the wisdom or unwisdom of general appeals to the British Parliament on matters of Indian concern, as regards the grievance described in this paper, the action was justified by the result. Had not the matter been brought to the notice of the Cobden Club, and by that body forced upon the attention of Parliament, the protests of island reformers in 1876 would have been as ineffectual as those which preceded them. Thanks, however, to simultaneous effort, in England and in India, the monstrous plan—beloved by Ottoman administrators—of farming the grain revenue, is being abolished. A further effort will be needed to remove the food-taxes : if energetically made, it would be equally successful.

WM. DIGBY.

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## A GOLD STANDARD WITHOUT A GOLD COINAGE IN ENGLAND AND INDIA—A STEP TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM.

**T**O distinguish between the spirit in which legislation is conducted in England and India, it may be said that enterprise rules the latter country, while compromise reigns at home. The Legislative Council of India is composed for the most part of experienced administrators, trained from early life in the art of governing, with a high opinion of the powers and responsibilities of the "service." It is their mission to bring into operation in India, principles and methods of government that have been found beneficial in the more advanced countries of Europe, and private interests are overborne for the benefit of the majority, while business routine in general is disturbed for improvement's sake, and an amount of temporary inconvenience occasioned all round, which would create grumbling at home, but which is endured with exemplary complacency by the subject-races in India, European and native, thanks to the intelligence of the one class, the patience of the other, and perhaps the helplessness of both. In England, on the other hand, the legislature is composed to a great extent of men who commence to take an active part in politics late in life, and are therefore imbued with a high respect for public opinion and private interest. They invariably prefer mild modifications to radical improvements, and have an instinctive distrust of novel expedients and State interference with private enterprise.

These distinctive features of English and Indian legislation are nowhere better exhibited than in the steps taken in the past for the improvement of the currencies of the two countries. A good system of currency is a boon to any country, and, as England, the greatest monied power in the world, will suffer or benefit in a greater degree than other nations, according as her monetary system is good or bad, we should expect to see her currency arrangements framed on the most approved scientific principles. On the contrary, the present system is a relic, to a great extent, of the dark ages, patched here and there to suit modern wants, but never wholly revised on a well-designed and complete footing. The superiority of a decimal system of accounts is very generally admitted, and the subject was brought before Parliament in 1824; but the inconvenience experienced during the period of transition is likely to make the change unpopular, and no Government has yet had the courage to propose the decimalisation of English money. The advantages of an international system of expressing accounts are universally acknowledged, and France has made repeated efforts to induce us to

adopt her scheme ; but John Bull prefers roast-beef to any French dish, however artistically cooked, and the English Government, though always willing to take part in any conference on the subject, will neither follow the lead of the French, nor start any fresh scheme. The Bank of England was established in 1694, and the earlier Acts relating to the paper currency were devised for the benefit of that institution, but they bear the impress of the conflicting interests that even then prevailed. The Act of 1708, for instance, did not give the Bank a monopoly of note-issuing, an arrangement that would have been consistent at all events, but enacted that, during the continuance of the Bank of England, no other Company or partnership exceeding six persons should issue notes payable on demand, thus forbidding strong Companies to issue notes, but granting the privilege to small partnerships. The Act of 1826 empowered co-partnerships of more than six persons to issue notes, but only at a distance from London of sixty-five miles, and the measure at present in force, Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1844, while it succeeded in arresting the dangerous development of banking liabilities on note-issues unrepresented by bullion, showed a slavish subserviency to the provincial banking interests then existing. The Act authorises the Bank of England to issue at present notes for £15,000,000 on depositing securities, and paying Government £200,000 per annum for this and other privileges. It also allows 166 provincial banks to issue notes to an extent aggregating £6,460,985, without providing security or making any payment whatever to Government ; and then the Act draws a hard-and-fast line, and declares that no further issues shall be made except by the Issue Department of the Bank of England against gold, which must be kept in deposit in that office, and not utilized in any way, however large the amount may become. There are thus three sets of notes, *viz*, a semi-State issue, oversecured and unprofitable *per se*; a leading bank issue, secured and lightly taxed ; minor bank issues, free of security, or expense, and untaxed. The Bank of England makes a nett profit of about £100,000 per annum only on its issues, and, as the notes are secured, there is less objection to the perquisite thus permanently bestowed on the corporation ; but it is difficult to understand why the State, the regulator and most acceptable issuer of notes, should over protect the semi-State notes of the Issue Department, and abandon all important profit realizable on the paper currency of the kingdom to certain banks, which by a happy accident were note-issuers on a certain month in the present century, and it is likewise inconsistent to strengthen the leading bank-issues by deposit of security while the minor bank-issues are left unsecured. The corresponding Acts for Ireland and Scotland, passed in 1845, exhibit even greater consideration for private interests, and increase the anomalousness of the British currency system.

In India currency notes were introduced into use by banks in the early part of the present century ; but in 1861 all the bank-issues were arbitrarily abolished, and a State-issue established on a well-designed footing. It is managed entirely by Government officers, and the profit is appropriated for State purposes. Notes are issued in denominations varying from Rs. 5 (9s.) to Rs. 10,000, and the reserve for conversion purposes is regulated neither on the unfixed deposit system in vogue in England before 1844, nor on the full deposit system of the London Issue Department, but on the fixed deposit method, which has lately been adopted by the Bank of Germany. The notes are made convertible at the office at which they are issued and also at the head-quarters of the Presidency to which they belong, and our enterprising administrators have attempted again and again to arrange for the encashment of all notes, indiscriminately, at all the principal seats of trade. In England, where an arrangement of the kind is feasible, no attempt has been made to introduce a universally convertible note, and a Bank of England note issued at Manchester is not made payable at Liverpool ; but large views prevail in India and coin is transferred from place to place, while cash is locked up in treasuries for conversion and issue purposes, and the circulation appears to increase enormously. These conversion arrangements, however, always break down when most wanted, and though the State is the best regulator, and most trusted issuer, yet a paper circulation can only be developed satisfactorily by means of loans and discounts, and it is thought in many quarters that our Indian doctrinaires were overhasty in assuming the management of the paper currency, and that Mr. Laing's proposals for the employment of banking agency in the mofussil should have been adopted.

It would be out of place, in a dependency like India, to take the lead in arrangements for an international currency, and the adoption of a decimal system, though advocated in various influential quarters, has been postponed for the present, as the mass of the people keep no accounts and would, it is thought, experience no benefit from the innovation ; but great changes have been made in the currency for the sake of uniformity. The legal tender coins circulating in British India are confined to silver and copper coins issued since 1835 ; and under the provisions of the Indian Coinage Act of 1870, rupees bearing the likeness of Her Imperial Majesty, and a few issued during the reign of King William IV, have displaced almost all others over the length and breadth of British territory ; while arrangements have been made to induce native States to adopt a rupee of the same weight, shape and intrinsic value. New copper coins are also speedily displacing the cowries and shapeless lumps of copper, formerly used by the poor ; and, as they are obtainable at all the Government treasuries and sub-

treasuries throughout the country, and are reconvertible into silver at par at these offices in parcels of the nominal value of not less than two rupees, they circulate freely in accordance with the wants of the people.

The Indian currency has, however, one grave defect, which the ingenuity, eclectic skill, and enterprise of our administrators have hitherto failed to remedy, viz., an unsuitable standard of value. India has a silver standard of value, while the great bulk of her commercial transactions are with countries possessing a gold standard. The State revenue is wholly realized and, to some extent, permanently settled in silver coins, while a large portion of the State expenditure is fixed in gold. The capital available for the development of her resources and the incomes of the many Europeans in the country are estimated in gold, and any divergence of the value of the two metals is injurious to the country. As long as the double standard system existed in France and other countries, the inconvenience of a silver standard was not experienced in India; but that equilibrating apparatus is no longer in operation, and, if our leading authorities in England are correct in their belief that a double standard system cannot be established on a permanent footing, it is evident that, as long as India retains a silver standard, her trade and finances are liable to be disturbed by frequent fluctuations in the value of silver relatively to gold.

The defects of the English currency system are now well understood, and the promise lately made by Sir Stafford Northcote, "to legislate in a broad and comprehensive way," will probably be carried out next session. Voluminous information on the subject has been collected by various select committees of the House of Commons, and it may be well to quote here some of the statements made by experienced bankers to the last committees which met in 1875.

Mr. Bagehot said: "I am afraid that the tendency of the country is increasingly to trade on a smaller and smaller reserve of legal tender money. It is economical for the bankers to hold their reserves in the Bank of England. The whole of the ultimate reserve is kept there, and the bank must hold enough for every body, or else it and every body stops. I should say that no part of our English or Scotch system could be maintained but for the reserve in the Bank of England. We all rest upon that. I see no legislative remedy whatever, and anxiety and incessant watchfulness are necessary."

He also said: "The Act of 1844 will not allow of the sale of private issues. If a private bank parts with its issue, it loses its circulation. I am afraid that has the effect of keeping up a certain number of private banks, which would otherwise have ceased to exist, and those may perhaps fail in time of panic."



On being asked, "Do you think that if there were a system under which the local banks could increase their issues as much as they pleased by depositing securities to an equivalent amount, it would have the effect of mitigating panics?" he said: "To some extent probably it would, but panic is so unreasonable a thing, that I do not know whether it would. The notes, though issued against securities, would be payable in legal tender notes or sovereigns, and each bank must hold a sufficient number of these to protect its own notes. I do not think that the circulations would be much increased in this way at times of scarcity of gold."

The superiority of £1 notes to gold coins, in the point of convenience as a medium for home payments, was generally admitted, and the Scotch and Irish bankers gave expression to the preference shown by their countrymen for small notes. Mr. Belton, manager of the Munster Bank, said: "The Irish people do not like the gold circulation at all." Mr. Palgrave of Gurney's Bank, a well-known authority on issue questions, said: "I think the Scotch banks are indebted to the small note circulation for the large circulation they possess, and that there can be no question that, if the English banks had the privilege of issuing small notes, their circulation would increase like the Scotch circulation."

The only important objection raised to the issue of £1 notes in England was, that they would decrease the gold circulation, and weaken the capacity of the country to meet a foreign drain; but there was great difference of opinion on this point, as the following remarks made by Mr. Jervoise Smith in reply to Mr. Anderson, M. P. for Glasgow, will show.

"If the gold is circulating through the country, how do you make it available for meeting a foreign drain?" "It becomes more valuable; it meets the case. It has been found to mitigate the pressure upon the central establishments in London. We believe it to be of great importance, so great that the issue of small notes in England was forbidden."

"That is an old story?" "Quite so; but it was in consequence of the value set upon having a gold circulation in the country."

"But you have not yet said what its effect is in meeting a foreign drain. Your position is that the gold circulating in the pockets of the English people helps you in a foreign drain. I want to know how that is, as I do not believe it myself?" "If there were nothing but notes in circulation, instead of a certain proportion of gold, the drain of gold from the banks would add an additional pressure to the foreign drain."

"In Scotland, where there is a circulation of nothing but notes has it that effect?" "I believe it has not been found so, except in one or two instances."



Many of the English bankers complained that the issue of £1 notes in Scotland and Ireland kept gold out of circulation in those countries, and threw upon England the burden of maintaining a reserve of gold for the protection of the banking liabilities of the sister countries, and the following remarks made by Mr. Palmer, Governor of the Bank of England, in reply to Mr. Orr Ewing are deserving of notice.

“Do you think that the banks in Scotland are not entitled to have the same privileges in relation to the Bank of England as banks in other portions of the empire?” “No; I think you have no title to them at all. So far as regards banking, the bill of 1845, which gave you great privileges, made you a foreign country.”

“Supposing that we have securities in England which we dispose of and come to you in a legitimate way to get gold for them?” “The only legitimate way in which you can come to us in a crisis is with bank notes in your hand, and then we will give you as much gold as you have in bank notes, but in this case you could not dispose of these securities, and you came to the Bank of England, especially in 1857, and you brought masses of bills to discount. Those bills were discounted, the notes were taken out of our till; you trust to our issue department, you cancelled the notes, and you took our sovereigns away to Scotland and we were compelled to suspend the Act of 1844. We could have refused you, but supposing we had refused you!”

“If it had not been a good transaction for yourselves, you would not have done it, would you?” “That is your mistake. You came at the very moment when everybody on all sides was driving, and your taking that gold from us broke our backs.”

This paper will make no attempt to discuss the defects of the English and Indian currency systems in an erudite or comprehensive manner; but will merely place before our readers a simple plan for obviating these defects, and securing great attendant advantages, which has occurred to one who has had opportunities of studying currency theories in their bearing on the actual working of different systems of currency, the most highly organized, as well as the most rude and barbarous.

The proposals made will be of a threefold nature. First, reform of the English currency without reference to India or other countries. Secondly, reform of the Indian currency without the assistance of England. Thirdly, a joint system of reform and step towards an international monetary system.

The fundamental change advocated is too novel to commend itself to most minds at first sight, because we are so accustomed to live in a groove, and to cling without thought to established arrangements, that any special feature in a system which has been

long and universally adopted, is apt to be considered indispensable, and beyond the pale of criticism; and it is only when some catastrophe leads us to examine and test all the parts of the machine, that we ascertain our mistake. And if the present difficulties of Indian finance will induce the "powers that be" to clear their minds of all prejudice, and revert to first principles, they will find that both currency systems might be improved by a simple expedient, enterprising enough to please our Indian administrators, and at the same time harmonizing with existing institutions in a way that will meet the views of our timid compromisers at home, though it will doubtless appear absurd and impracticable to those who pin their faith to our present coinage creed, and believe in the divine right of the sovereign.

The proposal is that the English mint shall stop the coinage of gold, and that the issue department of the Bank of England shall be authorized to recall all existing gold coins, and re-issue instead thereof notes in denominations of 10s. to £1,000, and shall continue to issue similar notes to all applicants against deposits of gold at the present ratio of £3-17-10½ per ounce, the notes to be reconvertible, not into coins, but into ingots, on demand at the same rate. The notes shall also be issuable on receipt of telegraphic messages from Colonial Governments or the Government of India, announcing receipt of gold or an equivalent amount of State money at these places; but these issues will be made, as hereafter explained, on terms that will encourage transactions on this footing only at times of pressure. Subordinate offices of issue will be established, if considered necessary, at ports from which gold is exported to any important extent, say at Liverpool, Glasgow, and Dublin; and the banks possessing at present the privilege of issuing notes might be offered the option either of continuing to issue their own notes up to the authorized limit, or of relinquishing their rights of issue on receiving an equal amount of the semi-State notes, consols to be deposited with Government as security for the advance of the semi-State notes, and an allowance to be made to Government for printing and renewing the notes. The subordinate silver and bronze coinage will be regulated on the same footing as at present, and the use of existing standard coins will not be prohibited; but all gold coins received by Government offices or the issue department will be withdrawn from circulation, and their place will be occupied by semi-State notes.

At first sight the suggestions will appear akin to old inconvertible currency notions; but if the reader, despite of the novelty of the proposals, will consider them in their bearings on all the various operations a currency has to perform, he will find that the arrangements contemplated, instead of introducing in-

convertible paper and restricted token money, will rather apply the convertible principle on a more extended, but safer, footing than at present. The currency will not be "close," but "automatic," will be more elastic than at present, and standard bullion, instead of being abolished as the basis of the paper currency, will be collected into a compact and visible reserve, forming a more solid foundation for the currency than existing arrangements can furnish. In fact the principles that guided Sir Robert Peel in his currency legislation will not be discarded, but will simply be applied on a fuller and more effective footing.

This will be perceived almost instinctively by those few exports who understand clearly the first principles of the science, and the actual requisites of currency media in a country like England ; but most men's knowledge of the subject is based on the machinery of the existing system supported by certain stock phrases, miscalled economic principles, and a whole string of these will be recalled that appear to condemn the proposals made. But if the reader will disabuse his mind of these inapplicable dogmas, and try to form an independent judgment on the merits of the scheme, we shall endeavour to assist him by specifying in the first place the true requisites of currency media, and in the second place by showing that they will be found in force under the arrangements proposed.

Money performs two distinct functions of high importance ;

( 1 ) It is a medium of exchange, and

( 2 ) A common measure of value.

Gold is generally admitted to be the most suitable standard of value, and the best medium for use in international payments, and the scheme proposed will retain gold for these purposes, keeping it in a convenient shape in a compact reserve, but will discourage or rather discourage the employment of it in the internal circulation, on the ground that paper, circulating at a fixed ratio to gold value, is the most convenient medium for making large home payments, and that silver and bronze coins, likewise maintaining equality of value with gold, are the best media for use in small payments ; while standard coins are cumbrous in the home exchanges and less suitable than bullion for use in the foreign exchanges, and full advantage of the law of convertibility cannot be taken till they are abolished.

The chief requisites of media for home circulation are, 1st.—Acceptability. 2nd.—Equality of value with gold, the common measure of value. 3rd.—Ready convertibility into gold for foreign payment purposes. 4th.—Self adjusting capacity.

1st —*Acceptability.* No Government, however despotic, can force its subjects to employ as money a medium commonly regarded as unsuitable and unreliable ; and we should be the

very last to recommend the attempt. The fact is, that our present currency laws prohibit the use in England of the best and most convenient medium, viz., small notes, though they sanction their employment in Scotland and Ireland; and we do not ask for prohibitive measures but rather wish to see them abolished, all we advocate being that Government will facilitate the employment of gold when gold is required, and encourage the use of notes when notes are most suitable. The issue of small notes in England and Wales was prohibited in 1826 avowedly for fear lest they should drive gold out of circulation, and again in 1828 the use in England of Scotch and Irish notes had to be prohibited. The Scotch and Irish, the most thrifty and unthrifty of the four nationalities, unanimously prefer paper, and all experience tends to prove that a well-regulated and reliable paper currency would speedily surplant the present gold currency. In England many people, under habits engendered by the laws at present existing, will at first doubtless cling to the use of gold; and all we propose is that private preferences of this nature shall not be pampered at the public expense. Miserly minds may feel pleasure in the employment of gold coins; but it is absurd that a luxury of this kind should be paid for out of the public purse. Our paper money must be convertible, but it should be converted into standard metal in the shape of ingots, or any other rude form that may be selected; and the State, instead of defraying the cost of gold coinage as at present, should do all in its power to discourage the employment of expensive media in the home exchanges. Private predilections are not considered in the manufacture of postage stamps and other corresponding arrangements, and notes, silver and bronze coins, meet all legitimate monetary wants.

2nd.—*Equality of value with gold.*—The notes, silver and bronze coins, will be maintained at their fixed purchase value under the effective law of convertibility. Prices will be quoted relatively to gold, and gold will be the general measure of value.

3rd.—The gold will be held in a compact and convenient form at the principal ports of export, and the amount will be known to all. A foreign drain will lead to the withdrawal and encashment of notes, and will tighten the money market, as at present, but will not otherwise disturb operations; and money will flow in and out of the country for banking purposes on the most elastic footing possible.

4th.—*The quantity of the currency will be regulated automatically* on its present footing, in harmony with existing habits and institutions. The notes will be purchaseable on demand by depositing gold in the issue department, and will be convertible into gold at any time at that office, and there will consequently be a tendency



in the notes to remain in circulation only to the extent the country may require. The Bank of England will continue to hold the reserves of the other banks, and the balance of its banking department will consist of semi-State notes, and will be watched as the best indicator of fluctuations in the demand either for internal circulations or for foreign payments. The proportion between the cash balance and the liabilities will be preserved in the same manner as at present, the bank's rates of discount will continue, of necessity, to be governed by the demand made upon its till. The directors will continue to watch the foreign exchanges for guidance in these matters, and full play will be allowed to all the forces and influences by which transitions from cheap to dear money are regulated. The change from gold to paper media will be made gradually. There will be no break in commercial routine, and no man's means will be menaced.

Various objections, no doubt will occur to many minds; but, for the most part, they will be akin to the historic cow that formed a pretext for a protest against the introduction of railways, and those which will probably carry most weight will be considerations connected with the "drain of gold."

This is one of those stock phrases, which amateur economists like to flourish over the heads of all currency reformers; and as authorities of the calibre of Mr. Anderson and Mr. Jervoise Smith, differ upon the simple point, as to whether gold coins circulating in the pockets of the people assist the nation in meeting a foreign drain, it will be easily understood how plain minds are posed by the antics ascribed to this currency bogie. A country whose currency consists wholly of gold coins is, of course, in a favourable position to meet a demand for the export of gold; but a country whose currency consists wholly of paper represented by full equivalent deposits of gold, like the semi-State notes of the issue department of the Bank of England, is in an equally favourable position to meet such a demand. And when currencies are mixed, *i.e.*, when they consist of gold coins, semi-State notes protected by deposits independent of banks, and bank notes encashable only out of bank deposits, it is obvious that it is a matter of indifference whether the circulation consists mostly of gold coins or of semi-State notes. And it is the country that has most in the aggregate of both or either of these media, and fewest pure bank notes, that *cæteris paribus* is best fitted to meet a foreign drain; and therefore, paradoxical though it may appear to many minds, the country under the new scheme, even while holding less gold, will improve in its capacity to meet a drain, because the £15,000,000. Bank of England notes, and probably other issues at present encashable out of banking reserves, will become semi-State notes, and will be encashable by the issue department; and



the reserve of gold in that department will be found, as hereafter explained, to exceed greatly the stores of unused coins, hitherto held in banking hands, and available for export. The gold coins circulating in the pockets of the people, no more assist England in meeting a foreign drain, than does the iron composing machinery, and other articles of use assist in furnishing material for machinery abroad; and for all practical intents and purposes the cash balance of the banking department of the bank of England is, at present, the only reserve of gold available for export. All spare legal tender media possessed by bankers are stored there, and bankers are the only important bullion exporters.

This brings us to the advantages that will be secured by the adoption of the scheme proposed.

*1st—The use of gold will be economised.*—It is obvious that, as all gold coins will be recalled and provincial bank notes will be made convertible into semi-State notes, while the latter will be convertible only into ingots, which are inconvenient media for use in home payments, gold will gradually disappear from circulation and all will be collected in the issue department. A few obstinate, poor people may cling to the use of half-sovereigns, and a few wealthy and stupid folk may indulge in the luxury of locking up ingots; but these individuals will in time pass away like their predecessors who objected on principle to set foot in a railway carriage; and our descendants will look back with amazement at the days when the nation locked up 100 millions sterling in metallic counters while a more convenient and inexpensive material was available. To make use of gold coins in order to provide for a foreign drain, will appear to them as absurd as to insist on every one walking about with a passport in his pocket for fear he should be obliged to go abroad some day; and all really necessary to arrange is, that all who hold legal tender media shall be able to convert them into gold whenever they require to make foreign payments or send capital abroad, and find it more profitable to do so by shipping gold than by remitting bills or goods. And this brings us to the important question respecting the amount of reserve that should be retained in the issue department under the new system.

Professor Jevons estimates the amount of gold coinage in the United Kingdom at £111,000,000, and Mr. Henrichs, the other great authority, puts it slightly higher; and there can be little doubt that the circulation of semi-State notes will be greater, because notes, being lighter than coins, and more easily traced when lost, will be more largely employed, and we may predict a circulation of £140,000,000 inclusive of the £15,000,000 Bank of England notes at present unrepresented by deposits of gold. There will therefore be £125,000,000 of gold bullion in the hands of the nation, upon which demands will arise only

when holders of legal tender media require ingots either for hoarding or export purposes. Now, however strong demands of this kind may be at times experience shows that the great bulk of the legal tender media is absolutely necessary for internal circulation, and it is only unused cash that is available for hoarding and export ; and all intelligent bankers will perceive that, under the proposed system, as under the old, the only depository in the country of legal tender media, available either for exceptional home demands or for export, will be the cash balance in the banking department of the Bank of England and that the " apprehension point in that department, say 15 millions sterling, is an ample reserve for the new issue department. As the semi-State notes will represent gold, they will always be kept down at the lowest quantity required to meet the cash requirements of the nation, and any curtailment of the circulation will set at work the forces which at present lead to the export of goods instead of gold in payment of foreign debts. At first it would be desirable to fix the reserve at a much higher figure, but ultimately the nation will find itself in possession of £110,000,000 spare capital, that would otherwise be spent in cumbrous and unnecessary metallic tools. The interest on this sum at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent is no less than £3,850,000 per annum ; and as Professor Jevons estimates the annual loss by abrasion of gold coin at £48,000, and the reduction in the mint expenditure will exceed the additional expenditure incurred by the issue department, the aggregate profit by this branch of the scheme proposed may be estimated at £3,900,000, which would suffice to redeem one-seventh of the national debt.

2ndly—*People will have the option of using paper money of the denomination that best suits them*, and will not be worried by deductions on account of light coin, or delay in coinage, which is at present so great that people in general prefer to sell their bullion to the Bank of England at about  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent under the mint price.

3rdly.—*By abolishing minor bank issues the scheme will remove a source of danger at times of banking discredit*, and will enlarge the ordinary legal tender circulation of the country.

In no country is the ratio of legal tender money to the banking liabilities so small, as it is in England ; amongst these banking liabilities the most dangerous are the notes of the minor banks. Depositors are voluntary creditors of a bank, and as a rule satisfy themselves of its reliability before they entrust it with their funds ; but notes pass from hand to hand without enquiry, and the holders are consequently the first to take alarm at times of banking distrust. If these bank issues did not exist, their place would be occupied by legal tender coin, and, therefore, they not only increase the banking liabilities but decrease the legal tender circulation of the

country, and thus have a two-fold effect in decreasing the ratio of the legal tender money to the banking liabilities; and besides, as these banks at times of pressure are obliged to increase their stock of Bank of England notes or sovereigns, they are guilty of the unpardonable delinquency of curtailing the legal tender circulation at times when it is most in demand. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech on the panic of 1866, on the 31st July of that year, said: "Why is the rate of discount charged by the Bank kept up at 10 per cent? It is because of the limited condition of its reserve. And why is the reserve so limited? Because of the immense demand consequent upon banking discredit, the immense demand made upon the notes and coin of the Bank." But under the scheme proposed all the smaller banks of issue will find it advantageous to relinquish their rights of issue in lieu of an equal amount of State notes to be granted them against a deposit of consols, and it will be only the larger banks, which publish accounts and are in a position to maintain the absolute confidence of the public, that will elect to retain their privileges of issue, and to compete with the State in this business.

4thly.—*The scheme proposed will prevent panics caused by a scarcity of legal tender media.*

It is of course impossible to obviate direct results of trading at a loss, and those who embark in unprofitable speculations are bound to suffer; but the crying evil of the present system is, that, at a time of commercial discredit, the stability of the soundest firms and banks is endangered. At such times all parties are obliged to increase their till-money and hold of legal tender media, and, under the present system, the more each individual secures himself, the greater is the difficulty experienced by others in adopting protective measures, and the greater becomes the general danger. The fact is that, as long as standard coins exist, and the public have the option of employing either paper or gold as currency, the Government must be in a position to meet any preference that may be exhibited for gold coins, and must limit the issue of legal tender paper in fixed proportion to the amount of gold actually on the spot, and deposited; but if gold were demonetised any exceptional demand for currency might be met in the absence of gold, and it would merely be necessary to arrange that, on the subsidence of the demand, the extra money should retire again to its old quarters. This might be accomplished by authorising the Issue Department, instead of selling notes on receipt of telegraphic messages from Colonial Governments, or the Government of India, announcing receipt of gold, or an equal amount of State money at these places, to advance against these funds charging interest at the rate of 10. per

cent. per annum ; and, as the extra demands would thus be met by contracting the currencies of India and the Colonies, the money on performing its work in England would immediately return to re-fill the void existing at its old quarters. Under this system, all ordinary additions to the currency would be made, as at present, by importing gold from the Continent and elsewhere for the purchase of State notes ; but at times of sudden pressure the Bank of England reserve, though it would be the cheapest, would not be the only source of relief, seeing that the Oriental and other exchange banks would be in a position to deposit funds with the Indian and Colonial Governments, and obtain notes from the State office for the assistance of all parties in a position to furnish adequate security. These pressures develop suddenly and subside as speedily, and, as it is not money that is wanted, as a rule, but merely the knowledge that funds will be available if required,—no such panic would be possible under the new scheme. In India there are three reserves, the Government funds and exchange bank balances being divided among the three Presidency Banks, and Mr. Bagehot believed that a similar arrangement would be desirable in England ; but the new scheme, instead of forming a few local reserves, all liable to adopt the same course of action, gives England the benefit of all the Indian and Colonial reserves. It would relieve the Bank of England of many unwarrantable demands made upon it at present, and would afford all sound firms and institutions outside support at times of general local discredit.

Lastly, it would remove all grounds for objection on the part of English bankers to the Scotch and Irish systems, which would be modified by the use of State notes, as reserves, instead of sovereigns ; and, as Government would be in a position to publish accurate information respecting the extent and movements of the currency, while all the mechanism would move with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of expense, the money market would be regulated, and industries in general conducted with a success hitherto unattainable.

With regard to India, the proposal for a silver currency on a gold standard was first made in a letter to the *Statesman*, dated 28th May 1876, which appeared in that paper on the 30th idem ; and the scheme, in its applicability to both England and India, was explained in a letter to the "*Bullionist*," dated the 5th December following. The idea has been taken up in various quarters, notably by Colonel J. T. Smith, formerly mint-master at Calcutta and Madras, and has been noticed favorably by the "*Banker's Magazine*" and other authoritative journals.

The proposals were simply to the effect that Indian mints should cease to issue rupees against equivalent silver bullion presented by the public, and should issue them instead to all appli-



cants without limit against receipts (in the form of council bills, Colonel Smith suggests) for sterling money made over at a State office in London at the rate of 2s. per rupee; that when the temporary restriction of coinage under this arrangement had once raised the value of the rupee to 2s., rupees should be convertible at Indian mints into sterling orders on the London Office, at the rate of 1s.-11d. per rupee; that the silver bullion required for coinage, should be purchased in the open market by the Indian Government; and that a duty equivalent to the extrinsic value of the rupee should be placed on the import of silver by parties other than government.

The efficiency of a currency on this basis will be recognized by all those who admit that a gold standard could be maintained in England without a gold coinage; but the convertible principle is not so profitable when applied to a metallic token currency as to a paper circulation: and though all will acknowledge that, had the government of India been prepared to sell rupees to all comers at 2s., and drafts on London to all applicants at 1s.-11d., the Indian exchange, foreign and inland, would have both worked smoothly: yet few will understand how government could have performed the latter operation with profit. The question, however, as far as the past three years are concerned is no longer a matter of prediction, but of fact, and the statistics and calculations that support this affirmation will shortly be made public. The drafts at 1s.-11d. would not have been offered for sale until exchange had, under the stoppage of coinage, reached 2s., and seeing that the exchange banks would then have been steady purchasers of rupees at that price, the rupees taken over at 1s.-11d. would have been immediately resaleable at 2s., and there would have been a profit on the sale of the drafts of about 4 per cent. had the public been foolish enough to buy them. The only risk in the matter was, lest, by some magical metamorphosis, Indian trade should be revolutionized and her currency should become redundant; but even then, seeing that sterling money might have been borrowed in London at 4 per cent, had the redundancy lasted three months only, the rupees taken over at 1s.-11d. would have yielded a profit of 3 per cent when re-issued, if six months, then 2 per cent, and so on. Rupees not reissueable for two years would have entailed a loss of 8 per cent; but any such risk of expense was no excuse for inaction, seeing that the State loss on exchange is at present £3,000,000 per annum; and the indirect evils of an unstable exchange are incalculable, while it is beyond dispute that eventually the currency of India, metallic and paper, must yield enormous profit to the State under the convertible principle. Colonel Smith, the most experienced Indian authority on currency questions, instead of fearing a redundancy, goes to the opposite



extreme, and makes no provision whatever in his scheme for such a contingency. He also appears to think it unnecessary to discourage private importation of silver by the imposition of an import duty, though this arrangement would equalize the coin and bullion value, and impede illegal coining; and so strong is his faith in demand for currency in India, that in March last, in an able paper read before the society of Arts in London, he attempted to prove that the Indian currency might still be reinstated in its old value, simply by stopping the coinage and issue of rupees against equivalent quantities of silver, and by issuing them only in payment of council bills, the rate for which he proposed to raise gradually till it reached 2s., after which similar bills were to be sold to all comers to full extent, applied for at that price. "And then nothing more would be required except that the Secretary of State should send out to India silver purchased with the money received in excess of the requirements of the Home Treasury. The change of standard would then be accomplished and there would be an absolute end to all the uncertainty and losses hitherto experienced." Colonel Smith, it is to be feared, under-estimates here the effects of the flood of cheap silver coins with which India has lately been deluged, and the change that has already occurred in the value of gold and other articles of import and export.

The currency would be inconvertible, on the footing he advocates; and, with a difference of about 10 to 25 per cent. between money import and export points, remitters would be entirely in the hands of the banks. A few exchange banks might combine, and, after entering into large engagements for advance dates, might create a temporary artificial fluctuation that would ruin less powerful operators. This danger would be obviated by the arrangement for the sale of Government drafts on London at 1s. 11d. proposed by the writer in April and May 1876: but the simple expedients that would have answered two years ago are no longer applicable, and any convertible scheme would now require to be backed up by a very large reserve of sterling money. Like many enterprising people, India would require a wealthy partner with a large surplus capital to insure the success of her undertaking. She might start a currency shop on convertible principles with every prospect of selling, in time, coins to the extent of five millions sterling annually at a profit of from 10 to 20 per cent., besides saving expense on exchange and heavy indirect losses, and with a further prospect of ultimately getting command of 180 millions sterling by merely circulating paper notes; but enormous capital is required to keep the machinery at work during slack seasons, and unless she can get her friend John Bull to go shares in the spec, the business will be liable to collapse at any moment, and this brings us to the third proposal.

We have just heard that, at the request of the United States, the French Government has addressed an invitation to Foreign Powers to attend a Monetary Congress to be held in Paris, and we wonder whether it will occur to the dignitaries there assembled, that an international system of accounts might be easily established, if standard coins were abolished. There is really little advantage to be gained by an International coinage scheme, because a uniformity in the weight and intrinsic value of coins will not remove or even modify exchange fluctuations such as those existing at present between two countries possessing open gold coinages—France and England, for instance—the cost of conveying the coins from place to place and the loss of interest during the period of transmission being items of charge ; and the sole important object to be aimed at by an Internal Monetary Congress is the adoption of uniformity or similarity in the mode of expressing values, so that everyone will be able to comprehend at a glance the prices and amounts quoted in foreign accounts and trade circulars. It must therefore be plain to all that, if standard coins were abolished and notes and coins bearing extrinsic value only remained, the task of a Monetary Congress would be a simple one, seeing that, the principal corresponding coins, named in accounts, might be assimilated in value by simply adjusting the extent of the extrinsic value to be imposed according to the rise in value necessary to make the coins representatives of the same quantity of gold. For example, if a currency note purchaseable by, and convertible into, gold bullion, equivalent in value to 9s. sterling were selected as a common unit of accounts between the Latin convention, England and India, the object desired might be achieved simply by enacting, that in the future, ten francs, ten shillings, and five rupees should each be the legal tender equivalent of that note, and that these amounts of currency, instead of being issued as at present, should, in their respective countries, be purchasable by, and convertible into, gold bullion of the specified quantity on demand. The nations that use francs at present would make no change whatever in their mode of reckoning or expressing accounts ; and the only change in English habits would be that pence would be styled “twelfths,” while in India each rupee would appear as two eight-anna pieces, and, the present absurd pie column being abolished, pice would appear as fractions of annas which would be styled “eighths,” For instance :

Present English Style.    New English System.    New Indian System.    Old Indian Style.

		Francs Twelfths		Francs Eighths		Rs. As. P.		
s.	d.							
4	6	=	4 : 6	=	4 : 4	=	2	4 0
4	9	=	4 : 9	=	4 : 6	=	2	6 0
4	1½	=	4 : 1½	=	4 : 1	=	2	1 0
4	2½	=	4 : 2½	=	4 : 1½	=	2	1 6

Very little education would be required to translate the above figures into the price language of Switzerland, France, Belgium and Italy, the transition being simply a conversion of vulgar fractions into decimals, thus dividing the twelfths and eights by twelve and eight respectively, we get :

Francs

4.5

4.75

4.125

4.1875

and all in the habit of perusing foreign trade circulars or statistical reports would be able to translate francs at a glance into our monies, simply by multiplying the decimal fractions by twelve in England and eight in India.

In relation to commodities English money would, under these arrangements, fall about ten per cent, and French money would be raised about 11 per cent., while rupees would recover part of their late fall, and would maintain for the future a fixed value of 1s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; but any inconvenience suffered from these temporary fluctuations in prices would be well repaid by the permanent advantages secured. The trade operations between the countries would be greatly facilitated and all would be mutually benefited. Our English statesmen may or may not see fit to impose this temporary sacrifice on the English people for the sake of stimulating trade with the foreign countries named; but all will admit the desirability of establishing a uniform monetary system for England, her colonies and dependencies. This can be arranged without altering prices in England, or occasioning inconvenience of any kind, and with great profit, by confining the currency media to notes and token coins issued wherever wanted, but made purchasable by, and convertible into, gold in London, at fixed rates, on demand, all the gold being collected in one great reserve in London, the centre of the banking world, which would thus become a central clearing-house for settlement of the foreign accounts of all the countries interested. Paper currency theorists are at present represented chiefly by two extreme schools. One holds that all notes issued should be represented by a full equivalent amount of coins kept in deposit for their encashment, while the opposite party advocate a paper currency entirely free of a metallic basis; and as the scheme now proposed takes a stand between these parties on a line drawn deeply and clearly by a universal economic law, and proposes a maximum and concentrated bullion deposit for foreign payment purposes, and the discouragement of the employment of material value in the home circulation, it may meet the views of both parties. The fact is, that paper money, small silver and bronze

## 838 *A Gold Standard without a Gold Coinage, &c.*

coins, are the most convenient media for use in home payments, but gold is the international medium of payment and common measure of value ; and, in order to prevent unnecessary disturbance between home and foreign prices, and with the object of facilitating the settlement of foreign payments and expediting the import and export of money for banking purposes, it is necessary to make the home media purchasable by, and convertible into, gold on demand at a fixed rate. The gold should not be in the shape of coins, but kept in one reserve in a form convenient for export, and unadapted for home payment purposes. In olden days an arrangement of this kind would have been undesirable, as an irresponsible ruler might have appropriated the reserve for private purposes, and it was necessary to keep the standard bullion, required as a basis for the currency, scattered abroad in the pockets of the people ; but the reserve proposed would be as safe as the bullion now stored in the Issue Department of the Bank of England.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that there has been a tendency of late years, on the part of the leading commercial nations, to adopt a gold standard of value ; and as, the more prices are ruled by gold, the more objectionable a silver standard will become, unless the double standard system can be established on a stable footing, all nations will eventually be obliged to place their currencies on a gold basis ; and, unless some compensatory measures are devised, prices generally will be seriously disturbed by the increasing demand for gold coins. But if the recommendations made in this paper are put in practice, gold will be released to meet its extended use as a standard of value, and England will lead the way to the general adoption of a gold standard, and show how a universal system of expressing accounts can best be arranged.

A. M. LINDSAY.

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## INDIAN FINANCE AND FAMINE TAXATION.

(Independent Section.)

1.—*Direct Taxation for India—The great financial blunder.* Bombay : Thacker, Vining and Co. 1871.

2.—*Supplement to the "Gazette of India," February 9th 1878. Appointment of a Commission to investigate certain questions connected with Famine Relief Administration.* Superintendent Government Printing, 8, Hastings' Street.

3.—*Rural Bengal.* By W. W. Hunter, B. A.

4.—*Philo Indicus' Letters.* "Times of India," and "Pioneer."

WE have before us a small pamphlet on taxation, entitled "Direct Taxation for India—the great Financial blunder;" and as taxation, owing to the recent famine of 1877, is not without special interest at present, we shall briefly touch on the subject. The pamphlet covers twenty pages, which are discreetly veiled under the guise of anonymous authorship. We will not say that this modest pamphlet could be justly praised for the vein of elegant scholarship which runs through its pages; for the boldness of its views; for the graceful style of expressing those views, or for the knowledge which the author displays of the proper principles of taxation. But what we shall concede is, that we entirely concur with the author's views in advocating indirect taxation. In India every thing is changeable, and the unforeseen is always the most difficult to grapple with. But five years ago the ordinary expenditure of this empire amounted to fifty-seven millions; and the income was considerably in excess of that amount. Then followed two disastrous famines and a cyclone, to be overshadowed by a still more widespread distress. We have all read of those weird rites of the ancient Mexicans, by which they represented in the most lively manner the cruel irony of the fate that lurks behind the most prosperous destiny. They selected from among their youth the best endowed with all the qualities of mind and body; they raised him above others; they surrounded him with pomp; they sated him with pleasure; they paid him the highest social deference. But at the end of the year they offered him up as a sacrifice to their sanguinary idols. Thus, it might be said, have the Fates treated India. A year had not elapsed when the pomps and pageantries at Delhi and the sound of its rejoicings were echoed by that long wail of distress which might have been heard from the rocky fastnesses of the Concan to the sanded shores of Madras. A recent writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that the Government of India is, if any thing, overdone. So far as legislation and taxation are concerned, his



## 840 *Indian Finance and Famine Taxation.*

assertion is correct. As it is not possible to legislate homogeneously for all India, so it is not possible to have the same forms of taxation for all this wide empire. Its population is one-fifth of the whole human race. Whether in legislating or imposing fresh taxes, it is not a province to be dealt with, but an empire. Both tasks are laborious, and in both as much uniformity should be secured as possible.

Take legislation. There are few persons except law students, who can fairly recognise the voluminous nature of the Acts which year after year have been added to the laws of India.

It may be said of the Governor-General's council as was once said of the men who occupy the time-honored benches of Westminster Hall—

“ Their aim is always justice, their delight  
To render law commensurate with right,  
Their bent to make, thus taught in Wisdom's school,  
Our law progressive, like the realms they rule.”

But however pleasant the occupation of framing laws, and of adding to the already massive legacy of indigested Acts and unmat-  
tured regulations, some restrictions should be placed upon the tendency, which year after year manifests itself in the council chamber, to enter on hasty innovations, and to increase the bulk of that legal legacy which has been left to India by each successive Governor-General. Year after year the same Acts appear to issue from the Government Press at Calcutta, with modern adaptations, and often altered only in an occasional section. As Tennyson says :

“ The old order changeth, giving place to new,”  
but the changes are scarcely beneficial to the public.

The same remarks would apply to Indian taxation. Direct taxation since the Mutiny has increased. And yet there have been no wars, no long periods of stagnation of trade—of grave financial embarrassments arising from unusual depressions in commerce. With the exceptional famine seasons which we shall notice presently, India has had uninterrupted peace, and the imports and exports have vastly increased. Nor, during the past twenty years, has any great portion of the Indian national debt been paid off. But if there have not been any wars since the Mutiny, there has been material progress;—railways, roads, and irrigation works have been multiplied and extended, and even the Financial Department, so often blamed by the English and the Indian Press, has endeavoured to give the country an improved system of accounts and a better system of currency for its local requirements. The introduction of a gold and silver currency, uniform with the gold and silver currency of Great Britain, has not yet been hazarded. It is to be hoped that such a currency will be

given to India, and that the incubus of exchange, which has so heavily pressed on all public and private monetary transactions between England and India, will be removed.

\* The introduction of a gold sovereign currency may at present appear hazardous. But so was it thought of a paper currency fifteen years ago, until Mr. Wilson shewed that its introduction was as easy as its use was profitable.

What was said of the Bank Act might with equal force and consistency be repeated of the currency system in India. Every one remembers the elaborate speech made by the late right hon'ble Mr. James Wilson, Financial member of the Governor-General's council, on the introduction of his currency bill. The bill was passed in India, like the Bank Charter Act in England, because few understood its details. The member who brought forward the bill was thought to understand the question, and the bill was carried and made into law. Whatever the principles of the bill might have been, it was decided without being judged, and there was no council on the opposite side to oppose the special pleading which was employed in its advocacy. In one sense the then members of the council by their silence, acted judiciously, for Mr. Wilson, as an economist, was decidedly one of the best who ever had any connection with the Financial Department.

Mr. Wilson was known to the English public, and was acknowledged even in India as a man of great abilities. He had, by indomitable perseverance and by large talents, raised himself from the position of a mercantile clerk in London to the high and dignified position of Chancellor of the Indian exchequer. As the editor of the *Economist* newspaper, which had been projected by Earl Radnor, he had already distinguished himself in a field in which aptitude and knowledge of a special nature were necessary. As a writer on the Corn Laws his arguments were conclusive; and his reasoning was irresistible. Long after the Anti-Corn Law League had gained its victory, the pages of the *Economist* were full of clever articles on financial subjects from his pen. Subsequently, as the representative in the House of Commons of the constituencies of Wiltshire, he shewed his grasp of questions which were not easily understood, and "a facility in figures" which may be reckoned among natural gifts. On abstruse financial questions, he could always write with lucidity and brilliancy. He could write with case on subjects which few had mastered, and could commit the solution of difficult problems to paper with a masterly pen. In his speech on Currency Reform, he placed before the public a clear exposition of the financial policy of the Government of India, and stated that, while the Government and himself were deeply imbued with the necessity of taking stringent and bold measures for checking expenditure,

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they were at the same time bound to give the country reforms of the greatest possible efficiency, reforms which would affect the public convenience and secure a large measure of good. In the currency system of India, he found the Government had to deal with a network of unsound practice, and of existing interests which stood in their way. Administration up to then had, so far as the Indian currency was concerned, effected nothing. Before he could make his bill intelligible, he had to lay down some of the first axioms as to the nature and character of currency. And in one respect he was admirably fitted to instruct the Government. He was, as an economist, more deeply read than any of those who, as financial secretaries, had preceded him as the directors of Indian finance. He knew better than most financiers that the management of the Indian public debt was not on a satisfactory footing. He knew that the metallic currency of India was too limited for trade requirements. He was aware that the time had arrived for the introduction of a supplementary paper currency. Indeed, it was not only in Mr. Wilson's time that grave inconvenience from a limited currency was experienced by the public. The past financial history of India from the time of our first acquisition of India, is replete with signal instances in which trade has been retarded and the public credit damaged owing to a limited currency. In 1786, Lord Cornwallis was the first to see the necessity of urgent fiscal reforms in this respect. In May 1780 all the shops in South-western Bengal were reported to be shut, because the country had been drained of its silver coinage. In 1773, Warren Hastings had found a debased and fluctuating coinage, from which a heavy percentage used to be deducted by native treasury officials whenever coin had to be paid into the treasuries. - A few years earlier, Mandeville, writing of the Emperor's fiscal arrangements, states "that for the payment of imperial revenues so great is the annual remittance of the metals from Bengal to Delhi, and so largely are the metals absorbed, that there is hardly currency enough left in Bengal for the purposes of trade, for provisions, or for the necessities of life." In the selections from the official Gazettes reprinted lately, and which give us some idea of the state of English society in Bengal in those early days, we find that there is one signal instance on record in which the entire mercantile community expressed their grievance, and demanded official redress. "At present\* the distress is so great," wrote the English inhabitants of Calcutta in 1769, "that every merchant is in danger of becoming a bankrupt or running a risk of ruin by attachments on his goods. There remains not sufficient (currency) for the occasions and intercourse of commerce. The fair and honest dealer is

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\* *Vide* this instance quoted by Dr. Hunter in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*.

every day prosecuted to judgment in the courts without remedy, from the impossibility of obtaining payment from his debtors. He is thus urged by his necessity to involve himself in expensive suits, he is forced to defend in order to gain time, though sensible of the justice, and desirous to pay the demand, and he is driven to a hasty prosecution in hopes to recover before judgment passeth against himself, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingness to pay as soon as he is able. His substance in this manner is wasted, and the distress which follows is too obvious and moving to need description." The well-known petition of the Armenian merchants settled in Calcutta put the case in those days even more forcibly. "The necessity of coin now felt in this capital," wrote they, "amongst the many intolerable evils arising from it, affects every individual to that degree that the best houses, with magazines full of goods, are distressed for daily provisions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, but a real famine in the midst of wealth and plenty." But not only was there a limited currency, but also a debased metallic currency. No recognized standard of a single mint existed to regulate the value of coined money on our first acquisition of India. The coinage was then vitiated to an extent to which credence could scarcely be given in the present day. Complicated and vexatious rules fixed the rates of the market exchange. In addition to every possible sort of debased, drilled or scooped, silver coins, copper coins of every variety were forced on the markets. Iron, beaten up with brass, was often offered in exchange for the well-known modern pice. "Thirty-two different kinds of coins, from the sicca to the viziery," writes Dr. Hunter, "pagodas of various weights, dollars of different standards of purity, gold mohurs worth from twenty-five to thirty-two shillings each, and a diversity of Asiatic and European coins\* whose very names are now forgotten." The progress of civilization in the East has been slower by far than in the West, and to this day is retained in many parts of India the cumbrous machinery employed two thousand years ago, for the business of exchange, for the payment of taxes, and for the ordinary every-day purposes of buying and selling. In many parts of India to this day, as in many parts of Mexico, when Mexico was first discovered by the Spaniards, as in many parts of China and Tartary, centuries ago, even with the advantages of a European administration a century old, the use of a silver coinage is still unknown; taxes are paid in kind; bags of salt or measures of wheat are employed to indicate value, and even in places like Mirzapore, sealed bags of two thousand rupees† used till lately to

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\* *Annals of Rural Bengal.* By W. Hunter.

† Remarks on the State paper currency of India.



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pass current from hand to hand in mercantile transactions. Until the introduction of paper money, native bankers and traders employed camels or carts to convey their coin from one mart to another. Nothing would be more curious than to trace the tide of improvement which in this respect has set in from the West. In Persia, the use of coined money was unknown until the time of Darius Hystaspes. In the payment of tribute and the State taxes, and even in private mercantile transactions, bullion was largely employed, and gold and silver in mass were carried from place to place, as is seen in India even up to the present day, laden on pack bullocks, concealed in carts, or borne by camels. The Persian coin is as rude as the silver coins of this country which passed current until the Company's coin became a legal tender. It may be stated that India forms no exception to a general rule, and that here, as well as elsewhere, trade and commerce might be in an advanced state while the currency was unequal to the requirements or the wants of that commerce. It has been thus with other countries which have attained to a high state of civilization, and have commanded a large trade. To support this theory, Mr. Mill recites the instance, that "Leucon, king of Bosphorus, from which Athens derived her principal stores, levied a duty of one-thirtieth in kind upon all the corn shipped in his ports; and there is reason to believe that this was not a solitary instance in the history of currencies. Cattle was once employed in Greece as a common medium of exchange. Iron was largely made use of in Sparta; unstamped bars of copper by the ancient Romans; salt in Abyssinia, and tobacco in Virginia were successively employed as instruments of commerce. In India, Mahomedan writers have recorded that on the Mahomedan invasion, a shell currency existed, assisted by bullion payments of the rudest kind, and associated neither with coined money, nor with any metallic standard of currency. But while it would scarcely excite surprise to find that in the Homeric age of Greece, the armour of Glaucus, or of Diomed should have sold for a hundred head of oxen, it does become a matter of serious study to reflect that even to this day, in native States where native coins are current, gross frauds are daily practised from the want of a uniform or correct system of coinage.

Since the transfer of the paper currency management from the Presidency banks to the officers appointed by the Government, the currency system of India has been placed upon a more satisfactory basis, and even its financial system, which before the appointment of Mr. Foster's committee was not satisfactory, has now been improved.

In Sir Richard Temple's budget statement allusion was made to the introduction of the gold currency, and to the large





annual profits which are derived from the paper currency by the State. The present circulation of the State paper currency exceeds thirteen millions. The circulation is not limited to the presidency-towns but also extends to such great centres of trade in the interior as Nagpore, and Allahabad, Lahore and Kurrachee, Calicut and Coconada. Not only has the circulation increased but the profits to the State have increased also. It has long been admitted that the best systems are formed on experiment. That the Government of India is empirical is the result of the state of things which models every thing in this country on similar institutions in England, and it is satisfactory to know that in India, we frequently have a clear field to work out results, or, if necessary, to improve on already established institutions. In India, we start with a *tabula rasa* whereon to base out systems, and to work out our results. We have the experience of the past. It is ours to mould the future. In India, as elsewhere, the experience of the past is too often thrown away, and we are tempted to exclaim with Fontenelle: "Eh, les hommes font ils des experiences? Ils dont faits comme les oiseaux que se laissent toujours prendre dans les mêmes filets ou l'on a déjà pris cent mille oiseaux de leur espèce."

While the State has done much for the public convenience by giving to India a paper currency, there is one question which has recently forced itself on public consideration, the difference between the currencies of Great Britain and India, which has caused so large a fluctuation in the exchanges of the two countries. To touch on this vexed question, and the sovereign remedy for all the ills attending it, we might observe that, as in medical science, so in finance, the simplest remedies are often the safest.

The committee appointed a year ago to report on the causes which have led to the depreciation of silver, has presented its report to the public. The committee attributes the fall to the enormous increase in the production of the mines in America, to the change of currency in Germany, and to the fluctuations in the Indian trade. We believe that two of these three causes may have tended to debase the Indian silver currency; but we certainly do not think for a single moment that no remedies can be found for the present state of exchanges. The question is a purely local one. It does not affect the colonies. It does not interfere with Australia, where there is a gold coinage; and a gold sovereign, which is at par with the English sovereign, and passes current with the English sovereign equally at Paris and Berlin; and which bears the same marketable and intrinsic value at Berlin as it does at St. Petersburg. It affects India alone, where there is an obsolete silver currency,

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which took its rise in the time of the Great Mogul; which bore the stamp and impress of the Company's Government; which, out of deference to the Company, was continued when the Queen in 1857 became in reality, as she is now, by virtue of the 'Titles' Bill, Empress of India, and which, to the present day, is still allowed to be the current coin of the realm. India has been said to be eminently conservative. But in no instance has its conservatism been more marked than in its inane attempt to cling, in spite of public opinion, in spite of the depression of trade, in spite of the ridicule of the civilized world, to its cherished rupee. The Nabob has disappeared, and so has the pagoda tree, and so has the Government of the East India Company; but, as an ill-fated legacy of that Government, to the present day, the Indian empire has been burdened with a relic of the past, with a relic which is the last which reminds us of the Company's Government and which the public are too eager to throw away—the obsolete rupee. Why is the name retained? Why is it not termed a florin?

It may be difficult to trace the rise and decadence of silver during the past few years. But if we would point to one cause for the fall in the exchanges more than another, it is that this result is owing to the agencies of the Banks.

The exchange appears to be getting worse. There is no possible way to remedy it, but by the introduction, as proposed, of the gold and silver coins which are current in England. That the recent fall in the value of silver is mainly owing to the decadence in exports will not be doubted. Something may also be attributed to the increase of the import trade. With the committee, we believe that the German currency operations have thrown a vast quantity of silver into the English market, and we also think that the increased production of silver in America has contributed towards this depression of the rupee. But, beyond all these causes, and acting more directly than any other cause, are the large drawings of the Secretary of State on India through the banks. The fall in the value of the rupee has plunged India into really more serious monetary difficulties than a war that would have lasted for years.

We have at present no means of knowing how long this depreciation will continue. It is already a heavy war-tax on the public. In another few years we may see the rupee sink to the level of a shilling. The Uncovenanted civil service, which is as inadequately paid as the Ceylon civil service, may expect some increase to its present scale of allowances; the army may follow suit, and the State, owing to this cause, may be plunged into further financial difficulties which it could not have foreseen, but which may be obviated by the introduction of a gold sovereign for India at par with the English sovereign.

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The value of the rupee can be raised by increasing the charge for the mint stamp upon it, and by placing restrictions on the present excessive coinage of silver for the public. Unless this is done, gold bullion will not be brought to the mint for coinage.

Unless the seignorage on silver can be raised, and its present relative value to gold increased, neither the public nor the Government will find it profitable to import gold. The mints will be virtually, as they are now by law, closed to gold. India will still labour under the disadvantages of a single metallic currency, too cumbrous and too limited for its present state of advanced trade. But although, admitting that a gold coinage is now absolutely necessary, and that it should circulate concurrently with a paper and a silver currency, the question is one for legislative decision, whether, having a *tabula rasa* to work upon, a gold coinage should not be adopted which would meet the requirements of India, and which, by being based upon a system of coinage uniform with that adopted in England, would, to a certain extent, pass current elsewhere than in India.

While it may be premature to hazard such a suggestion, there are few who will not allow that the only remedy at present for the depreciation of silver, and the artificial rate of exchanges, is the introduction of the gold sovereign into India. By the Indian gold sovereign we do not mean an artificial coin which would represent an artificial value of twenty-five shillings sixpence and two farthings, to suit the present market price of the gold sovereign in India, but an Indian sovereign which would be at par with the English sovereign and which would bear, as in Australia, the same name. Judging from the difference in the systems of coinage in each European State, and the cheapness and rapidity in travelling, a uniform system of currency is most desirable. It will be remembered that on the Continent the Indian coinage, the gold mohur or the rupee, is not known. It is not known in any parts of Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Germany, and it does not pass current anywhere out of India. In Russia and Austria it is scarcely heard of. Since the introduction of British rule, there has been a tendency to improve the currency in India. The time is now opportune for a radical improvement.

Not many years have elapsed since the price of gold fell, and the Indian gold mohur no longer represented in value fifteen rupees. Gold coins thus accumulated in Government treasuries, which could not be used as money, which could not be made a legal tender, but which had to be resold by weight, causing the Indian Government a pecuniary loss. The history of gold as a source of coinage will prove how variable has been the market value of that metal as compared with silver at different periods. Nor is it only in India that

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the value of gold has proved variable. In England, where it has so long been one of the principal standards of currency, the variations in its value have been remarkable. Obligations have frequently been discharged to the loss of the State in that metal which at the time had been rated highest according to the current mint proportions. In France, similar difficulties were experienced. Thus, in 1785, previous to the recoinage of the Louis-d'or in France, the relative value of gold was higher than the relative value of silver. The Louis-d'or was fixed by the State at 24 livres. Its intrinsic worth was more than 25 livres. By every obligation discharged by the public in silver, the State had to bear a loss of four per cent. The consequences were that payments were made in silver, that no obligations were discharged in gold, that bullion merchants largely purchased all coined gold pieces, and that all the gold which could be purchased was exported.

Gold coins since that period have diminished in circulation, and to this circumstance is mainly owing the fact that silver has become the principal metallic currency now employed in France. The history of the coinages in England will afford also a parallel illustration. Gold in England was first coined in 1257. Though made a legal tender by royal proclamation, it passed current from hand to hand till the year 1717, valued at its intrinsic and not at its coinage worth. It was in that year that the rate or value at which the guinea should be accepted as a tender was fixed at 21 shillings. But, as in France, gold was undervalued, according to its mint proportion, so in England it was overvalued in comparison with the silver standard. Debts and obligations were discharged in gold, and the state as well as the public suffered from the large exportations made to the Continent of all the available coined silver in the country. The difficulties experienced in other countries with reference to the introduction of a gold coinage are much more likely to be experienced in India, where trade in gold bullion and dust have accustomed native money-changers and native merchants to look upon gold purely with reference to its intrinsic value, and not with reference to any ideal value which the State may assign to that metal. Under the Mogul emperors, gold was the standard coin. It is only under our rule that the rupee has had its sovereignty, and like other worn and ancient institutions, it is now being rapidly depreciated.

It has been suggested that, in order to bring sovereigns into circulation in India, the seignorage on silver coin should be raised. That the increase in the seignorage will tend to equalize the present disproportion between the value of the sovereign and that of ten rupees, few will deny. That this plan is far more feasible and practical than that of Sir Charles Trevelyan, as expressed in his minute in 1864, there can be but little doubt. Without alter-



ing the existing mint regulations, or without raising the silver seignorage, it is scarcely practicable to introduce a gold coinage, or to legalize the tender of the English sovereign. Three officers who have successively held high offices in the mint have expressed one opinion regarding the introduction of a gold currency into India. All agree in their general proposal, that the gold coin should be sovereigns and half-sovereigns; but to bring them into general circulation, the mint rules for the receipt of silver must be modified. So great indeed have been the fluctuations in the relative worth of the precious metals, that Montesquieu classified them, when coined, under the head of ideal money. Political economists like Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo, agreeing with Mr. Locke, ascribe a value to the metals, which varies in proportion to the labour necessary to procure them. While there can scarcely be any doubt that the metals employed as a currency have a fictitious value, reasonings based on analogy, or the ethics of political economy simply, would not be accepted by the natives of India. To India, a gold currency would be acceptable, because gold, under the native governments, had long been one of the established currencies, and because, viewing gold as one of the most precious of metals, they have learnt to accumulate it and hoard it as bullion, or to convert it into jewellery. But irrespective of the popular assent to the re-employment of gold as a medium of circulation, there are some difficulties which will be experienced in making gold with silver the current coinage of the realm. The experience of the past fiscal history of India has shown how variable in India, at different periods, has been the intrinsic worth of gold. When, half-a-century ago, gold circulated concurrently with silver, the mintage proportion which silver coins bore to gold coins was 15·153 to 1. So long as there were no great fluctuations in the value of gold, treasuries accepted gold coins at fifteen rupees. But those are times of the past. We have now to deal with the startling facts of the present. The Government alone can coin the sovereign. It can fix the proper value under the accepted veil of the mintage and seignorage dues. Surely, if the standard is to be raised to the highest, and if the Indian gold sovereign is to be pure as the London or the Australian gold sovereign, the loss which will be suffered by introducing a gold sovereign coinage will be less than the loss now suffered in paying for the exchange to maintain a rapidly degenerating silver standard.

The present rate of exchange between India and England is 18 7½*d* per rupee. There is as yet no tendency towards any improvement. Nor, if left to itself, as long as the commercial banks and agencies are allowed to make the large profits they do, in remitting money between England and India, will the silver currency



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right itself. A bi-metallic currency, uniform with that of England, is needed. If such a currency existed, those who have to make remittances, and there is no class, service, profession, or trade whose members have not to make remittances to England, would, rather than pay the present high charges for bank drafts or circular notes, take their specie with them in gold, if they were going to England, or remit it through their friends; or, as a last resource, if such a course were not feasible, an Indian State bank with its head-quarters in England and India, carrying on legitimate banking business in both countries, and having its reserves of specie both in England and India, might with advantage be started. Such a bank might be employed in the payment of Indian pensions and allowances, in the control it would exercise over all the monetary transactions of the State between the two countries, in the adjustment of the overland money orders between England and India, in the negotiation of loans taken in England, in the management of the Indian public debt office.

We shall now touch briefly on some other questions of public interest, and we shall endeavour to show that, although much has been done for the currency, for the coinage, and the finances, something yet remains to be effected and some other improvements may not without advantage be introduced.

In scrutinizing the annual expenditure, we find that the old regulation provinces absorb the largest portion of the imperial revenues. And, in addition to this, the revenues paid to the feudatories, and the amount devoted to political pensions, form one of the largest items of the annual expenditure. A glance at the public income and expenditure of India at intervals of five years from 1815 to our own period, will show how we have financially administered India. We shall find that, with the exception of a few years, the public income has nearly balanced the public expenditure. If we scrutinize those figures, we shall find that the largest source of income arises from the land revenue, a source which is now capable, after so large an expenditure by the State on railways, of great development, from opium, and from the excise on salt. The income from some other heads appears within the last decade to have increased. Something of this increase has, no doubt, been owing to the profits derived from forests and from the Currency Department, and from the Postal and Telegraph. From the year 1860, there has been a marked increase in the salt revenue; that revenue has, unlike the opium, rarely fluctuated. From the year of the Mutiny we shall find that taxation has been progressive. All the arts of controversy and the ingenuity of finance, all the arts of sophistry and rhetoric, have been exhausted in finding out forms of taxation suitable to India.

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In 1859 the import duties were vastly increased. An export duty of three per cent. was imposed on the principal staples of Indian produce. Iron and steel and hardware were made to yield a larger return. But as the bulk of the iron was imported for the railway, which was guaranteed by the State, these duties were subsequently lessened. In 1861 fresh taxes on saltpetre were imposed; and the salt duty was increased 25 per cent. in Bengal, 12½ per cent. in Madras, and 33 per cent. in Bombay. But, although a large amount was thus raised, the incidence, so widely distributed, fell lightly on the masses. If, however, there was scarcely a single objection to the salt-tax, the income-tax which was imposed in 1861\* raised a storm of dissent throughout India. So bitter was the opposition, so wide the unpopularity of the tax, that a license-fee which was then proposed, in addition, but not carried into law, was in deference to public opinion abandoned. At the same time the import duties on wines and beer were largely augmented, and the stamp duties were revised. Then followed a season of rest; but in 1862-63, a license-tax which was expected to reach the mechanics, artisans and tradespeople, had to be abandoned on political grounds before it had received the sanction of law. Such a tax has now been imposed. It is a tax which can only be levied on exceptional occasions, and this is one. But however interesting it would be to trace the progress of taxation in India through the years which followed 1863-64, want of space will prevent our doing anything beyond indicating what appears to be a form of famine taxation, if indeed it would be necessary to raise taxes, which may not be unpopular, or unsuitable to the country.

Fatality during the last decade seems to have girdled round India. Famines, cyclones, and floods, droughts and epidemics, and again famine have followed in rapid succession. It is as if some ill planet reigned. The varied changes of these disasters, the wide area of their devastation, and the ruthlessness of their ravages may well have startled the public, and the gravity of the occasion has demanded a commission of inquiry into famines, their causes, and measures for future prevention. Every one remembers the cyclone of 1864-65, and the disasters on land and water which were caused in the City of Palaces; how human lives were sacrificed; how cattle and property were destroyed; how, lower down on the banks of the Hooghly, towns were washed away by the overflow of the river, so that scarce a vestige or landmark remained to indicate the sites where once they stood; how ships against ships were accumulated in one

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\* Incomes were taxed thus: 2 per cent, or about 4½d. in the pound on all incomes between 20 and £50; and a tax of 4 per cent. or 9½d. in the pound on all incomes above that; a war tax.

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vast mass of confusion and ruin; how trees were uprooted and hurled to a distance; and how even some of the buildings were overthrown, especially those in the native town, burying the inmates underneath. To this followed the famine in Orissa, with its loss of peasantry and subsequent widespread misery. A few years after, scarcely had the famine in Bengal been quelled, than another frightful catastrophe was announced. The Ganges had once again overflowed its banks. Important villages and towns became the scene of a catastrophe something like that which is so awfully pictured in the narrative of Thucydides, or in that story so powerfully told in the pages of the late Lord Bulwer Lytton. Whole families who had retired to rest, and herds of sheep and cattle were suddenly washed away, never again to see the dawn of day. As the flood subsided the swampy and marshy plains gave rise to miasmatic fever, and other epidemics. The sultry atmosphere was charged with deadly poison. The streams, ponds and silted beds of alluvial rivers were converted into fertile sources of disease. The people, pauperized, cared little for sanitation, and cholera and epidemic fever, although more insidious, threatened to be as dangerous in the end as the flood was at the commencement of that tragic drama.

But if India was unfortunate in these previous visitations it was still more unfortunate in 1877. What was at first a small black cloud on the horizon, spread its sombre shadow over the land like a portent of doom. The scarcity of rain in Madras and Bombay, like that evil dream which was sent from heaven to Agamemnon\* to dry up the plains of Troy, augured ill and deepened into a widespread famine. There is a picture drawn by Doré to illustrate a scene in Dante's great epic which may be taken to illustrate the dark shadow which in 1877 was cast over the fairest provinces of Madras and Bombay. It was the picture of the dark angel of death with outstretched sable wings, brooding over the prostrate figures of the dying and the dead in the valley of Dis. This picture of Doré's is even more Dantesque than the description given by Dante himself. By the occasional glimpse of light seen through the dark tangled wood, and by the lurid glare breaking here and there from the clefts of the rocks which form the back ground of that picture of gloom, may be seen the terror-stricken people and the prostrate forms of those who have already succumbed to fate. The dark, fixed looks of the dread angel plainly indicate the nature of his work.

Famines are not unmitigated evils. The circumstance that places voluntarily at the disposal of the Government the labor

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\* "Then from the Fates, a fearful dream,  
Rushed from the skies, the bane of him and Troy."  
[*Vide Philo Indicus' correspondence.—Pioneer.*]

of more than a million of people, is so far a benefit to the State. But the labor should be judiciously utilized. It is to a famine that we owe the stupendous and massive structure of the pyramids. It is to a famine that we owe the fairy structure of the palace at Versailles with its colonnade of trees and its gardens. In Southern India the works that are most really wanted are specially suited for the employment of large masses of uneducated labor; and these are irrigation-canals and railways, canals like those recommended by Sir Arthur Cotton, and railways like those which we have in the Southern States of America.

If the late famine has cost the State presumably ten millions, then something like commensurate results ought to be expected from so large an outlay. The State can scarcely be benefited by unproductive works, by tanks deepened only to be silted up again; by a few water-courses widened, by roads repaired or commenced, by railways or canals projected, but not thoroughly completed. Larger projects and preconceived designs are necessary. The three preventive necessities are improved agriculture, irrigation, and communications.

India requires improved means of land-carriage and to these it adds a secondary want, irrigation and water-carriage. To the future historian it will be left to tell with what energy, perseverance, and spirit the Governments of India and Madras have met and overcome the incubus of the late famine. But although it has been tided over, so vast has been the expenditure on relief and reproductive works, that it has left a large legacy of debt behind to the State, and a large legacy of labor to the Financial Department.

The famine of 1877 had its parallel in the difficulties which had to be faced in 1865, 1870 and 1873. Going back to previous financial history, so great was the gravity of the occasion in 1870, caused by the heavy and abnormal drain and also by an unexpected deficit, that it was thought necessary to reduce the annual expenditure on police, and to lessen the outlay in other departments. The principle was advocated, that administrative departments which are self-supporting and which added to the revenue of the State, should be strengthened and augmented, while corresponding reduction should be made in the non-paying departments. Thus it was held that the salt, opium, the currency, the stamp and excise departments, should be strengthened; while it was considered questionable whether the large sums which were annually spent should be continued on sanitation, police, conservancy and justice. It was then held, with some force of argument, that commissioners of division, and deputy commissioners, compared with the work performed, received salaries disproportionately large, and it was held that these officers could either be made to take a more active share in the direct control of their jails, and in the con-



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servancy arrangements of the district under their charge. It was also argued that the expenditure on public works should be more narrowly scrutinized. Large and expensive undertakings, like the Godavery works, which then absorbed so much of the public revenues, were held to need reconsideration. In cases where actual loss had been incurred by the Public Works Department through defective construction, or badness of materials employed, it was suggested that the officers through whose negligence loss had been suffered should be made to bear a portion of that loss. The revision of the Budget of that year had shewn that, instead of the surplus of about half-a-million which had been confidently predicted, an ascertained deficit of a little more than two millions-and-a-half existed. With large loans for public works impending; with a famine year, when so much of the revenues of the State had been paid away as compensation to the poorer classes; with the necessity of borrowing money for the ordinary charges of Government; with the increase of expenditure on State railways, then a new source of expenditure draining the Imperial revenues, the financial prospects of the famine year of 1870 were as confessedly gloomy as those of 1877-78. The Budget system, too, on which so much reliance had been placed, proved to be inaccurate. The cash balances, though replenished by the loans which had to be taken, were lower than they had been for many years previous. To meet the deficit, the public works expenditure had been reduced by 80 lakhs, and a corresponding reduction had to be made in military expenditure. The salt-tax had again to be raised in Madras and Bombay, from Re 1-8 to Re 1-13 per maund; and, in order that the tax might not fall on the poorer classes alone, it had been decided to raise the scale of the income-tax. This tax, however, was so unpopular, that it had to be rescinded by Lord Northbrook.

It should be remembered that a large part of the drain during the present financial year has been owing to the Government aid in relief of the famine districts, to compensation for dearness of grain, and to large and unexpected relief-works. In some provinces, relief-works have been undertaken and money spent in excess of the public works grant. Under the pressure of the scarcity, extraordinary public works had been then, as now, undertaken, and in many cases the expenditure on these works had exceeded the ordinary sanctioned grants. These unexpected charges could not therefore have been foreseen. New roads, which had not been entered in the annual budget, had been put into hand; new tanks had been excavated, which in a season of ordinary expenditure would not have engaged attention; new culverts, bridges and drains constructed on no organized plan, to meet the pressure of an exigency; works which were



not pressing were placed in the foremost rank, above works which were pressing, but which were undertaken in the ordinary course by the Public Works Department, thus diverting funds from the objects for which they were legitimately intended. The expenditure under this head during the past year has been unexpectedly great ; and neither the foresight of the Financial Department, nor the skill of a finance minister, could in a case like this be of any avail. We are not of opinion that a diminution of expenditure should be effected by a reduction of the strength of the administrative or executive departments. It is not correct to assert that the resources of the country will not admit of higher taxation. Fresh taxation has yet been untried. And it is a fact which cannot be contested that the land-tax should be revised with a view to increased taxation. The real cause of our present financial embarrassment will be found to spring from our having fixed the land revenue at too low a limit.

As regards the land-revenue question, we do not quite agree with the systems advocated by Mr. Bird, or by Mr. Thomason.

As regards their theories a consensus of opinion acknowledges them to be incorrect. The practical effects which have resulted from the adoption of those theories are that, while our revenues from almost every other source are elastic and progressive, our revenue from land has not increased. It is the result of fixing the land revenue for a period of years prospectively, at a rent at which it was fixed many years past. During that period the value of land has increased, and year after year the Government spends upward of ten millions on irrigation and public works. Much as we have advocated the necessity of introducing irrigation works in India, we are of opinion that if irrigation is to be introduced for the benefit principally of the soil, the soil should pay for it. Whatever advantages are derived from other sources of revenue, unless a corresponding increase is made in the land-tax it will be difficult to effect an equilibrium between income and expenditure. It is inseparable from the present condition of affairs that year after year the expenditure in India must increase. Not only in the maintenance of the empire during a state of peace is a large annual expenditure required, but large sums also must be spent to prevent any approach from foreign invasion. Not only should the land-tax be increased, but native States, which at present contribute nothing towards the Imperial revenues, should pay their quota towards the defence of the empire from foreign foes, and for the material improvements which have during the last ten years absorbed so much of the public revenues, and in the advantages of which they participate with the rest of the empire. As the land is the greatest source of revenue, to it the Government should direct

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their attention in a season like the present. The entire question as to Indian land revenue requires to be reconsidered. If the State is the owner of the soil, the State has a right to fix its own demands.

A moderate fixity of tenure should be conceded, to encourage the culture of the land. But it should not be forgotten that the power of resuming or confiscating the land, or of enhancing its rent, lies with the Crown, or the Government, as representing the Sovereign, in India. Judicious statesmanship will aim at enhancing the revenue, while fostering improved means of cultivation.

If in India the Government demand had been fixed equitably, allowing the State a full share of its rights, the institution of fresh taxes would not have been necessary. If with each re-settlement, and with the proportional increase in the value of land, the assessments had been proportionally increased, the present financial embarrassment would not now have been felt. As the true source of national wealth lies in labor and in land, so, too, the true source of State revenue is to be found principally in the land. This theorem has been acknowledged not only in Europe but also in India. With the growth of society and civilization with each decade of material improvement and progress; with the gradual enhancement of prices; with the slow and gradual development of national wealth, the value of land must increase; and with the increase of that value, it is only fair that the profits of the State from that source should increase also. In India this right has been surrendered, or imperfectly recognized through the system of fixing the assessments for a term of years without enhancing the rents. Of the perpetual settlement of Lord Cornwallis it is not our purpose here to speak.

The sooner the Act which gave a color of legal right to the settlements made by him is repealed, the sooner will an error be rectified which has for more than half a century deprived the State of its just rights. From the days of Mr. Thomason and Mr. Bird to the present day, we find that too often a morbid anxiety against over-assessment is entertained; and while it is the landholders for whose benefit so much of the imperial revenues is spent, in the great works of irrigation, roads, and railways, the interests of the State are sacrificed in the most indifferent and embarrassing manner. During the last twenty years the expenditure for public improvements has been immense.

The principal sources of imperial taxation at present are the revenues on land, the sale proceeds of waste-land, and the redemption of the land-tax, an exceptional hucuba-tax in Sind, tributes from native States, contributions from various petty States, subsidies from the Cutch, Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin States,

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forest, excise on spirits, customs, sea and land, salt, opium, stamps, the mints, the post-office, and telegraph, judicial fees and fines, convict receipts at Port Blair, marine services, interest on the profits of the note currency, and from the shares held on account of this currency and shares in Presidency banks, and other miscellaneous sources of revenue. Under such circumstances it necessarily becomes a matter of grave difficulty to propose new taxes.

Loans and fresh taxation such as a succession-tax may be needed.

We are aware that some of the ablest statesmen in India have submitted to the belief that there is a great difficulty in the imposition of a succession-tax. But although this was Mr. Maine's opinion, his arguments failed to convince the public or the press, or in any way prove that the tax was inequitable and not in consonance with native usages and feeling. And it is just at this point that our legislators find their greatest difficulty in imposing new taxes. They have to consult the bent of native opinion, to palliate the European public, to be pliant to that great and growing influence, public opinion, as represented through the press.

One of the best specimens of moral irony conveyed in the light and apparently careless verse in which Giusti's strength principally consisted, the cradle song which the fairies sing over the newly-born Guigilini, in which they inculcated the arts by which he is to become *morir vestito*, or to achieve success in the world, may not inaptly be made to illustrate our taxation policy. Our legislators should do as Guigilini was taught, if they desire success for new modes of taxation. He was advised to be pliant and submissive, to abjure the perils of opposition ; to be everything to all men.

Non far lo sveglio,  
Non far l'ardito, se pur desideri morir vestito,  
Non ti frastornino, la testa, e il core, larve di gloria,  
sogni d'onore  
Fuggi le noje, fuggi le some, fuggi pericoli  
D'un chiaro nome ?  
E limitandote, senz' altro fumo, a saper leggere,  
Pel tuo consumo.  
Rinnega il genio sempre punito, se pur desideri  
Morir vestito.

The success of taxation lies not in making a direct appeal to the subject's purse, but an indirect one, veiled under their necessities for the exigencies and requirements of the State.

We are aware that some economists are in favor of a license or an income-tax ; but these direct taxes are reserved for cases of special emergency, indeed they may not inaptly be termed war-taxes.

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But while such taxes are levied in grave emergencies, or in exceptional cases, a succession-tax may be imposed in times of peace. Although such a tax may be assumed to be of the nature of a tax levied on capital, nay, indeed, to some extent in its features be allied to legacy duties, still it would bear but a small proportion to legacy duties, and would only be levied on landed property and only in the event of transfer by deed, sale, or inheritance. The incidence of such a tax would fall principally upon those who could afford to pay it; and in no sense would it be regarded as an evil. It would tend to raise the value of landed property.

By the employment of the proceeds of the tax on public improvements, it would add to the public wealth; it would thus directly enhance the wealth of that very property from which it is levied. In a legal, as well as in an economical point of view, it appears to be essentially a legitimate form of taxation. It is one in which every equitable condition of direct taxation seems to be satisfied.

If then the value of landed property is enhanced, this form of taxation would appear to be a judicious one. If it is an acknowledged axiom, that it is only by law that a person is able to dispose of his property, then the law which allows of such disposition can claim something for its concession. If it is allowed that the Government expends large annual sums for protection and conservancy, then the property which is so protected ought assuredly to be taxed for that protection. The heir or purchaser enters on property in which he has only an expectation. As he enters upon increased resources, he could easily bear the deduction fixed by law from his new acquisition; and as the limit of such an impost would be equitable, there would be few risks run in the assessment by evasions of the nature of a donation *inter vivos*, or by any other fraudulent or evasive transfers. The proceeds of such a tax, if levied, might be appropriated towards liquidating some of the present heavy debts incurred on account of famine.

As the existing sources of revenue are not sufficient to meet the present special requirements, it is desirable to elaborate a system of indirect taxation as already proposed. It may be urged that the difficulty of levying these taxes forms a decisive argument against their imposition. In reply to this we would urge, that a very large revenue is already derived from indirect taxation, and that the machinery now in existence for this purpose may be utilized for any further taxation.

Hitherto material and real property have been the chief sources of taxation. Indian legislators have overlooked the principle that the popularity of a tax depends upon its being imperceptible, and that in indirect taxation, as the consumer is not aware of the taxes impos-



ed, he is not likely to be discontented with the law which imposes them. The interests of the people require those methods of taxation which are equitable and not oppressive; and it is because indirect taxation is equitable and free from inquisitorial vexations that we are in favour of it. A moderate system of taxation is not an evil. If the funds raised from taxation are judiciously expended, they add to the aggregate of a people's comforts. The results will be best seen in improved health, better roads, diminished expenses of transport, increased security of life and property. Taxation only becomes an evil when, from defects of administration, it degenerates from an equitable system to a partial one of confiscation.

As the causes of our deficit are to be found principally in the increased expenditure for public works and for material improvement, some corresponding increase in the taxation of land ought to be made. To meet the difficulty of a deficit, to balance the expenditure of the State with its income, and to produce an equilibrium between the national charges and national receipts, something very different from reducing establishments is necessary. If it is necessary to make some reductions, these reductions should be made in unnecessary expenditure, and in reducing salaries in the regulation provinces to a level with the salaries drawn by officers of the same grade in non-regulation provinces. To meet the deficit, reduction of establishments on any large scale should not be made. Efficiency will be sacrificed to a fancied economy. It is an acknowledged principle that neither covenanted nor uncovenanted appointments can be abolished; and a measure which tends to subvert that principle must necessarily weaken and unhinge the very basis of Indian good government. A far-seeing policy ought in this crisis to influence the rulers of this great empire. Indian public servants are not in the position of servants of a merchant or of a company. They are bound to the State on an implied guarantee which allows them vested rights, and which sanctions pensions and gratuities after length of service. It would appear that a true reform would best be effected by introduction in all departments of a cheaper form of administration. The cheap and efficient non-regulation system which has been found to work so well in the Central Provinces, in the Punjab and in Oude, should be introduced for the costlier and more cumbersome systems which impede progress in Bengal, in Bombay, Madras, and the North-West.

It is not by making a small reduction in the supervising staff of any establishment, or by the reduction of a few administrative establishments, that any large result may be hoped for. It is only by radical changes that true reforms are effected. Lucrative and paying departments which yield a revenue to the State should be strengthened. Thus the postal and telegraph,



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the mint and paper currency, the stamp, the excise, the opium, and the land revenue collection, departments should be made to yield more than they do. \*In considering the changes which may be beneficial to India, it would appear that the transfer of the Government cash balances from the banks to treasury officers would be an advantageous arrangement. It will be found that one of the items which has added to the present deficit is the payment for short loans and for deficient balances. This item would have been avoided under a different system. Loans will have to be taken so long as Government money is allowed to be employed by the banks for their own purposes.

The expense necessarily incurred in conducting the government of a civilized nation in times of peace rarely exceeds its ordinary revenue. If no disrupting influence is brought to bear, an equilibrium between income and expenditure is secured. With regard to the present crisis, a vast and unexpected deficit has, through the famine, been forced on the State; the disturbing influences are the great sums voted for ordinary and extraordinary public works, for State railways and for irrigation works. The question is whether the works undertaken should not be continued by loans. Both irrigation and public works should be defrayed from special funds raised by loans and as irrigation and public works are intended for the improvement of the land, the land should be made to pay for them.

We have expressed our opinion that indirect taxation might be greatly increased. In England the amount of indirect taxation, as compared with that which is direct, is as 40 to 27. The proportion in France and other Continental countries is still greater. The proportion at present in India is 29 to 101.\* It will be acknowledged that, indirect taxes in their incidence are more certain and less arbitrary than direct taxation. The process of collection is less expensive. The number of collectors employed is smaller. Evasions are easily checked. Indirect taxes do not obstruct particular industries. They do not interfere materially with the productive energies, or the economical tendencies of the people. In its nature and in its incidence on all classes, indirect taxation is more equitable than direct taxation. It does not in reality obstruct trade. It does not interfere vexatiously with the mass of the people. Indirect taxation is also more acceptable to the people of India than direct taxation. The largest sources of our imperial revenues, excepting the land-tax, are opium and salt, and taxes from these sources are levied without injuriously affecting the masses. There are no remonstrances, no popular murmurs against their imposition.

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\* *Vide* my published memoir on the working of the Municipal system of Bombay, 1872.

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We have only mentioned a few sources of hitherto untried taxation. Experience may suggest others equally fair and equitable in their incidence, and which, by being more widely distributed may be still less appreciable.

Direct taxation has never commended itself to the people. Its incidence, unequally distributed, has, as in the case of the license and the income-tax, invariably given rise to marked discontent.

That this must be so is clear. A direct tax on incomes, trade and professions, to be equitable, must be a tax on real profits. If it is taken on gross profits it becomes inequitable in its incidence. It has been argued by the advocates of indirect taxation that an income-tax falls upon two classes, upon those whose incomes are not known, who can deduct any portion of their real income, and those who are in the public services, whose incomes are known, and who are taxed on gross profits, without any deductions for the maintenance of labour, such as the payment of servants, or for house-rent or medical fees ; for the education of their children, or for the replacement or insurance of their capital.

The incomes of these two classes, so far as the incidence of the tax is felt, are very different. And unless such a tax is imposed on the nett profits of both classes, it must be unjust and unequal.

Direct taxation will always be distasteful to the feelings of the people. It will give scope to extortion or fraud, and it will be repugnant to all their preconceived ideas of taxation. An increase in the salt-tax, the introduction of a sugar-tax, and an increase in the tobacco-tax would meet the present requirements, with the imposition of a succession-tax\* and some increase in the export and import duties.\*

Mr. Wilson, while in India, was the first to recognize the defects of our fiscal system. And, indeed, those defects were patent to everybody who had given the subject his study. How great those defects were might be seen from a review of the fiscal history of India within the last decade. In spite of an increased revenue, of an improved financial administration, of an increased trade, of a continuance of peace, of a growing commerce, we find that there has been a tendency to continued increased taxation, to the imposition of fresh burdens on the public and to a chronic deficit. During the last fifteen years, in reality, the revenues of India have doubled. But although the revenues have thus increased, while the ordinary expenditure is at present not twice what it was fifteen years ago, we have a deficit greater than could have been anticipated fifteen years ago. In 1852-53, if we refer to the financial statistics of so distant a period we shall find that the annual income amounted to £22,343,920. Thirteen years later

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\*There is at present a fee on succession to native States, but this does not come within scope of such a tax.

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the actual annual receipts amounted to £48,935,220. The increase of revenue during that period has exceeded, on an average, more than one crore and thirty-five lacs annually. In addition to this, large public loans have been annually contracted, and the public debit has been increased by upwards of 50 millions. Nor since the suppression of the Indian Mutiny has the normal state of India been inimical to the healthy growth of the finances. With the exception of the Abyssinian War and some Frontier raids, there has been no unusual drain on the finances except for famines. There have been no fresh acquisitions of new territories. There have been no new annexations of provinces. There has been no extraordinary increase in the regular expenditure. In those territories which had been annexed previous to the Mutinies we find that the revenues were elastic; the income was generally greater than the expenditure. In the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Oudh, in Burmah, in the Berars, in Mysore, and in fact in all the non-regulation provinces of India, where the machinery of Government was better and less expensive than in the regulation provinces of India, we find that each year showed a large surplus over expenditure.

It is a significant circumstance that the subsequent deficits should have been so markedly felt precisely in those years when the revenues appeared to have been most buoyant. To trace their causes it will be necessary to revert to the past fiscal history of India. Under the title of a statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India, there appears year by year a bluebook, which is more wonderful, rightly considered, than any oriental romance. Wealth beyond the dreams of all the Alnaschars glitters between its sober official covers; sovereignty beyond the ambition of Akbar and Aurungzebe is evidenced by its chapters; nor could the least attentive reader turn to the pages of this statement, without understanding how well Mr. Disraeli was justified when he said that England was really an Asiatic power. Up to the present time, however, this deeply interesting annual conspectus is not easy to read without a feeling of regret that, with the growth of years, marked and tangible results should not have been attained in the material progress of India.

In the annals of the Indian empire, from the very earliest period of the conquest of India, the greatest difficulty has been experienced in dealing successfully with the finances of the country. We found the country rich in its revenues, but its finances were badly managed by the Mahomedans; and its finance system was such as might have been expected under a semi-civilized despotism. There was a debased currency, and the revenues were frequently forestalled. Large annual supplies of silver and the precious metals were paid into the imperial treasuries and were seldom returned to the country. A system of loans and confiscations, exceeding

in severity and greed the system of benevolence, or loans on the security of exchequer tallies, which once found favor in England.

Among the native collectors of revenue and the treasury agents of the Mahomedan rulers speculation was rife. There was no centralized system of checks or of accounts. There were no banking facilities offered to the public for the security of small gains. The taxes were inquisitorial; the treatment by the revenue collectors of the agricultural farmers was harsh and cruel. The Emperor's exchequer was supplied with funds too often illegally raised and unjustly appropriated. When the revenues came in slowly, and when the pay of the soldiers was in arrears, it was usual to send armed men to seize the crops, to burn the villages, to imprison the persons, and confiscate the properties, of the refractory landholders. The Emperor's will was law. The courts heard no appeals against the Emperor's decision. With a financial system so imperfect, and a revenue system the chief characteristic of which was a ruinous rack-rent, we are not surprised to find that Clive's earliest difficulty was the finances of India. Under him the first public debt of two million pounds sterling was contracted. But against that debt we have the record of the victory of Plassey and of the establishment of the supremacy of Great Britain in India. A Governor-General so shrewd and clear-sighted as Hastings, considered the financial system of India the most difficult of mastery of any of the State problems with which he had to deal. The public debt contracted by Clive was increased to eight millions; but there was a surplus at the end of his reign, of revenue in excess of expenditure, which augured well for the future.\*

To Lord Cornwallis are due some financial reforms of an important and radical nature. In spite of the war with Tippoo, the finances of India were not incumbered with any fresh public loans. The Company's dividends were regularly paid. Financial and treasury reforms, alike with the land settlement of Bengal, engaged his attention. Some of the speculations carried on by the native collectors and native treasury officers were checked by him. Salutory regulations, putting an end to arbitrary charges on the receipt of the old Bengal coins, were enacted by him. Schedules of rates, fixing the exchangeable value of these coins, were distributed to each collector. The collectors were personally held responsible for their native agents carrying out the instructions in their full integrity. On his leaving India an equilibrium had been attained between income and expenditure, and he left no

\* At the end of his reign the charges stood as follows:—

Revenue	...	...	...	£5,315,197
Charges	...	...	...	£4,312,519
			Surplus	... £1,002,678



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fresh legacy of an increased public debt to the nation.\* To Lord Teignmouth succeeded the Earl of Mornington, Lord Wellesley. During his rule, when so many brilliant conquests had been achieved in India, and when victory after victory had added to our possessions in the East, when expensive wars had to be undertaken and still more expensive treaties had to be negotiated with the independent chiefs of the Carnatic and the Deccan, we find that the public debt was considerably enlarged; from eight millions it mounted to more than 25 millions. At the end of his rule the ordinary expenditure was found to exceed the ordinary income †

During the years from 1813 to 1823, we find that, although the Nepaulese and Pindaree wars were undertaken and fresh acquisitions of territory achieved, the finances were prosperous. The revenue had increased to 15 millions and the public expenditure did not much exceed the income. A slight addition of about four millions was made to the public debt account.

Lord Amherst, on his arrival, found that, although our territories in the East had increased during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, the finances were prosperous. The Burmese and Pindaree wars had created sources of fresh expenditure, and it is not clear whether his administration might have been a less expensive one. It certainly was not so brilliant as that of Lord Wellesley, and it is certain that during his rule ten millions were added to the public debt, and a large deficit was the result of an expensive and fruitless war. In 1829 the debt amounted to 34 millions sterling. During Lord W. Bentinck's peaceful administration much might have been done to restore the finances of the empire to their natural equilibrium, and till the year 1837 there was indeed a considerable surplus. But the Afghan and Chinese wars tended to add largely to the military charges of the empire. The public debt was increased and a deficit incurred. Then followed in a few years two Sikh wars, the conquest of Scinde, and the acquisition of the Punjab. While Scinde was a burden to the finances, and while the military ardour of Sir Charles Napier plunged the empire afresh into upwards of three millions of debt, it is cheerful to record that,

\* During Lord Cornwallis and Lord Teignmouth's incumbency the financial statistics were as follows :—

Revenues	• ...	... £8,225,628
Expenditure	... ..	... £7,007,050

Surplus	... ..	£1,208,578
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† No. 1805. The revenues amounted to	... ..	£15,433,409
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The charges to	... ..	£17,672,017
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Deficit	... ..	£2,268,608
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Mr. George Campbell's "Indian Government," p. 415.



## *Indian Finance and Famine Taxation. 865*

owing to the elasticity of the Punjaub revenues, our financial position was to a slight extent retrieved.

During Lord Dalhousie's brilliant rule annexations and conquests followed in rapid succession. The administrations of provinces which had been previously acquired were consolidated and reduced to order, while the older regulation-provinces were still burdened with an expensive machinery of Government. In the newly acquired provinces of Nagpore, Oude, the Punjaub, the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, and Burmah, governed by officers from the covenanted, uncovenanted, and military classes, we find that the revenues exceeded the expenditure, and added greatly to the liquidation of the public debt. The five provinces annexed by Lord Dalhousie have, during the last fifteen years, contributed more than a-seventh to the total revenue of the empire. And although the mutinies at one time threatened to plunge the empire into universal ruin, so great has the capacity for development been in those provinces that, since the Mutiny, the revenues have increased by more than a million and a quarter sterling, and this increase has been achieved in the face of large public and material improvements; after the completion of expensive and elaborate settlements and surveys; while administering laws extending and imparting justice to millions; while conferring the benefits of civilisation on millions of semi-barbarians; while dispelling oriental ignorance and displacing oriental despotism; while extending the capacity of development into a promise of a richer future than was ever enjoyed before; while covering the country with a network of roads and railways; while diffusing education† to the masses in the interior, while introducing the improved forms and machinery of a European Colonial Government into provinces where middlemen and peasantry alike had learned to associate through a long course of experience their laws with injustice and their lawgivers with extortion and too often with corruption.

For the fifteen years following the Mutiny, the nett Indian deficit amounted to £45,377,743 being at the average rate of more than three-and-one-fifth millions sterling a year. And to this we must add an increased public debt. Since 1870-71, the finances have shown greater buoyancy, but owing to this unforeseen famine some fresh taxation has had to be imposed. As famines are recurrent, the cost of preventing or ameliorating them is charged to revenue and not to capital, thus forming a fund from the revenues of each province. This fund may be appropriated on a great emergency towards war expenses; and a portion of the proceeds may also be devoted towards the construction of those works of public utility, roads, railways, and canals, which are directly preventive of future famines.

G. W. CLINE.

## IS IT THE DUTY OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE FOR THE RELIGIOUS WANTS OF ITS SERVANTS?

[ *Independent Section.* ]

MANY questions that were formerly answered in the affirmative without hesitation, are now thrown into the seething-pot ; and the agitation they undergo, and the many new lights in which they are presented to us, force us to revise our judgment concerning them. It is so easy to believe that whatever is, is right, so comfortable to let things jog on as they have always jogged, that it is no wonder if liberal principles, denounced as revolutionary innovations, have made slow progress. But the spirit of the 19th century forbids us to save ourselves trouble by taking over on trust the traditions of the elders, by assuming as proved every position which was maintained by our forefathers. We are required to prove or test all things for ourselves, and to let that which cannot stand the test pass away, while we hold fast all that is good.

The question at the head of this paper is one of those which are generally answered as if they were matters of course. We purpose considering whether the affirmative answer is the right one and must be taken as final. The question is part of a wider one, for we might have asked :—Is it the duty of Government to provide for the religious wants of its *subjects* ? To this question many would say No, who yet say Yes to the other, on the ground that what cannot be done by Government for all to whom it stands in the relation of ruler, should be done for the few to whom it stands in the relation of a master or employer.

The wider and the narrower question cannot, however, easily be separated, for the servants of Government are also its subjects, the only difference between them and their fellow-subjects being that they have entered into a contract of service with Government.

I. Why should *Government as an employer* more than any other employer, be bound to provide for the religious wants of its servants ? If it can be shown that every employer is in duty bound to make such provision, then of course Government is so bound, unless special reason can be urged for its exemption from the general rule. If, on the other hand, it be not admitted that every employer is so bound, then some special reason must be found for binding Government.

II. Why should Government provide for the religious wants of its *servants* more than of its other subjects ? They have no claims upon Government, over and above those of their fellow-subjects, except such as are expressed or implied in the contract into which

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they have entered. Should they, in accepting employment, have stipulated for provision for their religious wants; should Government, in engaging their services, have undertaken to make such provision; then clearly it would be the duty of Government to do so. But not otherwise, except on grounds that they might share in common with other subjects. Let us look at the matter for a moment on the lowest ground, and represent religious wants by a certain sum of money. The question might then be put in this form: Is that sum included in the remuneration of the employed, or is he entitled to it as an extra? This is evidently a question of the contract.

III. Why should Government provide for the *religious*, more than for many other, wants of its servants? No man, in becoming a servant of Government, ceases to be a subject or citizen. It is for his life as a citizen that he makes provision by accepting the service. That life has few or many wants, according to the disposition and culture of the man. There are physical wants, social, intellectual, religious wants. The baker and butcher, the tailor, the lawyer, the doctor, the minister or priest, to say nothing of books, magazines and newspapers, may all be required. Does Government provide for all these wants? Not specially and in detail. The contract is for so much service in return for so much money, out of which the servant himself meets his various wants. Is there any reason why the religious wants should be singled out for special provision?

In the case of the doctor there might be a special reason, but even that would resolve itself into a question of interest rather than duty. The doctor has to deal with matters directly affecting a man's fitness to perform the duties for which he contracts. He is the judge and promoter of that fitness. Leave and pension form an important part of the contract on the side of Government, which therefore protects itself against being unfairly taken advantage of, by appointing the surgeon to watch over the physical health of its other servants. Can any similar plea be urged on behalf of the chaplain?

We have indeed heard it gravely stated that the chaplain is to the soul what the surgeon is to the body. Government must provide a spiritual physician as well as the other. The comparison seems to us to be a specious and sentimental one, without any real force, for Government has not to do with spiritual matters at all. It may be true that sound spiritual health will render a man every way fitter, morally and even physically, for the conscientious and cheerful discharge of his duty. Ought Government for this reason to look after the religion of its servants? It would be to its interest to do so if it could secure the result aimed at. But all that Government can hope to

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obtain by its supervision is a mere outward conformity to certain forms of religion, which does not produce the desired character. The disposition of the heart is beyond the reach of all the agencies that can be employed by Government. Whatever the theory may be in practice, we find that many who most rigidly adhere to the established forms of religion, are corrupt and untrustworthy, while others who are outside of the Government system, are examples to them in purity and integrity. Does not this prove that Government interference is inadequate to effect its object, and also that happy results are obtained without such interference?

Another defender of the chaplain will say that his services are required in connection with domestic occurrences. "You will be glad to hear that dear cousin Jemima is married at last. The affair has been hanging on ever so long, and Mr. Brown Jones was getting quite impatient, but they were obliged to wait till some clergyman should pass through the station." People cannot defer being born or dying, as they can a wedding, but many poor parents have to endure the extreme suffering of their children being nameless till a chaplain happens to come round. In connection with all three events the chaplain has somehow come to be regarded as indispensable, and therefore, we are told, Government ought to provide chaplains. Perhaps we can show that they are not necessities, but (so to speak) luxuries, for which those who want them ought themselves to pay.

(1) And first as regards *birth*. The chaplain must be at hand to baptise the child, to make a Christian of it, to admit it into the Kingdom of God, and so on. Now, besides that in asking Government to provide for this, you are asking it to outstep its province, there is another serious objection which should not be ignored. All the servants of Government are not Christians; and among Christians there are many who conscientiously believe that the baptism of infants is not only no part of Christianity, but is, on the contrary, a superstitious and mischievous practice which has been unauthorizedly added to it; and many more, nominally Christian, to whom the rite has no religious significance whatever, and by whom it is complied with merely to preserve their children from the possibility of civil disadvantage in after life.

The Christian objectors to infant baptism may be wrong. Perhaps Professor Matthew Arnold is right in his dogmatic assertion, that "the sticklers (as may so often be said of the sticklers in these questions) would have been wiser had they acquiesced in it." With that we have nothing to do in this paper, nor is Government competent to decide on such points. What we are concerned with just now, is that the want is far from being universal, and that if the civil aspect of infant baptism were removed,



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it would scarcely be felt at all. The few who would really feel it could scarcely expect special provision to be made for them by Government.

(2) *Marriages*. By making marriage a sacrament, the priesthood succeeded in wresting it out of the hands of the State. Let it be restored, and many difficulties will be disposed of. Far be it from us to wish to do away with religion at weddings, but truly religious people can be religious always and everywhere without Government help, and if the presence of their minister is valued, they will not grudge providing for it themselves.

(3) The same may be said as to *burials*. Let Government provide what is absolutely necessary for the whole community, and let the peculiar details of each funeral be provided by those most intimately concerned. If a clergyman is wanted to pray at the grave, and has to be paid, let those pay him who pay the other expenses of the funeral, and not call on Government to provide for that with which it has absolutely no concern.

IV. We turn to another aspect of the question when we consider the difficulties that lie in the way of Government making provision for the religious wants of its servants. If these difficulties are found to be insuperable ; if experience teaches us that attempts to make such provision result in more evil than good, and involve Government in embarrassments and inconsistencies ; if every such attempt has proved at best a sorry bungle, and those most intimately concerned, while unwilling to pull down what has been built, yet admit\* that they would not build it if it were not done ; is not Government absolved from what was supposed to be its duty ? Clearly, the impossible is no part of our duty. I am expected to do what I can. No more can be expected. No more is due. If it can be shown that Government cannot properly make religious provision for its servants, then it is evidently not its duty to do so.

Now it is obvious that a man's religion is a sphere into which Government cannot lawfully intrude. It may have taken centuries to establish this principle, but it is at last pretty generally admitted. It may have been long obscured by despotisms which tyrannised over consciences, but the hold of those tyrants has been relaxed, and there are few countries in which men are not, to a great extent, free to worship as seems right to them, or not to worship at all. Pagan Rome might speak of religious innovations as " customs which it is not lawful to receive or observe," and beat and imprison those who introduced them. Rome, taking the Christian name, might drag to the torture-chamber and the stake those who dared to differ from her in doctrine or ritual. Even Calvin and other

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\* " If India were a *tabula rasa*, no Episcopate such as now exists,"—one would desire to see a Church and *Church Quarterly Review*.



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reformers, not freed at once from inherited prejudices which were unworthy of them, might appeal to the sword of the civil magistrate against heretics, and the Puritans of England compel the attendance of everybody in the churches. But things which were done as a matter of course yesterday and the day before, could not be done to-day, without eliciting a protest which few Governments would care to brave. Even Napoleon was obliged to say, "My dominion ends where that of conscience begins."

It is not for Government to decide, with regard to any one of its servants, what religion he is to follow. To select or promote a man because he is an adherent of a certain religion is to put a premium on a hypocritical profession of that religion, and goes far to subvert all true religion. All that Government can demand of its servants is that they, faithfully and as efficiently as possible, discharge the duties for which they were engaged. With their religion Government has no more to do than with their private life in general, so far as it does not hinder them in their duty, or bring them under the hand of the law.

The Chief Commissioner of Burmah, not long ago, regretting the immoral and degrading relations into which certain Government servants had entered, "had nothing to say with regard to the moral aspect of the matter, content to leave it to each man's conscience." "But," he continued, "the matter has a public aspect, the formation of such relations by officers of Government being detrimental to their usefulness and efficiency as public servants, and laying them open to influences, or the imputation of influences, which not unfrequently interfere with the administration of justice." On these grounds he justified his intention "in future to visit with substantial and severe marks of displeasure any case of the kind which may come officially before him." Only on similar grounds, if they existed, could any Government be justified in meddling with the religion of its servants.

In theory the Government of India has admitted this view, professing the most rigid neutrality in religious matters, and "enjoining all in authority to abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of its subjects." Now, where all are thus left free, and Government dictates no universal religion, there will of necessity be among its subjects, and of course among its servants, no religious principle being applied as a test in their appointment, a variety of forms of religion, more or less distinct from each other, and some decidedly antagonistic to others. And for which of these forms is it the duty of Government to provide?

If the Government of India, for instance, provides for its Christian servants only, it is convicted of partiality, of "favoring some by reason of their religious faith or observances." If it must

provide for the religious wants of its non-Christian servants also, what provision shall it make? Is it the duty of a Christian Government to provide the appliances of a heathen worship? Or is it its duty to impose its own convictions on its heathen servants?

“Firmly relying on the truth, and with gratitude acknowledging the solaces of Christianity,” how can it be its duty to encourage and foster religious beliefs and practices that it holds to be false? On the other hand, how can a Christian Government be bound to make religious provision for any of its servants of a kind that they do not want, appeals to external, worldly motives, being anti-Christian in principle and in operation, for true Christianity cannot be propagated by bribes any more than by the sword? Does it not follow, either that provision of all kinds should be made to suit such varying wants, or that none should be made?

But if only one religion is to be provided for, who is to decide on the nature and quality of the provision to be made? The Government is composed of a number of persons who may themselves be of different religions, or, at any rate, of very different religious character and standing. Are they to impose their own religious convictions, or those of a majority of them, or those of the supreme head of the Government, on the entire body of their subordinates? And their successors, are they to change everything? Can it be guaranteed that the men at the head of affairs will always be men who can be trusted with the administration of religion?

Does not provision imply a certain amount of interference or control? If you provide something for a man, and he is to use it or not, as he pleases, and he should not care for it, to that extent your money is wasted. If it be the duty of Government to make the provision, there should be a corresponding duty on the part of the servant to use it. It would thus be the duty of every Christian servant of Government to worship God in the form and manner prescribed by the Established Church.

If, on the other hand, the man elects to use the provision made, he of course submits to whatever conditions are connected therewith. The ministers provided are of course under the control of the providing Government, and, even in matters of doctrine and ritual, owe allegiance to that Government, their only alternative being to resign if called on to teach what they do not approve of. Those for whom provision is made have no choice, but must just take what is given to them.

V. Is not the magistrate—representing the Government—a minister of God for the terror of evil-doers, and for the encouragement of those who do well? Is it not his function to protect the lives and liberty, the persons and property, of those

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over whom he has been placed? And does he not overstep his province when he attempts to regulate or provide for the innermost needs of the human spirit? Does not the Government which attempts such things resemble the elephant in the fable, who wished to supply the place of their mother to the nestlings, and sat down upon them and at once rendered a mother unnecessary? Has the Government a divine commission to justify it in undertaking anything beyond the civil sword and sceptre?

VI. The justification which such a commission would give, would extend to the propagation of Christianity by a Christian Government, and this is just what the Government of India distinctly, and, in our opinion, rightly repudiates. While Government has, we think, grievously erred in past times in opposing the independent efforts of individuals to make known the saving truths of the Gospel, we think also it is acting wisely and well, as far as proclamations and professions manifest its intentions, in not constituting itself a missionary association.

God has commanded all men to repent and believe the Gospel, and it is the duty of every man who hears the command to obey it. It is the duty and the privilege of every man who does so—and the moment he does so it becomes a necessity of his new nature—to desire the extension of the Kingdom of God, and to promote it by every exertion and every sacrifice in his power. Every member of Government therefore, who is a real Christian, will greatly desire the triumph of Christianity, and as an individual will seek to promote it.

But there are many things which can more conveniently and more safely be left to private enterprise than undertaken by Government, and the Christian member of Government may feel the advancement of the interests of his religion to be among such things. The excellence and spirituality of his religion may be the very reason why he ought, and would prefer, to leave it to work its own way, as it surely will, by the voluntary and God-aided efforts of faithful individuals. Every true convert is a new agent for its propagation, which as a spiritual force is worth beyond measure more than the sum total of the power and influence of Government. It is our conviction that, when this is fully recognised by Christians, the Gospel will be a greater power in the earth than it has yet shown itself. We cannot believe with Dr. Chalmers that the overthrow of civil establishments of religion would be "tantamount to the surrender, in its great bulk and body, of the Christianity of our nation." A Christianity with so feeble a hold on a nation would not be worth keeping, and had better be surrendered.

An older doctor, one Gamaliel, would say to Government, "If his counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught, and

ye cannot prop it up, or make it succeed ; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, nor does it need your nursing to make it grow mightily and prevail.”

“To regard the Gospel as wanting any human addition,” says Howard Hinton, “casts us off immediately from all principles, and sets us adrift on the restless sea of imagined expediency. We thus institute a condition in which the wise and the foolish, the sober and the fanatical, the grave and the frivolous, the pious and the profane, have an equal right of action ; and the consent which we might be disposed to yield to the suggestions of good men, we shall in vain endeavour to withhold from the whims of the fanciful zealot, or the impulses of the frenzied. It is evident that, upon this system, every man acquires a title to combine with the Gospel what he may think best ; and we can no longer, with justice, complain of anything professedly intended for the purpose in view. Persecution itself may acquire a sanction in this manner, since not merely the mummeries of superstition, but the thunders of the Vatican and the fires of the Inquisition, are proposed expedients for augmenting the efficiency of the Gospel. We cling therefore, with unconquerable tenacity, to the position that the Gospel has an intrinsic power, and is adapted to all its purposes without any human addition. To retain it is our only security against a deluge of imbecility, fanaticism and blood.

“It is not difficult to understand how the eyes of pious persons, anxious to see rapid advances of religion amongst an ignorant and depraved population, should be turned towards the national purse and the influence of Government. We can imagine such persons, from the most excellent motives, and in the simplicity of their hearts, saying, ‘How many churches could be built with one or two millions of public money ! How many preachers could be set to work with half a million annually ! How influential ministers would be were they armed with a warrant from the ruling power !’

“But when you begin to employ an instrumentality which God has not sanctioned, you do what seems to us objectionable beyond endurance. It is discovered to us then that, amidst your anxieties for the triumphs of the Gospel, you are distrustful of its energies. You employ the public purse, because you think religion cannot be upheld by private liberality. You build and endow churches out of the taxes, because you think Christians would not carry the Gospel through the length and breadth of the land. You want a hierarchy authorized by the State, because you mistrust the adaptation of the Gospel ministry, and the power of the spirit of God. Again we say that this may be very piously and kindly intended, but it impeaches the intrinsic power of the Gospel. The whole case is that you cannot trust in the wisdom and power of God. It

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is something more just, more noble, and more true to the spirit of friendship with God, to stand by Him patiently in defeat, if it be so, than to gain for Him a victory by weapons which he repudiates."

ARTHUR L. SYKES.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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*Modern India and the Indians : Being a series of Impressions, Notes and Essays.* By Monier Williams, D. C. L., Hon. LL. D. of the University of Calcutta, Hon. Member of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. London : Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1878.

A PECULIAR interest attaches to the first impressions made by actual contact with Indian scenery and Indian life on the mind of a man who is not only deeply read in Indian literature, but has made a loving study of the past and present circumstances of the country as delineated by others. That such impressions should be exempt from error, or unmixed with surprise, could hardly be anticipated, but it might reasonably be expected that the error and the surprise would differ greatly in their character from those by which the first impressions of the ordinary traveller would be affected. Such a person would naturally have formed very vivid conceptions of what he was about to experience, and the influence of these conceptions would vary according to the closeness or remoteness of their relation to the actual facts. If the relation were that of proximate correspondence, the tendency would be towards assimilation of the actual facts to the preconceived ideas. If on the other hand, the relation were that of wide discrepancy the tendency would be towards exaggeration of the unlikeness. In the one case the mind is flattered by the accuracy of its prevision, and is led unconsciously to ignore differences that might disturb the satisfaction produced. In the other case, the shock sustained by the judgment inclines one to find a fresh surprise in each new experience. Mr. Monier Williams' book abounds with illustrations of both these states of feeling. In respect of the spectacular, the inclination to surprise predominates, and the tendency is towards exaggeration of unexpected features. Where the moral judgment is concerned, the tendency to reduce facts to a preconceived standard more frequently asserts itself. In the former case the source of the error is, we take it, partly a weakness of the picture forming faculty, partly long familiarity with a totally different scale of measurement, rather than any marked difference in the form of the expected and the actual facts. In the latter case, paradoxical as it may sound, the source of the error lies in the general justice of the expectations with which the actual facts were compared.

"The instant I set foot on the landing-place at Bombay,"

says Mr. Williams, "I became absorbed in the interest of every object that met my sight—the magnificent harbour with its beautiful islands, secluded creeks, and grand background of hills; the picturesque native boats, gliding hither and thither; the array of ships from every quarter of the globe riding at anchor—every feature in the surrounding landscape, every rock and stone under my feet, every animal and plant around me on the shore, every man, woman, and child in the motley throng passing and repassing on the quay, from the *bhístá*, or water-carrier, who laid the dust by means of a skin slung on his back, to the boy who importuned me for *bakshísh* to exhibit a fight between a snake held in his hand and a mongoose concealed in a basket."

And again: "On the esplanade, in front of the chief public buildings of Bombay, an extraordinary spectacle presented itself. An immense concourse of people was collected, waiting for the Prince of Wales, who was expected at the Secretariat to hold his first levée—no dingy crowd of Londoners hustling each other in a foggy, smoky atmosphere, but at least a hundred thousand turbaned Asiatics, in bright-coloured dresses of every hue, moving sedately about in orderly groups under a glittering sky. The whole plain seemed to glow and flash with kaleidoscopic combinations of dazzling, variegated colours. Rows of well-appointed carriages belonging to rich Bombay merchants, some containing Pársí ladies and children in gorgeous costumes, with coachmen in brilliant liveries, lined the esplanade. Gem-bespangled Rájás, Mahárájás and Nawábs dashed by in four-horsed equipages, with troops of outriders before and behind."

One feels this to be the description of a man who found far greater picturesqueness, and brilliancy, and colour, and a far vaster scale of both space and number than he had anticipated, and who has consequently been led to paint things in colours beside which the reality would appear dull to more accustomed eyes.

Due allowance being made for these two sources of error, *Modern India and the Indians* amply justifies the reasonable expectation that the writer's previous training and high scholarship would make him a specially competent observer. The descriptions are invariably graphic; the reflections are not only generally just, as far as they go but go much deeper, and embody the results of a much more exhaustive analysis, than those of ordinary observers.

Remaining only a few hours in Bombay, Mr. Monier Williams plunged at once into camp-life, before the novelty of even the commonest Indian surroundings had lost its edge. His account of his first day's experiences gains more in fullness and freshness,

than it loses in accuracy. from the state of abnormal impressibility which seems to have been produced in him by the strangeness of the situation. Here is an amusing account of the first night in camp :

“Dinner over, we sit out in the open air. The moon is shining with a lustre unknown in northern latitudes. We recline on lounging chairs round a blazing wood-fire, not sorry to wrap ourselves up in our warm plaids. I retire early to my tent and compose myself for the luxurious slumber I had anticipated. But I am too excited to sleep immediately. With difficulty I gain the borderland between consciousness and unconsciousness. What is that sound, half snort, half snuffle, close to my head? I start, and sit up. Can it be the Brāhmanī bull I saw just before dinner roaming about at large in full enjoyment of a kind of sacred independence? Cautiously and guardedly I open my mosquito curtains, intending to seize the nearest weapon of defence. Clink, clunk! clank, clank! Thank goodness! that must be the guard parading close to my tent; and sure enough there are sounds of a rush, and a chase, and a genuine bull's bellow which gradually diminish and fade away in the distance.

“Again I compose myself, but as night advances begin to be painfully aware that a number of other strange sounds are intensifying outside and inside my tent—croaks, squeaks, grunts, chirps, hums, buzzes, whizzes, whistles, rustles, flutters, scuffles, scampers, and nibbles. Harmless sounds proceeding from harmless creatures! I reason with myself. A toad is attracted by the water in my bathroom, a rat has scented out my travelling biscuits, mosquitoes and moths are trying to work their way through my curtains, a vampire bat is hanging from the roof of my tent, crickets and grasshoppers are making themselves at home on my floor. ‘Quite usual, of course,’ I say to myself, ‘in these hot climates, and quite to be expected!’ Ah, but that hissing sound! Do not cobras hiss? The hissing subsides, and is succeeded by a melancholy moan. Is that the hooting of an owl? No! The moan has changed to a prolonged yell, increasing in an alarming manner. Yell is taken up by yell, howl by howl. Awful sounds come from all directions. Surely a number of peasants are being murdered in the adjoining fields. I am bound to get up and rush to the rescue. No, no, I remember. I saw a few jackals slinking about the camp in the evening.

“Once more I try to compose myself, disgusted with my silly sensitiveness. Shriek, shriek, and a thundering roar! The midnight luggage-train is passing with a screaming whistle fifty yards from my head. At last I drop off exhausted into a troubled slumber. I dream of bulls, snakes, tigers, and railway collisions. A sound of many voices mingles with my perturbed visions. Crowds of natives are collecting for the six o'clock train two hours before sunrise. They talk, chatter, jabber, shout, and laugh to beguile the tedium of waiting. At five minutes to six the station bell rings violently, and my servant appears with my *chota-hāzirī*, or little breakfast. I start up, dress quickly, remembering that I am expected to drink a cup of hot tea, and go out like a veteran Anglo-Indian, to ‘eat the air’ (*hawā khānā*), before the sun is well up.”

It is only in his first two chapters that Professor Williams has adopted the form of a continuous narrative. The remainder of his work consists of a series of separate essays on various subjects connected with the religious customs and condition, social and political, of the country. Thus we have a chapter on “Samādhi, sacrifice, self-immolation, and self-torture”; one on “The Towers of Silence;” one on “Funeral ceremonies and offer

ings to ancestors at Bombay, Benares and Gayá"; one on "Indian Rosaries", and others on "The South-Indian Famine of 1876-77"; "Parsi Funeral Rites and the Parsi religion"; "Indian and European civilisation in their relation to each other and in their effect on the progress of Christianity"; "Indian Muhammadanism in its relation to Christianity"; "The three religions of India compared with each other and with Christianity"; and "The promotion of good-will and sympathy between England and India," while, under the head of "General Impressions of Northern India" and "General Impressions of Southern India," we are presented with reflections on a still larger variety of interesting topics.

The Towers of Silence are vividly described :

"The garden is approached by a well-constructed private road, all access to which, except to Parsis, is barred by strong iron gates. Thanks to the omnipotent Sir Jamsetjee, no obstacles impeded my advance. The massive gates flew open before me as if by magic. I drove rapidly through a park-like enclosure, and found the courteous Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat, Mr. Nusserwanjee Byramjee, awaiting my arrival at the entrance to the garden. He took me at once to the highest point in the consecrated ground, and we stood together on the terrace of the largest of the three *Sagrīs*, or Houses of Prayer, which overlook the five Towers of Silence. This principal *Sagrī* contains the sacred fire, which, when once kindled and consecrated by solemn ceremonial, is fed day and night with incense and fragrant sandal, and never extinguished. The view from this spot can scarcely be surpassed by any in the world. Beneath us lay the city of Bombay, partially hidden by coconut groves, with its beautiful bay and harbour glittering in the brilliant December light. Beyond stretched the magnificent ranges of the ghauts, while immediately around us extended a garden, such as can only be seen in tropical countries. No English nobleman's garden could be better kept, and no pen could do justice to the glories of its flowering shrubs, cypresses, and palms. It seemed the very ideal, not only of a place of sacred silence, but of peaceful rest.

"But what are those five circular structures which appear at intervals rising mysteriously out of the foliage? They are masses of solid masonry, massive enough to last for centuries, built of the hardest black granite, and covered with white chunam, the purity and smoothness of which are disfigured by patches of black fungus-like incrustations. Towers they scarcely deserve to be called; for the height of each is quite out of proportion to its diameter. The largest of the five, built with such solid granite that the cost of erection was three lacs of rupees, seemed 50 or 60 feet in diameter and not more than 25 feet in height. The oldest and smallest of the five was constructed 200 years ago, when the Parsis first settled in Bombay, and is now only used by the Modi family, whose forefathers built it, and here the bones of many kindred generations are commingled. The next oldest was erected in 1756, and the other three during the succeeding century. A sixth tower stands quite apart from the others. It is square in shape, and only used for persons who have suffered death for heinous crimes. The bones of convicted criminals are never allowed to mingle with those of the rest of the community.

"But the strangest feature in these strange, unsightly structures, so incongruously intermixed with graceful cypresses and palms, exquisite shrubs, and gorgeous flowers, remains to be described. Though wholly destitute



of ornament, and even of the simplest moulding, the parapet of each tower possesses an extraordinary coping, which instantly attracts and fascinates the gaze. It is a coping formed, not of dead stone, but of living vultures. These birds, on the occasion of my visit, had settled themselves side by side in perfect order and in a complete circle around the parapets of the towers, with their heads pointed inwards, and so lazily did they sit there and so motionless was their whole mien that, except for their colour, they might have been carved out of the stonework. So much for the external aspect of the celebrated Towers of Silence. After they have been once consecrated by solemn ceremonies, no one, except the corpse-bearers, is allowed to enter; nor is any one, not even a Pārsī High Priest, permitted to approach within 30 feet of the immediate precincts. An exact model of the interior was, however, shown to me.

“Imagine a round column or massive cylinder 12 or 14 feet high, and 60 feet in diameter, built throughout of solid stone, except in the centre, where a well, 8 or 10 feet across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, terminated by holes filled with charcoal or sand. Round the upper surface of this solid circular cylinder, and completely hiding the interior from view, is a stone parapet, 10 or 12 feet in height. This it is which, when viewed from the outside, appears to form one piece with the solid stonework, and being, like it, covered with chunam, gives the whole the appearance of a low tower. The upper surface of the solid stone column is divided into seventy-two compartments, or open receptacles, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well, and arranged in three concentric rings, separated from each other by narrow ridges of stone, which are grooved to act as channels for conveying all moisture from the receptacles into the well and into the lower drains. It should be noted, by-the-by, that the number three is emblematical of Zoroaster’s three precepts, and the number seventy-two of the chapters of his *Yāsna*—a portion of the *Zand-Avastā*.

“Each circle of open stone coffins is divided from the next by a pathway, so that there are three circular pathways, the last encircling the central well; and these three pathways are crossed by another pathway conducting from the solitary door which admits the corpse-bearers from the exterior. In the outermost circle of the stone coffins are placed the bodies of males, in the middle those of females, and in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, those of children.

“While I was engaged with the Secretary in examining the model, a sudden stir among the vultures made us raise our heads. At least a hundred birds, collected round one of the towers, began to show symptoms of excitement, while others swooped down from neighbouring trees. The cause of this sudden abandonment of their previous apathy soon revealed itself. A funeral was seen to be approaching. However distant the house of a deceased person, and whether he be rich or poor, high or low in rank, his body is always carried to the Towers by the official corpse-bearers, called *Nasa-salār*, who form a distinct class, the mourners walking behind. As the bearers are supposed to contract impurity in the discharge of their duty, they are forced to live quite apart from the rest of the community and are, therefore, highly paid.

“Before they remove the body from the house where the relatives are assembled funeral prayers are recited, and the corpse is exposed to the gaze of a dog, regarded by the Pārsīs as a sacred animal. This latter ceremony is called *Sagdīd*.

“Then the body, swathed in a white sheet, is placed on a curved metal trough\* open at both ends, and the corpse-bearers, dressed in pure white gar-

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\* This form of bier is only used the description of the second funeral in the case of young children. See witnessed by me.



ments, proceed with it towards the towers. They are followed by the mourners at a distance of at least 30 feet, in pairs, also dressed in white, and each couple joined by holding a white handkerchief between them. The particular funeral I witnessed was that of a child. When the two corpse-bearers reached the path leading by a steep incline to the door of the tower, the mourners, about eight in number, turned back and entered one of the prayer-houses. 'There,' said the Secretary, 'they repeat certain Gâthâs, and pray that the spirit of the deceased may be safely transported on the fourth day after death to its final resting-place.'

"The tower selected for the present funeral was one in which other members of the same family had before been laid. The two bearers speedily unlocked the door, reverently conveyed the body of the child into the interior, and unseen by any one, laid it uncovered in one of the open stone receptacles nearest the central well. In two minutes they re-appeared with the empty bier and white cloth. But scarcely had they closed the door when a dozen vultures swooped down upon the body, and were rapidly followed by flights of others. In five minutes more we saw the satiated birds fly back and lazily settle down again upon the parapet. They had left nothing behind but a skeleton. Meanwhile the bearers were seen to enter a building shaped like a huge barrel. There, as the Secretary informed me, they changed their clothes and washed themselves. Shortly afterwards we saw them come out and deposit their cast-off funeral garments on a stone-receptacle near at hand. Not a thread leaves the garden, lest it should carry defilement into the city. Perfectly new garments are supplied at each funeral. In a fortnight, or at most four weeks, the same bearers return, and, with gloved hands and implements resembling tongs, place the dry skeleton in the central well. There the bones find their last resting-place, and there the dust of whole generations of Pârsis commingling is left undisturbed for centuries.

"The revolting sight of the gorged vultures made me turn my back on the towers with ill-concealed abhorrence."

Professor Williams, in common with most travellers, is much struck with the excellence of the winter climate in India, the salubrioness of which, judging from our mortuary returns, he somewhat overrates, and he is impressed with the belief that many invalids who resort annually to Southern Europe, to escape the damp and gloom of an English winter, would do better to seek the perpetual sunshine, balmy breezes, and perfect dryness of air and soil, combined with lovely flowers and summer foliage, which characterise the same period here. Not only the student of physical geography and geology, he thinks, but the admirers of scenery, would find no place so satisfying as India. "Monotonous plains, sandy deserts, noble rivers, fertile fields, immense districts, wooded like English parks, forest, grove and jungle, gentle undulation, hill and dale, rock and crag, precipice, snowy peak—everything is here." There is one exception, "India has nothing to offer like the picturesque lakes of Europe." The "grand distinctive feature which impresses a traveller most, is," he thinks, "the sublime range which, stretching from east to west, blends with other ranges towards the north, and surrounds the whole upper part

of India with a mighty natural rampart, shutting it out from the rest of the continent of Asia . . . as the Alps shut out Italy from Europe." Surpassing, however, as the Himalayas are in magnitude, they present, as viewed from the plains, no such continuous spectacle of mountain-grandeur as the Alps viewed from the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont.

Under the head of Animal and Plant Life, he expresses his surprise that zoologists and botanists do not come to the country by scores and revel in the rich fare nature has provided for them.

Of the character of the people, he speaks in terms of rare moderation. "I have found no people in Europe," he says, "more religious—none more patiently persevering in common duties, none more docile and amenable to authority, none more courteous or respectful towards age and learning, none more dutiful to parents, none more faithful in service. Superstition, immorality, untruthfulness, pride, selfishness, avarice, all these and other faults and vices of course abound, but not more than they do in other countries unpenetrated by the spirit of true Christianity, and not more than will be found among those merely nominal Christians who, after all, constitute the real mass of the people in Europe."

One of the most valuable portions of Professor Williams' book is that in which he describes the religious creeds of India. It would be difficult to convey in fewer words a clearer idea of the distinctive features of Brahmanism or Vedantism, the Hinduism of the vulgar, Buddhism, Parsi-ism and Muhammadanism.

The term Brahmanism he would restrict to the purely pantheistic system evolved by the Bráhmans out of "the partly monotheistic, partly polytheistic, partly pantheistic religion" of the Veda, and more fully developed in the Vedanta philosophy. Its cardinal tenet is, that nothing possesses any real existence except the one universal spirit, or Brahma, whatever appears to exist independently being identical with that spirit; and it teaches that the ultimate aim of the individuated consciousness, invested for a time with an apparently separate existence, should be complete re-union with the one eternal self by annihilation of the separate consciousness. "A Bráhman," says the author, "who holds this doctrine, thinks the religion of the Christian, who is conscious of severance from God, and yearns for re-union with him, and yet does not wish his own self-consciousness to be merged in God, a very selfish, kind of creed, compared with his own."

The term Hinduism he applies to the complicated system of polytheistic doctrines and caste-usages, which has gradually resulted out of the mixture of Brahmanism, first with Buddhism, and then with the non-Aryan creeds of Dravidians and aborigines.

"This system" he says, "rests on the whole series of Hindu sacred writings—the four Vedas with their Brāhmanas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the laws of Manu, the Rāmāyana and Mahā-bhārata, the eighteen Purānas and sixty-four Tantras. Hence, Hindūism is something very different from Brāhmanism, though the one is derived from the other. It encourages idolatry—that is to say, worship before the images and symbols of *Vishnu*, the Preserver, and *Rudra-siva*, the Destroyer and Regenerator (manifestations of Brāhman), as a help for weak-minded persons; and every enlightened Brāhman admits that the unthinking and ignorant, who are by far the majority, adore the idols themselves.

"In fact, Hindūism is like a huge irregular structure which has had no single architect, but a whole series, and has spread itself over an immense surface by continual additions and accretions. The gradual growth of its congeries of heterogeneous doctrines is exactly reflected in the enormous mass of its disjointed sacred writings which, beginning with the Rig-veda, about the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, extend over a period of 2,500 years. It is perhaps the only religion in the world which has neither any name derived from any single founder, nor any distinct designation of any kind. We may call it Brāhmanism and Hindūism, but these are not names recognised by the natives themselves. Its present aspect is that of an ancient overgrown fabric, with no apparent unity of design—patched, pieced, restored and enlarged in all directions, inlaid with every variety of idea, and, although looking as if ready at any moment to fall into ruins, still extending itself so as to cover every hole and corner of available ground, still holding its own with great pertinacity, and still keeping its position securely, because supported by a hard foundation of Brāhmanism and caste. It is only, however, by the practice of a kind of universal toleration and receptivity—carried on through more than 2,000 years—that Hindūism has maintained its ground and arrived at its present condition\* It has been asserted that Hindism is unlike Buddhism in not being a missionary religion. Certainly Buddhism was once a proselyting system (though its missionary spirit is extinct), and it is very true that a Brāhman *nascitur non fit*, but it is equally true that Hindūism could not have extended itself over India if it had never exerted itself to make proselytes. In point of fact, it has first borne with and then accepted, and, so to speak, digested and assimilated something from all creeds. It has opened its doors to all comers (and is willing to do so still) on the two conditions of their admitting the spiritual supremacy of the Brāhmanas, and conforming to certain caste-rules about food, intermarriage, and professional pursuits. In this manner it has adopted much of the Fetishism of the Negroid aborigines of India; it has stooped to the practices of various primitive tribes, and has not scrupled to appropriate and naturalise the adoration of the fish, the boar, the serpent, rocks, stones, and trees; it has borrowed ideas from the various cults of the Drāvidian races; and it may even owe something to Christianity. Above all, it has assimilated nearly every doctrine of Buddhism except its atheism, its denial of the eternal existence of soul, and its levelling of caste-distinctions."

Of Buddhism he says: "It was originally no new religion, but a mere modification or reconstruction of Brāhmanism, and even now has much in common with it. But the Buddha, in opposition to the Brāh-

\* Moor, in his 'Panttheon' (p. 402,) tells us that a learned Pandit once observed to him that the English were a new people, and had only the record of one Avatara, but the Hindus were

an ancient people, and had accounts of a great many, and that if the Puranas were examined, they would probably be found to record the incarnation of Christ.

mans, refused to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and repudiated the authority of the Veda, caste-distinctions, sacrifices, and sacrificing priests. His doctrines were afterwards collected in the sacred writings called *Tri-pitaka* or 'Triple-collection' (written in Pali, the ancient language of the Magadha district, closely allied to Sanskrit). He maintained that the only deity was man himself, when brought to a condition of Buddha-hood or perfection, and he made *Nirvāna*, 'extinction of all being,' take the place of *Sāyujya*, 'identification with the one sole Being of the Universe,' as the great end and object of all human efforts. His doctrines soon spread to Ceylon, Burmah, and other countries, but pure Buddhism does not exist any longer anywhere. In India it first co-existed with Brāhmanism, then met with some persecution, and finally lapsed back into Brāhmanism, about the ninth century of our era."

Of the Jain religion, he says: "Jainism, the home of cold indifferentism, even more unworthy to be called a religion than Buddhism, is now the only representative of Buddhistic ideas in India Proper. I believe that, according to the last census, the number of Buddhists under our rule in British Burmah amounts to about two millions-and-a-half. The Jainas, or Jains, in India Proper, only number about 380,000, at least half of whom are in the Bombay Presidency. They congregate most thickly in the districts round Ahmedābād.

"The Jainas maintain that their system originated earlier than Buddhism and from an independent source. Recent researches tend to show that there is ground for this assertion. They probably represent two parallel lines of philosophical inquiry. One thing is certain, that Jainism has much in common with Buddhism, however it may differ from Buddhism in various ways. Perhaps the chief point of difference is that the Jainas retain caste-distinctions, but this again may be a later innovation. They are divided into two principal sects or parties—the Svetāmbaras and the Dig-ambaras. The doctrines of both these sects rest on sacred books, called Agamas (divided into Angas, Upāngas, &c.,) many of which are common to both. They both agree with the Buddhists in rejecting the Veda of the Brāhmins. Formerly the Dig-ambaras, 'sky clothed,' were forbidden to wear clothing, and even now they eat naked. The principal point in the creed of Jainas (as of Buddhists) is the reverence paid to holy men who by long discipline have raised themselves to a kind of divine perfection. The Jina, or 'conquering saint,' who having conquered all worldly desires reveals true knowledge, is with Jainas what the Buddha or 'perfectly enlightened saint' is with Buddhists.

"Great numbers of the Baniyas or traders of the west of India,



who claim to be Vaisyas, are Jains. If a Jain wishes to acquire religious merit, he either builds a new temple to hold an image of one or all of the twenty-four Jina saints, or a hospital for the care of worn-out animals. No one thinks of repairing the work of his predecessor, though it be that of his own father. At Pālītāna, in Káthiāwár, there are hundreds of new temples by the side of decaying old ones.

Jainism, like Brahmanism and Buddhism, lays great stress on the doctrine of transmigration of souls. The Jainas carry their respect for animal life—even for the life of the most minute infusoria—to a preposterous extreme. Their only worship, like that of the Buddhists, is adoration of human perfection. Though they dissent from the Veda they regard themselves as Hindūs."

As regards Christianity, Professor Williams considers that it has more points of contact with Hinduism, than with either Buddhism or Islām. As to its progress in India, he thinks, with most impartial judges, that the best work done by the missionaries is what they have done as schoolmasters. A complete disintegration of faiths is in progress in the upper strata of society; but it leads to theism, not to Christianity. Conversions to Christianity, he is of opinion, will continue to be rare, till it is presented to the Hindus in a more orientalised form, and by more orientalised missionaries, "that is, by men who will consent to live among the natives and become themselves half Indianised"; and he considers it a question whether certain caste-customs might not be tolerated among Indian converts. This, however, would be merely to revert to the *modus operandi* of the early Jesuit missionaries.

In our author's views on the political and social questions of the day, we seem frequently to trace the reflection of current official opinions, or of opinions, which though they may not find official expression, are well-known to be held privately in influential quarters. In many cases, however, we find ample evidence of independent thought, and along with it of a remarkable degree of penetration. On the subject of our connexion with the native States, he shares views which have long been uppermost in the official mind, and the workings of which, though it has been thought prudent to dissemble them at the present juncture, are plainly traceable in a late famous Minute. He believes that, in case of political troubles, they would strive, from selfish motives, to help us, but he fears that the people generally prefer maladministration and a limited amount of oppression under their own rulers to good government under ours; and that very few of the chiefs would have sufficient personal authority and influence with their own people, or even with their own troops, to control their hostility to us. It is not surprising that, under those circumstances, he con-



siders the expediency of permitting the native feudatory princes to organise and equip, at the expense of their impoverished people, unnecessarily large forces, a matter deserving of more attention than it has yet awakened. As regards the characters of the chiefs themselves he says: "At Calcutta and other places in India, during the Prince's tour, I had unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principal Mahārājas, and occasional interesting conversations with them and their ministers. Some are enlightened men. Many have been brought up under our superintendence with great care. But I fear the truth about many of them is this. On coming of age they are allowed to manage their kingdoms, under the eye of our Residents and Political Agents, who watch them without direct interference. At first they give great promise, but soon become surrounded by designing ministers, who, to serve their own interests—which are better promoted by bad government than by good—encourage the young Rājas in a life of dissipation. Very few resist the evil influences of their surroundings for any length of time. By degrees they succumb and degenerate. In the end they fall into excesses and become debilitated in body and mind. Then their feeble sons, if they have any, generally die early, and an heir is adopted. Happily, there are exceptions to this rule, and examples might be given of good native princes who devote themselves to the welfare of their territories."

He looks with shrewd misgiving on our educational system, the tendency of which, he fears, is rather to inform the mind, than to form the character and raise its tone. "This sort of education," he remarks, "is, in some cases, better than nothing, but too often it inflates young men with conceit, unhinges their faith in their own religion without giving them any other, leads them to despise the calling of their fathers, and to look upon knowledge as a mere stepping-stone to Government situations, which they cannot all obtain. I heard it stated (possibly with some exaggeration) that not long ago there were 500 applications for a municipal post at Kurnoul, worth only Rs. 15 per month. Those who are unsuccessful in gaining appointments will not turn to manual labour, but remain discontented members of society and enemies of our Government, converting the little real education they have received into an instrument to injure us by talking treason and writing seditious articles in native journals. I believe the defects of our present system are beginning to be acknowledged. Many think we shall be wiser to educate the generality of natives in their professions and callings rather than above them—to make a good mechanic a better one, a good carpenter more skilful in his own craft—and only to give higher forms of education in exceptional cases."

Again he says :

“ With regard to languages, I cannot help thinking that a great mistake is committed—a mistake which calls for the immediate consideration of the directors of public instruction. We do not sufficiently encourage the vernaculars. The classical languages receive due respect and attention, but the vernacular dialects of India, which ought to be stimulated to draw fresh vitality and energy from Sanskrit, are everywhere showing signs of serious deterioration. Be it observed, however, that they are by no means dying out. It would be simple folly to suppose that we can impose English on 240 millions of people, but by enforcing English as a *sine quâ non* at our matriculation examinations, and by making a knowledge of it the only road to employment in the public service, we are dealing a fatal blow at the purity of the vernacular languages. My conviction is that, unless more is done to encourage their cultivation, some of them will soon lapse into vulgar hybrid dialects. A highly-educated Marātha gentleman told me that he scarcely knew a man among his own fellow-countrymen who could write good Marāthi. Even the right spelling of the words derived from the Sanskrit, which ought to be carefully preserved, is becoming hopelessly corrupted. A vicious style of verbose and inflated composition, copied from Dr. Johnson’s ‘Rambler,’ is becoming common, and English words are ostentatiously imported into it, when far more suitable expressions might be drawn from a Sanskrit source. Such great native poets as Tukaram and Morapant are becoming neglected, and intelligent men, who might do much to develope and improve their own languages, waste their time in concocting, and even printing and publishing, wretched English verses, which no Englishman can read without a smile. The result of such a mistaken system is that India is flooded with conceited and half-educated persons who despise and neglect their own languages, and their own religious and political systems, without becoming good English scholars, good Christians, or good subjects of the Queen. And hence we are confronted with a difficulty which, even if it does not endanger our rule in India, is becoming more embarrassing every day—the difficulty of providing suitable employment for the thousands of young men we have educated badly and unsuitably. For excessive and misdirected education cannot be carried on with the same impunity in India as in England, where we have the safeguard of our Colonies and an outlet in India itself.”

But we must bring our review of this excellent volume to a close. No one interested in India should omit to read it, and few even among the most experienced Anglo-Indians will read it without learning something from it about the people among whom their lot is cast.

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*Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian : Being a Translation of the Fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes, collected by Schwanbeck, and of the First Part of the Indika of Arrian. By J. W. McCrindle, M. A. With Introduction, Notes, and Map of Ancient India. Reprinted (with additions) from the “Indian Antiquary,” 1876-77. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay : Thacker & Co. London : Trübner & Co. 1877.*

**I**N rendering the results of Dr. Schwanbeck’s industry accessible to English readers by this translation of the collected frag-

ments of the lost *Indika* of Megasthenes, perhaps the most trustworthy of the Greek writers on India, Mr. McCrindle would have performed a most valuable service even had he not enriched the original by the addition of copious critical notes, and a translation of the first part of Arrian's work on the same subject. It is not a little singular that this, the first English translation of Megasthenes, should have been made in the very city where the original—or, at all events, the notes on which it was based,—was in all probability written, more than two thousand years ago. There can be no reasonable doubt that Megasthenes resided for a considerable time at the Court of Chandra Gupta, at Palibothra, the modern Patna, where he had been sent on an embassy, about the close of the fourth century before the Christian era.

The high opinion formed by Schwanbeck of his veracity will, we think, be endorsed by all who read the fragments here collected from the works of the various Greek authors who have quoted him. Though he has recorded much that is fabulous, the general accuracy of what he relates as an eyewitness is sufficient proof that in such cases he was merely the victim of the dishonesty or the credulity of the natives of the country, from whom he doubtless derived his information regarding what did not fall within his own personal experience.

Regarding the extent of the latter Schwanbeck says :

“ Both from what he himself says, and because he has enumerated more accurately than any of the companions of Alexander, or any other Greek, the rivers of Kabul and the Punjab, it is clear that he passed through these countries. Then again, we know that he reached Pataliputra by travelling along the royal road. But he does not appear to have seen more of India than those parts of it, and he acknowledges himself that he knew the lower part of the country, traversed by the Ganges, only by hearsay and report. It is commonly supposed that he also spent some time in the Indian camp, and therefore in some part of the country, but where cannot now be known. This opinion, however, is based on a corrupt reading which the editions of Strabo exhibit.”

Nor is Schwanbeck of opinion that Megasthenes visited India more than once.

As furnishing a fair example of Megasthenes' accuracy, when treating of patent and familiar facts, his account of the elephant, as preserved in Strabo, may be quoted :

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them. The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which gives access to the enclosure. Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach this trap in the day-time, but they enter it at night, going in one by one. When

all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up: then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones; whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by *coaxing* words, and others by songs and the music of the drum. Few of them are found difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild and gentle in their disposition that they approximate to rational creatures. Some of them take up their drivers when fallen in battle, and carry them off in safety from the field. Others, when their masters have sought refuge between their forelegs, have fought in their defence and saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds or the man who trains them, they pine so much for their loss that they refuse to take food, and sometimes die of hunger.

"They copulate like horses, and the female casts her calf chiefly in Spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for the females when the corresponding passage opens. They go with young for a period which varies from sixteen to eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf for six years. Most of them live as long as men who attain extreme longevity, and some live over two hundred years. They are liable to many distempers, and are not easily cured. The remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with cows' milk. For most of their other diseases draughts of black wine are administered to them. For the cure of their wounds they are made to swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

Fragment XLI, also from Strabo, is of special interest, as containing an obvious reference to the Buddhist schism.

Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds—one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmanes. The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer)



skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security.\* They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers: for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced† The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brachmanes.

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\* "A mistake (of the Greek writers) originates in their ignorance of the fourfold division of a Brâhman's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years sophists marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to a student who, having completed the austerities of the first period, becomes a householder):" Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 236, where it is also remarked that the writers erroneously prolong the period during which students listen to their instructors in silence and respect, making it extend in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Manu (chap. III. sec. 1) permits it in any case to be protracted.

† *Akâsa*, 'the ether or sky.'



Of the Sarmanes\* he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi.† They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature.‡ This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude.||

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement, inculcate such superstitions regarding llades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

The following interesting fragment, quoted from Ælian, and believed to be mainly based on the work of Megasthenes, contains accounts of several birds, including the green pigeon, the mina and the adjutant, which Anglo-Indian readers will easily identify :

“In India I learn that there are to be found the birds called parrots; and though I have no doubt already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with

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\* Schwanbeck argues from the distinct separation here made between the Brahmanes and the Sarmanes, as well as from the name *Sramana* being especially applied to Bauddha teachers, that the latter are here meant. They are called Samanaioi by Bardesanes (ap. Porphy. *Abstin.* IV. 17) and Alex. Polyhistor. (ap. Cyrill. *Contra Julian.* IV. p. 133 E, ed. Paris, 1638). Conf. also Hieronym. *ad Jovinian.* II. (ed. Paris, 1706, T. II. pt. II. p. 206). And this is just the Pall name *Sammana*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sramana*. Boblen in *De Buddhaismi origine et ætate definiendis* sustains this view, but Lassen (*Rhein Mus. für Phil.* I. 171 ff.) contends that the description agrees better with the Brâhman ascetics. See Schwanbeck, p. 45ff. and Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* (2nd ed.) II. 705, or (1st ed.) II. 700.

† See note page 98.

‡ “The habits of the physicians,” Elphinstone remarks, “seem to correspond with those of Brâhman of the fourth stage.”

|| “It is indeed,” says the same authority, “a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is, that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people.”

a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor, being wild and untaught, are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with, and pale-green ringdoves. One who is not well-versed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals of which the crest is formed variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the smaragdus.

"There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians, who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuropolis, and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the *Kerkion*. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as the water-ousels (*hoi kinghloi*).

"I learn further that in India there is a bird called the *Kelas*, which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers at their tips are tinted with a pale yellow.

"I hear also that the Indian hoopoe (*epopa*) is double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance, and Homer says that, while the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which Nature has adorned it. The Brachmanes, therefore, even make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story, and the tale told of it runs thus:—To the king of the Indians there was born a son. The child had elder brothers, who when they came to man's estate turned out to be very unjust and the greatest of reprobates. They despised their brother because he was the youngest; and they scoffed also at their father and their mother, whom they despised because they were very old and grey-haired. The boy, accordingly, and his aged parents could at last no longer live with these wicked men, and away they fled from home, all three together. In the course of the protracted journey which they had then to undergo, the old people succumbed to fatigue and died, and the boy showed them no light regard, but buried them in himself, having cut off his head with a sword. Then, as the Brachmanes tell us, the all-seeing sun, in admiration of this surpassing act of piety, transformed the boy into a bird which is most beautiful to behold, and which lives to a very advanced age. So on his head there grew up a crest which was as it were a memorial of what he had done at the time of his flight. The Athenians have also related, in a fable, marvels somewhat similar of the crested lark; and this fable Aristophanes, the comic poet, appears to me to have followed when he says in the *Birds*: 'For thou wert ignorant, and not always bustling, nor always thumbing Æsop, who spake of the crested lark, calling it the first of all birds, born before ever the earth was; and telling how afterwards her father became sick and died, and how that, as the

earth did not then exist, he lay unburied till the fifth day, when his daughter, unable to find a grave elsewhere, dug one for him in her own head.\*

"It seems, accordingly, probable that the fable, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the Brachmanes say that a prodigious time has elapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

"In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin, so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the *phallages* (pangolin, or scaly ant-eater).

"There is found in India a graminivorous animal which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail purely black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward; but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcase, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh."

We are glad to see that Mr. McCrindle proposes following up the present work with others of a similar kind, one of which, "The Circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea," is nearly ready for publication.

\* Lines 470-75 :—

"You're such a dull incurious lot, unread in Æsop's lore,  
Whose story says the lark was born first of the feathered quire,  
Before the earth; then came a cold and carried off his sire:  
Earth was not; five days lay the old bird untombed: at last the son  
Buried the father in his head, since other grave was none."

*Dr. Kennedy's Translation.*

*Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying Narratives. Translated from the Chinese. By Samuel Beale, (B. A., Trin. Coll. Camb.), Professor of Chinese, University College, London. London: Triibner and Co. Ludgate Hill. 1878*

THE Buddhist canonical writings, or *Tripitaka*, consist of three distinct "baskets," or collections, written originally in the Pali language. The *Dhammapada*, or Precepts of the Law, is a semi-canonical work, consisting of selections from the second of these collections, made probably in the first century before our era.

Of the Páli, or Southern, edition of this work, we already had translations by Fausböll and Max Müller. The present translation is from one volume of a complete copy of the *Tripitaka*, in the Chinese language, obtained by Iwakura Tomomi for the library of the India Office, and containing four distinct versions of the *Dhammapada*. The earliest of these, or the *Fa-kheu-hing*, as it is called in the Chinese, is attributed in the Chinese translation to Dharmatrāta, and was translated by Wei-chi-lan, a Shaman, (and others), who lived during the Wei dynasty, about the beginning of the third century of our era. There is reason to believe that Dharmatrāta, the author of the recension, was uncle to the Vasumitra "who took a principal part in the last revision of the canon, as the President of the synod under Kanishka."

It has been the fashion hitherto among Páli scholars to depreciate the authority of the Chinese Buddhist works, which have been erroneously regarded as translations from Sanskrit works found in Nepal.

Comparison of the present edition of the *Dhammapada* with the Páli, however, scarcely bears out this imputation, the chief difference being in its containing thirteen chapters, viz., eight at the commencement, four at the end, and one an intercalary chapter which are absent from the Páli. Moreover, in the preface, allusion is made to these additions, which are said to have been the work of the Indian missionary, or refugee, Tsiang-im, after due consultation and verification from ancient sources, thus pointing to the fact of the original Mss. brought to China, having been identical with the Páli known in Ceylon.

Professor Beale, however, mistrusting his translation of the above passage, which he says is obscure, is inclined, we think without reason, to consider that Dharmatrāta himself, "whilst retaining the number of chapters and their subjects of consideration, added some additional stanzas to them, and that this work, so revised, or re-edited, was accepted by the Council" under Vasumitra. The fact remains that two-thirds of the Chinese version corresponds integrally with the Páli, the correspondence marking not merely the sense of the text, but the titles and arrangement of the chapters.

Mr. Beale has, however, selected another of the four versions for his translation, viz., the *Fā-kheu-pi-ii*, consisting of a selection of the *gāthās*, or metrical texts, each preceded by an illustrative story, to which it forms the "moral." The chapters are identical with the *Fā-kheu-king*, the *gāthās* however being fewer.

That this mode of instruction, viz., by parables accompanying moral texts, was adopted by Buddha and his disciples, is well known, but whether the stories in this Chinese version should be



attributed to Dharmatràta, or to whom they should be attributed, is doubtful. So far as has been ascertained, they differ from those given by Buddhagosha, and attributed by that sage to Gotama himself.

The other two Chinese versions of the *Dhammapada* we need not here notice. Professor Beale says: "I have selected the second Chinese version for translation in preference to the first, because of its completeness. If my object had been to institute a comparison between the Pàli and Chinese copies of *Dhammapada*, the earlier version would doubtless have been the one to select for the purpose. But such is not the aim of the present book. Its purpose is to shew the method adopted by the early Buddhist teachers and preachers, who were mainly instrumental in diffusing a knowledge of this religion through the Eastern World. The simple method of parable was the one used. Doubtless it was this method which, in the first place, contributed to the wide prevalence of the system, and has since enabled it to keep its hold on the minds of so many millions of people."

To enable those who have not already studied the subject to form some notion of the character of these parables and texts we extract three of them.

The first is from the chapter on "Simple Faith." It runs:

"In the days of old, to the south-east of Srāvastī, there was a great river, very deep and wide, on the banks of which there was a hamlet, consisting of some 500 houses, the inhabitants of which had not yet heard the news of Salvation, and were consequently immersed entirely in worldliness and selfish pursuits.

"The Honoured of the world, ever thinking on the salvation of men, resolved to go to this village and preach to the people. Accordingly, he came to the river-side, and sat down beneath a tree. The village people, seeing the glory of his appearance, approached with reverence to worship him. After they had so done, Buddha began to preach to them, but they believed him not. On this Buddha caused the appearance of a man coming from the south-side of the river, where the water was very deep and the current strong, walking on the surface of it; and so coming he approached Buddha, and, bowing down, worshipped him.

"All the people, seeing this appearance, asked the man in astonishment, whence he had come, 'for we never in all our lives have seen such a sight as this, a man walking on the surface of the water. Tell us, then, by what artifice has this been done, and how it was you were not engulfed in the stream.' On which the man replied: 'I reside on the southern bank of the river, and had ever lived in ignorance and folly till I heard that Buddha was here teaching the deliverance, on which, coming to the bank of the river, and not having time to wait to be carried over, I asked the men if it was deep, and whether I could not cross over without a boat. On which they said, 'Oh yes! you can cross without fear.' On this I walked over, because I believed. Simply this and nothing more enabled me to do so.' On this Buddha said: 'It is well spoken—well spoken. Faith like yours alone can save the world from the yawning gulf of continual birth and death; such faith



alone can enable them to walk across dryshod (to the other shore),’ and then he added these lines :

“Faith can cross the flood, even as the master of the ship (steers his bark across the sea); ever advancing in the conquest of sorrow, wisdom lands us on yonder shore. The wise man who lives by faith, in virtue of his holy life, enjoys unselfish \* bliss, and casts off all shackles. Faith lays hold of true wisdom (or finds the path); religion leads to deliverance from death; from hearing comes knowledge, which brings with it enlightenment; faith, with obedience (moral conduct), is the path of wisdom: firmly persevering in this, a man finds escape from pain, and is thus able to pass over and escape the gulf of destruction.”

The next is from the chapter on “Love of Mercifulness,” and is as follows :

“There was, in times gone by, a certain mighty king, called Ho-meh (*love-darkness*), who ruled in a certain district where no tidings of Buddha or his merciful doctrine had yet been heard; but the religious practices were the usual ones of sacrifice and prayer to the gods for protection. Now it happened that the king’s mother being sick, the physicians having vainly tried their medicines, all the wise men were called to consult as to the best means of restoring her to health. After several years, during which she did not improve, the queen-mother sent for 200 celebrated Brahmans, and desired them to exercise their supernatural arts in discovering from the sun, moon, and stars a way of recovery. These Brahmans replied: ‘It is useless so to do, as the heavenly signs are in opposition and not favourable.’ On the king asking them what should be done, they replied. ‘Outside the city there should be selected a convenient place, level and plane, and without pollution, and sacrifices of a hundred beasts of different kinds should be offered on the four hills (or to the four quarters), the sun, moon, and stars, with a young child as a crowning oblation to Heaven. Then the king in his own person, with his mother, going to this place to participate in the sacrifice, the stars and heavenly bodies may be propitiated.’ † [On this Buddha, moved with compassion, came to the spot, and preached a sermon on “Love to all that lives,” and added these words].

“If a man lives a hundred years, and engages the whole of his time and attention in religious offerings to the gods, sacrificing elephants and horses, and other things, all this is not equal to one act of pure love in saving life.”

The following text, with which we will conclude this notice, may throw some light on the vexed question of the meaning of the word “Nirvāna.”

“How impermanent is man? He grows old as the stalled ox, fat, and fleshy, and strong, but he has no saving wisdom; without thought of life and death, and the perpetual troubles involved in

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\* Wou-wei.

† Here follows a description of the Gate towards the place of sacrifice, and how their piteous cries rang through (shook) heaven and earth. king ordering a hundred head of elephants, horses, oxen, sheep, to be driven along the road from the East-

them, thinking only of the body and its wants, and thus adding to his sorrows without prospect of escape. But the wise man understanding (the cause of) sorrow, on this account lets his body go ; he destroys all thought (about it), he cuts off desire, and thus making an end of all lustful appetites, he also puts an end to renewed birth."

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*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. VI. Part I. From 27th October 1877 to 26th January 1878. Yokohama, 1878. Printed at the Japan Mail Office.*

THE longest paper in this number of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* is a "Review of the introduction of Christianity into China and Japan," by Mr. J. H. Gubbins of H. B. M.'s consular service. The subject is treated by Mr. Gubbins from a purely historical point of view, and necessarily in a somewhat cursory way. His account is, however, very readable and is calculated to be serviceable to the general reader by bringing together a large amount of information which would otherwise have to be gleaned from a multitude of sources.

Among the other papers are an account of a local disease, called *Kak'ke*, and an essay by Ernest M. Swatow, displaying much research, on the introduction of tobacco into Japan.

*Kak'ke* is described "as a specific disease, endemic in certain low-lying towns of Japan and especially associated with overcrowding, bad ventilation, and bad drainage ; most frequent during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon ; non-contagious ; capable of remaining latent in the system for long periods and of manifesting itself in places remote from its source ; and tending to recurrence independently of a renewal of the primary causative conditions. The symptoms are uncomplicated with fever and are not necessarily associated with anæmia or general debility ; they are characterized by localized partial paralysis of motion and sensation, dropsical effusions in various situations, and by a tendency to irritative phenomena of nervous origin in the voluntary muscles, heart, and stomach."

It is said to prostrate annually tens of thousands of the population, and in its acute form is very fatal. In that form, the writer tells us, "a patient comes under treatment for *Kak'ke* of apparently an ordinary character ; he may be strong and well nourished and have no sign of anæmia ; the disease progresses in the usual manner, and no evil is anticipated, when suddenly rapid action of the heart, visible pulsation in the neck, and difficulty of breathing appear, with a distressing sense of constriction at the level of the lower ribs. Soon afterwards the patient vomits, and while an observer, unaccustomed to see the disease, still apprehends no

danger, the Japanese doctor recognizes the commencement of '*Shiyôshin*' and predicts that the man 'will surely die.' During the next few hours the breathing becomes more embarrassed, the pulsations of the heart more and more accelerated, and vomiting recurs from time to time. The patient now can lie down no longer; he sits up in bed or tosses restlessly from one position to another; and, with wrinkled brow, staring, anxious eyes, dusky skin, blue, parted lips, dilated nostrils, throbbing neck, and labouring chest, presents a picture of the most terrible distress that the worst of diseases can inflict. There is no intermission even for a moment, and the physician, here almost powerless, can do little more than note the failing pulse and falling temperature, watch life receding slowly from the extremities towards the trunk, and wait for the moment when the brain, paralysed by the carbonized blood, shall become insensible and allow the dying man to pass his last moments in merciful unconsciousness."

The paper on tobacco abounds with interesting facts, and is illustrated with Japanese woodcuts, some of which are highly humorous and skilfully drawn, after the special manner of the country.

Tobacco appears from various native authorities to have been introduced into Japan about a hundred years after its first discovery by Columbus, or at some time between 1575 and 1605. But the statements of different writers vary as to both the exact date and the manner of its importation. The Japanese Encyclopædia, published in 1714, says it was brought as tribute by the ships of the Nanban, or Portuguese, between 1573 and 1592. Other accounts trace it to the Korea; and one author of some authority states that it first came into the country in 1605. There appears to be no doubt that it was cultivated in the last-named year, near Nagasaki. Its use seems to have immediately spread with great rapidity; and tobacco-clubs sprang up, the members of which emulated the conduct of the London Mohawks of the last century. The diary of a Japanese Pepys, one Dr. Saka, says, that "in the year 1609, there existed at the capital two associations of turbulent spirits called the Bramble Club and the Leather-breeches Club, whose chief amusement was to provoke quarrels with the peaceable inhabitants. The Brambles chose their title as symbolic of their love of mischief and the tenacity with which they held their victims, the Leather-breeches indicated by theirs that they considered themselves quite a match for their rivals. More than seventy of them were arrested suddenly, and thrown into prison, but justice was satisfied by the execution of four or five ringleaders, and the rest were pardoned. As these societies were originally tobacco-clubs, the plant through their misconduct became obnoxious to the authorities, and the use of it was prohibited. These roysterers

smoked out of very long pipes, which they stuck in their sashes like a sword, or had carried behind them by a retainer."

It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, the authorities became alarmed and issued edicts against the innovation. The following is a proclamation on the subject published in 1612:—

"Tobacco-smoking is forbidden. The property of both offenders shall be granted to the discoverer of buyers and sellers thereof. If any one is caught conveying it by road, the tobacco and the seller must be seized on the spot and a report be made to the authorities; upon which the horse loaded with it and the [rest of the] merchandise shall be given to the discoverer.

"*Item*...Tobacco is not to be cultivated anywhere.

"The above order is to be promulgated without fail through all the dominions of His Highness (——). This has been decreed by him and consequently the above notification is made. 8th month, 6th day, 17th year of Keichiyau."

Fears seem also to have been entertained that the cultivation of the plant would interfere with the production of rice and corn. Fires, moreover, frequently resulted from carelessness in its use, and a notion arose that it was prejudicial to health.

It was apparently however, found impossible, to enforce these sumptuary prohibitions, and in the course of time the attempt was abandoned.

Long after the habit of smoking had become general, it was considered a grave breach of good manners to smoke in the presence of an old person or a superior. "The most notorious knaves, swaggerers, bullies and self-assertors," says a native writer, "would not dare to smoke in the presence of their chiefs or elders."

As in the languages of India, one is said, in Japanese, to "drink" tobacco.

*History of Methodism.* By Rev. James Mudge, B. D., Editor of the *Lucknow Witness*. Lucknow: American Methodist Press; 1878.

**T**HIS is a history of Methodism from a purely Methodist standpoint, and, judged from that standpoint, is no doubt an excellent work.

To critics without the pale, it will probably seem that the writer mars his story by the extent to which he dwells on its more trivial details.

The first three books of the work, dealing with English, American and Indian Methodism respectively, had appeared in a previous edition. The last book, consisting of supplementary chapters on further incidents in the life of Wesley; the persecutions and perils



to which, in the early days of Methodism, its professors were subjected in England and America; and notices of other leading men among the Methodists, is new.

In the first of these three additional chapters the writer seems to us to carry his hero-worship to a length which detracts from the dignity of its object. John Wesley was a great and good man; but even the greatest and best of men may be made to appear ridiculous by a too indiscriminate exposure of the minutest details of their lives. The reverence must be intense, indeed, which finds nothing to excite a smile in such a passage from Wesley's journal as the following:

"1743, August 22.—After a few of us had joined in prayer, I set out and rode softly to Snowhill, where, the saddle slipping quite upon my mare's neck, I fell over her head, and she ran back into Smithfield. Some boys caught her and brought her to me again, cursing and swearing all the way. I spoke plainly to them, and they promised to amend. I was setting forward, when a man cried, 'Sir, you have lost your saddle-cloth.' Two or three more would needs help me to put it on; these, too, swore at almost every word. I turned to one another, and spoke in love. They all took it well, and thanked me much. I gave them two or three little books, which they promised to read over carefully. Before I reached Kensington, I found my mare had lost a shoe. This gave me an opportunity of talking closely, for near half an hour, both to the smith and his servant. I mention these little circumstances to show how easy it is to redeem every fragment of time (if I may so speak) when we feel any love to those souls for which Christ died."

The following extracts, again, tend to detract from one's estimate of Wesley's fitness for his work.

"1758, April 21.—I dined at Lady——'s. We need great grace to converse with great people, from which therefore (unless in some rare instances) I am glad to be excused. The moments fly and must be accounted for! Of these two hours I can give no account."

"1767, June 15.—At the desire of the good old widow, Mrs. M——, I went with Mr. S—— to C——. Lord and Lady M—— where there before us, to whom I was probably 'a not expected, much unwelcome guest.' But whatsoever it was to them, it was a heavy afternoon to me, as I had no place to retire to, and so was obliged to be in genteel company for two or three hours together. Oh what a dull thing is life without religion! I do not wonder that time hangs heavy upon the hands of all who know not God, unless they are perpetually drunk with noise and hurry of some kind or another."

We should have supposed that, to a man holding Wesley's views, there would have seemed to be something unworthy in this shrinking even from "genteel" people, who had souls to be saved. But even if this is not the case, it scarcely seems conducive to the interests of Methodism, to impress upon the upper classes of society that the founder of the sect regarded them as more or less hopelessly reprobate.



*The Story of my Life.* By the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, author of *Confessions of a Thug*; *Tara, a Mahratta Tale*, &c. Edited by his daughter. With a preface by Henry Reeve. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London. 1877.

CAPTAIN MEADOWS TAYLOR'S autobiography is the story of an eventful life in the midst of surroundings generally more or less stirring, and often sensational. As such it could scarcely fail to be interesting; but a special interest attaches to it as the autobiography of one of the very last of a type of Anglo-Indians which, partly owing to the altered conditions of the country, partly owing to a change in our theory of Government, is now almost extinct; soldier-administrators, rough and ready in conception and daring in execution, with but small respect for form and little fear of constitutional restraints before their eyes; men who studied native life and character *con amore*, and whose success depended largely on the frankness with which they accepted the lessons thus learnt as their guide in dealing with natives.

With more than average natural parts, remarkable receptivity a keen penetration, lively sympathies, Meadows Taylor was deficient in critical judgment and breadth of view, and was rather an apt administrator than a great statesman. *The Story of my Life* is told with a candour amounting sometimes to *naïveté*, with no small literary skill, and with an infusion of vanity which, though marked, is never offensive. It abounds with curious information and amusing anecdote, and is much more calculated to interest the general reader than the majority of Anglo-Indian memoirs.

Sent out to India at a very early age, and with an imperfect education, as an apprentice in what his friends believed to be a mercantile firm of high standing, but what turned out to be a mere shop on the brink of insolvency, he was fortunate enough, through the interest of a kinsman, to obtain a commission in the Nizam's army, and, having distinguished himself in a civil capacity, was employed successively as Political Agent at Shorapur, and as Deputy Commissioner in the Berars. His experience thus lay entirely in the Dekhan; and he never visited Calcutta or Bengal.

As an illustration of his decision of character, pluck and resourcefulness when still a mere lad, we may take his clever capture of Raja Narrayan Rao, a noted freebooter, as narrated in the following passage:

"My camp was pitched at Ekhailee, when one afternoon I saw some persons carrying a native bedstead, which was put down opposite my tent: there was something lying upon it concealed by a bloody sheet, when this was withdrawn, I saw a young Brahmin literally covered with sabre-cuts. He was very faint, but after the barber had dressed his wounds, he told his story, saying that the night before, the Rajah, as he was called, of Kurrunkote, had attacked his house, had murdered his father, uncle, and grandmother, and had then

proceeded to plunder the dwelling, that the Rajah was still abroad, and purposed committing another dacoity that night at a village he named.

"There was no time to lose; this at any rate might be prevented. I had ten mounted men and five available foot-police, and I prepared in all haste.

"The perpetrator of the outrage was a noted character, Narrayan Rao, and I had heard of him as being a very dangerous man. His village was very strong, and he had recently repaired the *garhy*, or castle, with its gates and bastions, and it held a strong garrison of desperadoes. I was determined to have him if I could. My friend, Bulram Sing, knew the country well, and was our guide. We had thirty miles to march, but eventually the night's work proved far more.

"It was dark as we neared the village of Cooloor, where the proposed dacoity was to take place, and leaving four men for its protection, I took on the other nine, including Bulram Sing and another jemadar of police; I had also two grooms who rode my baggage-ponies, and these constituted my little party.

"We rode first to a town called Sooloopett, where Narrayan Rao was reported to have been seen in the bazaar; but we were at fault, as he had left it and gone, the people said, to Cooloor; but as there was no other road than the one by which we had just come, we knew this could not be the case. Bulram Sing fancied the Rajah must have heard of the wounded Brahmin having been brought to me, and therefore had retired to his fort; and he was right. We all partook of some refreshment, as we were tired, and then started for Kurrumkote the Rajah's village.

"It looked very strong as we approached in the early morning; the fort stood out in the centre with its large bastions and loopholed walls, all in excellent repair. We halted under a little grove of mangoe-trees, and when the gate was opened to allow the cattle to come out, we rode in boldly, and though the guard seized their matchlocks, no one attempted to fire. In reply to their questions I answered, 'I have been travelling all night, and am tired, and intend to rest here a while.'

"We will send word to the Rajah,' said several.

"No,' I answered, 'I will speak to him myself;' and we rode up the main street. I thought for a moment that it was rather a rash proceeding, for on the bastions of the fort many men appeared, showing themselves on the parapet and calling to us to go back. The Rajah lived in the fort, and some men came out and stood on the steps leading up to it, and asked me what I wanted.

"The Sahib Bahadur wishes to see your Rajah Sahib,' said my jemadar 'and he is tired,—he has ridden all night.'

"My master is asleep,' rejoined the man, 'and I dare not disturb him.

"I must see him, and at once,' I said; 'if he does not come, I shall go in myself,' and the spokesman went in, returning directly with a young, fair man who was tying a handkerchief round his head.

"He saluted me, and inquired haughtily, 'why I had come into his town, into which no Feringhee had ever before entered without his leave?'

"I stooped down and said in his ear, 'You are my prisoner, and must come quietly with me; if you or your people resist, I will drive my spear through your body. Now we will go, if you please.'

"The street was narrow, and as my horsemen spread themselves behind us, no one could get near us. I do not remember ever feeling so excited as I did when the Rajah and I went down to the gate by which we had entered. He said nothing; but his men were crowding on the walls and house-tops; all armed and calling to each other. Perhaps they noticed that my long hog-spear was within six inches of their Rajah's back!

"When we reached the gate, he merely said to the guard, 'Don't follow, I shall return soon;' and we all passed out safely.

"Now" said I to one of my men, 'let the Sahib ride, Bhudrinath;' and as he dismounted from his mare, I bade Narrayan Rao get up.

"If you don't, you're a dead man," I said; and Bulram Sing advised him to obey; 'for,' said he, "if you do not do as my master orders you, he will put his spear through you."

"So the Rajah mounted, and as this was seen from the gate towers, not a hundred and fifty yards from us, one of my men happening to look round, called out, 'They are going to fire;' and we had scarcely time to put our weary horses into a canter, when a regular volley was discharged, knocking up the dust behind us.

"Bhudrinath had scrambled up behind the Rajah with a merry laugh, and kept consoling his companion by telling him the shot would hit him first. Narrayan Rao, however, maintained perfect silence, and told me afterwards he expected to have been hung upon the first tree, and supposed this to be my reason for ordering him to mount.

"Now I had my prisoner, where was I to put him? My camp was forty miles distant, and I resolved at last to take him to Chinchola, where there was a fortified court-house, which could be easily defended in case of a rescue being attempted; and when we reached it, the Rajah was safely located there, having been first put in irons.

"The surviving relations of the murdered Brahmins came that evening, and were confronted with the Rajah, who did not attempt to deny the murders. The family were his own near relations, but they had a good deal of silver plate, which had excited his cupidity.

"All that night we were kept in constant alarm. Shots were fired at our gates and bastions, and dismal and unearthly shriekings and howlings were kept up by our enemies. I was glad when morning came and brought my servants with clean clothes and a guard of five soldiers. It was a busy day; people crowded in with complaints and accusations against the prisoner for exactions and dacoity. Strange to say, he admitted them all, and directed us where to find the plunder. I sent for it, and it was brought: massive silver, copper, and brass vessels, and a quantity of valuable cloths and silk. The villagers sent me eight men who had assisted at the dacoity, and their confessions enabled me to apprehend ten more."

Among the most important of his political services was his successful adjustment of the affairs of Shorapur, where the Ranee, Iswarama, had refused to recognise the regent appointed on the death of her husband, besides defying the Government in other ways, and had assembled a force of ten thousand men to support her in her resistance. Captain Gresley, the Political Agent, had applied for force to enable him to overcome the Ranee and install Pid Naik in the Regency. This, however, it was inconvenient to give him, and he accordingly tendered his resignation, reporting that he could do no more than he had done; that the position of the Ranee was growing stronger; and that, if she were supported by Arabs, Rohillas and other mercenaries, whom she had funds to maintain, the result would be most serious. Captain Taylor was invited to take up the matter, and by dint of sheer firmness succeeded in completely cowing this determined lady and obtaining her consent to all his demands.

She was in the next room, and sat at the door behind a bamboo screen through which, however, she could see me, though I could not see her.

She spoke neither Hindostanee nor Mahratta, but I had a good interpreter in one of the members of the family, who had been at Hyderabad, and was quite a gentleman. For a time she spoke very pleasantly, and the little Rajah had of his own accord, come to me, and was sitting in my lap, 'See,' said the Ranee, 'my son has gone to you, as he never did to his father, and now you must be father to us all.'

"This speech led the way to business; and when I told her it would be far from wise to pull her own house about her ears as she seemed to be doing, she replied in the most innocent manner possible, 'That she was quite unaware of having offended any one, and could only look to the British Government to protect her and her son, as it had already done for several generations.'

"We talked for four hours without ceasing, and at last I handed her a paper, in which I had embodied my demands.

"1st. To give an account of the revenue for the last three years.

"2nd. To give over the Rajah's seal of office.

"3rd. To make over all the armed men to Pid Naik.

"This sadly bothered her, and she was slippery as an eel: but it would not do. I said I would not leave her till I had her determination from her own mouth for I had no faith in letters or messages, and I doggedly kept my seat.

"This did good: for though arguing bravely, the Ranee was driven from her positions, one by one, and at last agreed to all my demands. Would she keep to her word? That remained to be seen. The only objection which I thought was a reasonable one was about the seal, which, being the Rajah's, could not be used by his Minister; but as he suggested, a seal of regency might be engraved and used. After this interview was over, I walked to Pid Naik's house, through the crowd outside, and saw his three fine boys and two girls, while his wife sent me a kind message. He appeared more hopeful, and thought we were getting on."

The more arduous task of winning over the Beydurs and other armed retainers of the Ranee still remained to be accomplished. Here Captain Taylor's consummate tact and knowledge of native character stood him in good stead, and all pledged themselves to obey Pid Naik.

We naturally turn with curiosity to see what views a man in Meadows Taylor's position and with his intimate knowledge of the natives, held regarding the origin of the great mutiny, and his letters home on this subject are not the least interesting part of his autobiography. A full solution of the question is not, perhaps, in the nature of things, attainable, and he does not pretend to offer one.

There is one curious point suggested by his narrative, which has not, to our knowledge, received the attention it deserves, and which he himself does not dwell upon, viz., how far prophecy may have helped to cause the outbreak. Certain it is that, long before the first mutterings of the actual storm, a widespread conviction existed in the native mind, that a great political convulsion was imminent. Equally certain is it that prophecies existed, and were widely circulated, which, among a profoundly superstitious people, were fully competent to account for that conviction. That the conviction was wholly without influence in shaping the action of the men concerned in the events of 1857, is improbable.



From the month of February, Meadows Taylor began to receive anonymous letters, with various postmarks, warning him, as a friend to natives, to take furlough to England. They were worded mostly in this way:—

“Although you have many friends, and the people worship you, you have still enemies who will approach you when the time comes, and you will never know who strikes you down.”

“All these letters were marked ‘private,’ or ‘to be read by himself,’ and, like other anonymous productions which were common enough, I had read them and then torn them up. I had not the smallest fear of the people in my district; but these letters, taken in connection with those which had been sent confidentially to Lord Elphinstone, had more effect upon me than I cared to acknowledge.”

The almanac for the year was most alarming. It went back to the Battle of Plassey, and declared that the rule of the Company must come to an end in bloodshed and tumult. In one of his letters Meadows Taylor says:—

“One naturally asks what has been the cause of all this—of a whole army becoming at once disaffected, and officers and men, Hindoo and Mohammedan, abandoning allegiance, pay, and pensions—risking all in this wild attempt to subvert the Government, for no one can doubt that that is the end aimed at. It is not only that present advantages have been risked, or considerations of them thrown away: future considerations are involved as well. All sepoys, or most of the Bengal army, are connected with land—there was hardly a farmer or proprietor of any kind who had not a son or relative in the army; many were themselves landed proprietors; all are known, and, as traitors, have forfeited their estates. It would seem also, by the wanton butchery of officers, and by the measures at once pursued, that it was desired to leave no chance of accommodation or retreat. I suppose all this will come out some day. It is impossible but that a commission must be appointed to sift the whole to the bottom, and devise a remedy. The authorities, blindly confident, or timid, or conceited as they may have been, must open their eyes now, and not only look danger in the face, but provide against its recurrence. Some people talk of Russia; but I cannot think what she can have to do with it, or how secret means could have been devised for the corruption of the army. That a general conspiracy was made, who can doubt? The fact of the circulation of those mysterious cakes of bread last year showed this, though no one suspected the sepoys, or at least declared that they did.

“But observant men have done so for many years. I have never met an officer who had seen Bengal troops, who was not amazed at their lax discipline. Colonel Jacob, long ago, said that the ‘normal condition of the Bengal army was *mutiny*,’ for which he was nearly losing his commission; but it was fact. At Mooltan, and through the whole of the Punjانب War, the men were hardly to be trusted; and after it, Sir Charles Napier had to quell one mutiny, which had not the appearance of being an isolated ebullition of feeling, though it did not spread. Caste has been the bane of that army, and it has been most strange to me always to hear caste spoken of as an advantage. Brahmin sepoys are, no doubt, a fine race; physically, no finer men exist; temperate and well-behaved always, and they are liked by officers; but they have viewed with dread the gradually extending territory of the British beyond seas, which to them are dreadful, and yet where they might sooner or



later have to go—nay, *would* have to go. Enlistment is only made for general service now; and while it has been made by young hands, to get the only service possible, the old hands had not taken the oath, and it must have been an object of the lower and younger grades to free themselves from theirs. There are many reasons why mutiny has broken out, which I see are prominently given in the newspapers—foreign service, suspicion about the Enfield cartridges, general lax discipline, absence of European troops, and the like; but there are others which I do not see noticed at all, but which strike me as having had some effect. These are 1st. The way in which the Commission in Oudh has been working, and its result as regards the landholders. This class—petty Rajahs, Thakoor, and landholders of all degrees—are powerful under the native governors, and lawless to a degree. They had as much land as they liked, and paid only what they chose. The Government was at perpetual feud with them; and they had the best of it, I suspect. Now that is all changed, and there can be no distinction of persons. 2dly. It is said that the appointments in the Commission, as regards the heads of it, were not good—too many regulation men—and that the revenue screw was not spared at all. I do not know how this is, but suspect that all combined has had more to do with the mutiny than any other cause—or if not more, that it has had the effect of arousing to action all other subjects of real or fancied discontent. 3dly. I doubt also whether the revenue system of the North-West Provinces is sound—Thomson's system, so belaboured by its supporters. It has *not* secured property to the middle classes; and the yeomen, who are our sepoys, have lost lands, which are swallowed up by moneyed men. The Santhal rebellion was of this kind; but heavy interest and exorbitant charges on money transactions had driven *many* to despair. The middle classes of tenants in the North-West are not savages, and I watch and have watched with jealousy the operation of laws and courts which have sold up old properties and encumbered new ones. I cannot dilate on these subjects; but keep them in mind, and I think you will see hereafter that they have had effect banefully to weaken attachment which might have been secured by other means."

Of the Gagging Act he says, in another letter: "You will see what Lord Canning has done about the press. I think it was needed now; but it may be relaxed, except to native prints, hereafter. And I hope these murders and massacres will cease Exeter Hall and its party of some of its cant in regard to 'sympathy with natives.'"

On the whole he seems to lay most stress on the exclusive caste system and lax discipline of the Bengal Army.

Captain Taylor himself rendered most valuable service during that troubled time, not only maintaining peace in the Berars, surrounded by the elements of disaffection, and among a turbulent population, without military aid, by the force of his own personal character and influence, but supplying Whitlock's column with draught cattle, and thus enabling them to march on Jabalpur and capture Kirwi. Very different was the course of events in his old district of Shorapore. There the Raja fell into evil hands and rebelled. His troops were attacked and driven into the town with severe loss by Captain Wyndham, and, on the approach of Col. Malcolm's force, he himself fled ignominiously, and was finally apprehended by Salar Jung at Haidarabad. The sentence of

death, passed on him, was commuted, mainly owing to Captain Taylor's intercession, first to transportation for life, and afterwards to four years, imprisonment. His tragic end, which occurred shortly after the news had been communicated to him, furnishes a curious instance of the fulfilment of a prophecy. The Raja's horoscope, cast by a learned Shastri at his birth, had predicted that he would die in his twenty-fourth year. The same Shastri who, besides Meadows Taylor, was—it was believed—the only living person who was aware of the prophecy, was sent for when the news of his reprieve arrived. He had previously warned Taylor that his intercession would be useless, and now he refused to believe that the prophecy would be falsified. But we must let Meadows Taylor, who is evidently inclined to see more than mere coincidence in the fulfilment, tell the rest of the story in his own words.

"Listen," said I, "to the gracious and merciful determination of the Governor-General. The Rajah's life is safe; and if he is quiet and steady for four short years, he will regain his State! What could be more considerate and more lenient? What becomes now of the prophecy? This letter proves it is false.

"I wish I could think so. Sahib," he sighed, "and that my poor young master were really safe; but, alas! he is in the greatest danger. Nay, it seems closer than ever now; but we shall see, Sahib. Sometimes a merciful God puts away the evil omens just as the fulfilment of them is imminent, I will go and tell the Ranee this good news. I only wish the time were past, and that I could be happy in it too."

"The Ranee would hardly believe the message I sent her. She and the other Ranees were to join the Rajah almost directly, and were to make the preparations at once.

"The head Ranee, Rungama, asked me to come to her; and when I entered, quite regardless of etiquette, she threw herself into my arms, and danced about in the wildest glee. She had expected the news of her husband's death when she saw the old Shastree come into her rooms, and the revulsion of feeling was almost too much for her. She and one other Ranee were to go. The third was no favourite with the Raja.

"A few days after the Resident's order finally came that the ladies were to be sent off on a certain day to meet the Rajah at Kurnool. Everything had been already prepared; and he no delay; and I intended them to start that very afternoon. One of them both in the morning, and had settled down to my work. Breakfast was over. It chanced to be a day set apart for the arrangement of the yearly allowances and gifts to Brahmins, and all the chief Brahmins were present, and the old Shastree among them. Several were seated at the table with me, assisting me, when suddenly I heard the clasp of the express-runner's bells coming up the street. I thought it might be some message from Linsoogoor, or some new arrangement for the Ranee's departure. The runner entered the palace-court, and his packet was soon in my hands. It contained a few lines only, from the Resident:—

"The Rajah of Shorapoor shot himself this morning dead, as he arrived at his first encampment. I will write particulars when I know them."

"My countenance naturally changed; and the old Shastree, who was beside me, and had been reading over Sanscrit deeds and grants to me, caught hold of my arm, and peering into my face, cried, almost with a shriek—

"He's dead! he's dead! I know it by your face—it tells me, Sahib, he's dead!"

“Yes,” I said, sorrowfully. ‘Yes, he is dead ; he shot himself at the first stage out of Secunderabad, and died instantly.’

“Then ensued a sad scene of weeping and wailing ; and one of my friends in the adjoining room, hearing the tumult, rushed in, crying, ‘Thank God, you are safe ! I feared something terrible had happened. Why are these people so agitated ?’

“It is terrible enough,” I answered. ‘The Rajah has shot himself, and the news has just come by express.’

“Ah!” said the old priest, as soon as he could speak, ‘he could not escape his fate, and the prophecy is fulfilled.’”

Meadows Taylor retired from active service and from India in 1860. The period of his life, between that date and June 1864, passed mainly in England and Ireland, is very briefly told in the autobiography. His daughter, in a concluding chapter, brings the narrative, including his final visit to India, down to his death at Mentone on the 13th May, 1876. Of his literary works, of which he speaks very modestly in the autobiography, we have no space left to speak.

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*Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis.* By Martin Haug, Ph.D., late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich. Second Edition. Edited by E. W. West, Ph.D. London : Trübner & Co., 1878.

THAT comprehensive work on the Zoroastrian religion which Dr. Haug was to have given us after his return home from this country, was, owing to his illness and death, never commenced. Mr. West has endeavoured to mitigate the loss by re-editing, in this volume, the author's previous Essays, with such additions and alterations as the progress of Zoroastrian studies has rendered necessary. The historical portion of the work has been extended to the present time ; a number of new translations from the Avesta, found among Dr. Haug's manuscripts, have been added, and other more or less important additions have been made. As far as we can judge, these additions and alterations have been made with judgment ; but we think it would have been better, had the new matter been distinguished from the old.

As we hope at an early date to review the matter of the Essays at length, we need here only say that they deal with the history of Zoroastrian researches from classical times to our own ; the language of the Parsi scriptures ; the Zend Avesta itself ; and the origin and development of the Parsi religion.

*Flowers from the Bústán. A few Flowers from the Garden of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi : Being translations into English Verse of portions of the Bústán.* Calcutta : Thacker, Spink, and Co. Bombay : Thacker and Co. London : W Thacker and Co. 1877.

**I**N spite of occasional false rhymes and rarer imperfections of metre, this is altogether a delightful little book, as any moderately faithful translation of Saadi into good English must needs be. W. M. has selected his passages well ; his diction is throughout chaste and simple, as became the task he has undertaken, and, while fairly literal, avoids awkwardness or constraint. Without any straining after poetical effect, he has succeeded in preserving much of the beauty, along with all the gentle wisdom of an original the beauty and wisdom of which entitle it to a place in the first rank of the world's classics.

We have no hesitation in saying that the translator has rendered an important service to literature by presenting these specimens of the greatest of Persian poets to his fellow-countrymen in an English garb. And we would especially commend them to the notice of those who are accustomed to regard the highest morality as a monopoly of a particular creed, or who consider that independence of spirit cannot flourish more than a certain number of degrees east of Greenwich.

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*The Persian Manual: A Pocket Companion, intended to facilitate the essential Attainments of conversing with Fluency and composing with Accuracy, in the most graceful of all the Languages spoken in the East.* By Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke, Royal Engineers. London : Wm. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1878.

**T**HOUGH there is no want of good Persian Grammars, we are inclined to think that, in this manual, Captain Clarke has presented the public with a more useful book than any of his predecessors. We cannot get over our objection to Romanisation, but in every other respect the manual before us is thoroughly practical, while in no other respect does it seem to us to sacrifice scientific principles to a mere desire to invest the study of the language with a factitious easiness.

The author, contests the popular opinion that Persian is a language easy of attainment. A certain degree of proficiency, he admits, may easily be reached, but to obtain a thorough knowledge of the language, he maintains, is exceedingly difficult, owing to the vast number of the vocables, the ambiguous expressions in which Persians delight, the want of translations (only three Persian books, he tells us, have been translated into English), and of properly qualified teachers.

Captain Clarke's work is divided into two parts, Part I containing the grammar, progressive lessons and exercises; miscellaneous dialogues and exercises, and Part II a vocabulary, of which sections 2 and 3 of Part I and the whole of Part II are original.

A useful feature of the work is the effort that has been made to give alternative expressions and idioms, which are enclosed in brackets. This plan of rendering the sentences will, the author thinks, give great aid to the student in mastering the language, enabling him to see at a glance the several ways in which a sentence may be rendered, observe the force of words, and compare idiom with idiom.

To give some idea of the fulness of the work, it contains, inclusive of alternative renderings, upwards of eight thousand Persian sentences, methodically arranged.

It is a work of immense labour, most judiciously applied, and will, we hope, prove as remunerative to the author as it is calculated to be useful to the student.

*A Biographical Sketch of David Hare.* By Peary Chand Mittra. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1877.

THE intense affection with which the memory of David Hare, the watchmaker and philanthropist, and in a sense, the father of English education in Bengal, is cherished by the native community of this part of India after an interval of nearly forty years, is a sufficient answer to the foolish assertion, not unfrequently made, that the natives of India are incapable of gratitude. Babu Peary Chand Mittra could hardly have selected a worthier subject, or one better calculated to appeal to native sympathies. Though hampered by the meagre character of the materials available for the purpose, he has succeeded in constructing a most interesting narrative, which, however, is less a biography than a history of one particular phase in Mr. Hare's life, that in which he is presented in relation to native life and education. The style of the sketch is simple and unaffected, and it will be read with very general interest.

#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Kavita-Pustaka.* By Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. Printed and Published by Radha Nath Bandopadhyaya, at the Banga Darsan Press. Kantalpara: 1878.

TO readers of this *Review*, Bankim Chandra is a familiar and favorite name. The author of *Bisha Briksha* is the author of one of those books which are an honor to literature, a symbol of



intellectual power, and a guarantee of great literary heroism. But *Bisha Briksha* is a novel, and its writer is a novelist. And the question arises, Ought a novelist to write poetry? The question may be easily answered by a reference to European literature. Sir Walter Scott, the prince of novelists, wrote poetry. The great Goethe, also a novelist, wrote poetry. But Sir W. Scott, as a poet, is but a jingling rhymers compared with the poet Goethe; and the author of *Wilhelm Meister*, if you call that book a novel, is but a dwarf compared with the giant whose every novel is a wonder and a model. The important difference, if rightly read, will yield an important truth. Novelists who write good poetry, ought to have their novels classed not among novels but among poems. Poets who write good novels, ought to have their poems classed not among poems but among tales and novels. And the world does classify in this way. We regard *Marmion* as a tale; we call *Wilhelm Meister* a poem. And what is true of the world's great masters cannot but be true of their pupils, however humble and poor. Babu Bankim Chandra's novels are poems; poems of a very high order. We therefore think him fully entitled to write poetry. And the poetry he has given us in the book under review deserves very high praise. *Sangjuktā* is the song of the representative Hindu woman—the woman that every Hindu woman might be—the woman that would gladly make a holocaust of herself at the altar of Love, and thus remain for countless ages the sweetest breath of ennobling inspiration to man and woman. *Akankshā* is a soft, sweet and playful strain, breathing the spirit of the one aspiration, which is felt only by the most adorable of men and women, the aspiration to be beloved of the soul that loves beauty wherever found, or, which is the same thing, the aspiration to be a thing of beauty, loving the whole earth, loved by the whole earth. Passing over *Adhak-patan sangita*—a common-place piece on a common-place subject—we come to *Savitri*. Savitri is a great subject in Hindu history; one of the sweetest and holiest of names in the annals of humanity; one of the most influential of moral powers in Hindu society; the aim, the purpose, and the article of faith of Hindu women in one of their most important religious sacrifices. Savitri, in short, is a deity a spell, and a vow. And in the verses before us she is nothing less than that. Bankim Chandra's *Savitri*, in fact, is his *Sangjuktā* in a divine garb. *Adara* is a charming little bouquet of sweet little similes, with the exception of তুমি মোর ছত্র, বরষার জলে which is both coarse and flat. *Vayu*, which seems to have been inspired by Shelley's cloud, is a beautiful idealisation of the functions of air as determined by science. In *Akbar Shah's Khosh roz* we have a tale of the Hindu woman's heroism, such as

can only be told in Hindustan. *Mana and Sukha* is a remarkable piece. It presents the story of Krishna and Radha in a cosmical form ; in a form in which Edwin Arnold would gladly accept it ; in a form in which the great Richter would be sure to find one of the most fundamental principles of his theory of human happiness. *Jaleh Phool* abounds with splendid imagery, closing with the following splendid lines :—

তুই জাবি ভেসে ফুল, আমি যাব ভেসে ।  
কেহ না ধরিবে তোরে, কেহ না ধরিবে মোরে,  
অনন্ত সাগরে তুই, মিশাইবি শেষে ।  
চল যাই ছুই জনে অনন্ত উদ্দেশে ।

There is, however, one rhetorical defect in this piece, which should be pointed out. The image suggested by

“ কিস্বা যেন মাতে ভ্রমে, নারী পথ হারা ”

is one of a calm ramble which contrasts most pointedly with the image of a rough ruthlessly handling, indicated by

“ তরঙ্গের রাশি রাশি, হাসিয়া বিকট হাসি,  
তাড়াতাড়ি করি তোরে বেলে কুতূহলে . ”

*Bhai Bhai* is well conceived, but not well expressed.

We next come to three prose pieces, which we cannot too highly admire. There is exquisite poetry in all of them, and remarkable originality in the piece entitled *Brishti*, eloquent in expression, rich in humour, high, profound, and even political in purpose, shrewd and ingenious in structure ; these three pieces are three bright gems in Bengali literature. *Brishti* is a profound political study.

Babu Bankim Chandra's juvenile pieces possess considerable merit.

*A Lecture on the Bengali Language and Literature.* Delivered by Raj Narain Bose, and printed and published by Sháradá Prosád Chattopadhyaya, at the New Bengali Press, No. 102, Grey Street, Shobhabázar. Calcutta : Samvat, 1935.

THIS is a very interesting publication. The Bengali language and literature are making rapid progress, and are destined to occupy a respectable place among human languages and literatures. Within the last quarter-of-a-century, the Bengali language has undergone great structural development, and Bengali literature has displayed an amount of expansion, which is simply marvellous. Much of this development and expansion is owing to India's contact with England and her acknowledgment of the present intel-

lectual supremacy of Europe. This wise and grateful acknowledgment has vindicated itself beyond question or cavil. For Western influence is not only perceivable in the language of authorship, but is felt in that easy and unconscious manner which indicates profound assimilation in the language of ordinary domestic life. This is the most important fact that has yet to be recorded in connection with the history of the Bengali language and literature. For it is the one fact which connects the Bengali language with the languages of enlightened Europe, and makes it a part of human history. During the Musalman regime the Bengali language was an isolated fact; important and necessary, like all other facts of its kind, but unknown and unknowable beyond its own dwelling-place. It could, therefore, do little good to others, and admit of little good being done to it. But it is quite another thing under the British regime. It is now an expression of much that Europe and America express. It will soon become an expression of all that Europe and America express. It now enables us to understand Europe and America and Europe and America to understand us. We are sorry to say that Babu Raj Narain Bose has done nothing to show the effect of this change on Bengali language and literature. He says very little about the structural change which the Bengali language is undergoing; and almost nothing about the altered tone of mind now discernable in Bengali literature. We are, therefore, constrained to say that Babu Raj Narain Bose has missed his point, and that his book is a failure. That book only gives us a dry chronology and some pieces of skin-deep criticism.

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*Bhargava Vijaya Kavya.* By Gopal Chandra Chakarvarti.  
Printed by Ashutosh Ghosh and Co., at the Albert Press, 37  
Mechuabazar Street. Calcutta: 1284 B. S.

**T**HE *Bhargava Vijaya Kavya* is one of the innumerable epic poems sent forth by the Bengali Press within the last 10 or 12 years. The book before us was not intended for plain, mortal men. For it is written in a language which Dean Swift, if he had been, fortunate enough to have been born in the nineteenth century would have gladly put into the mouth of his Houyhnhnms.











